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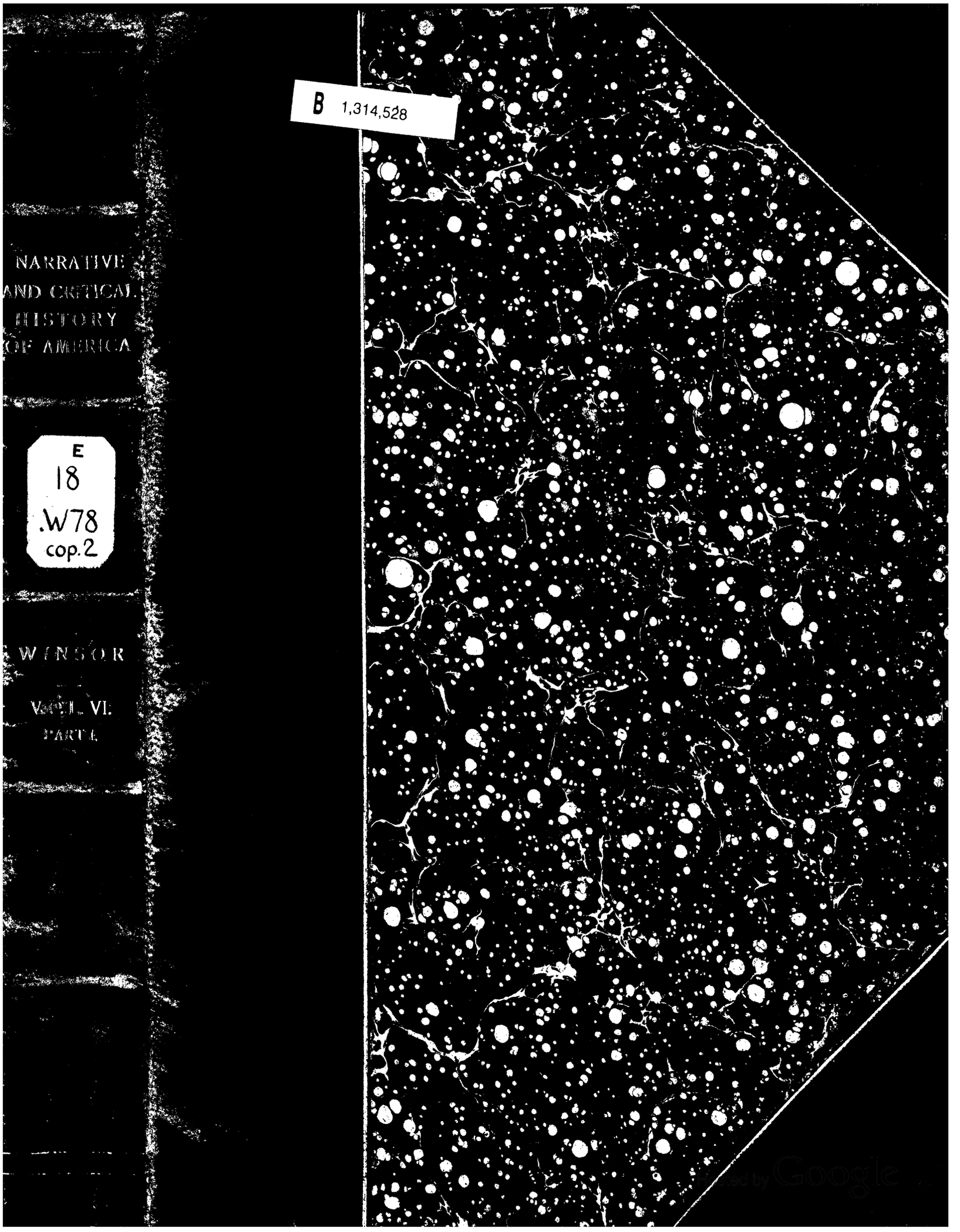
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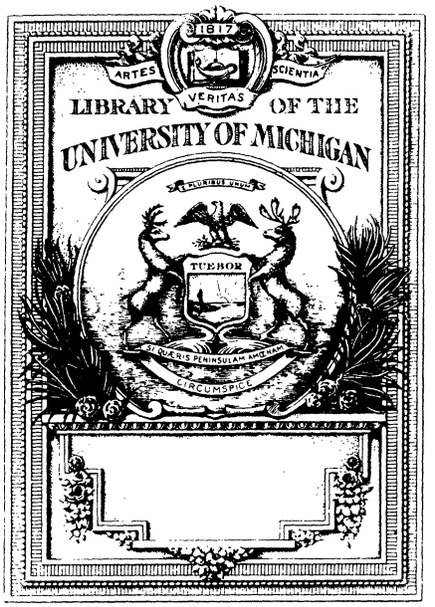

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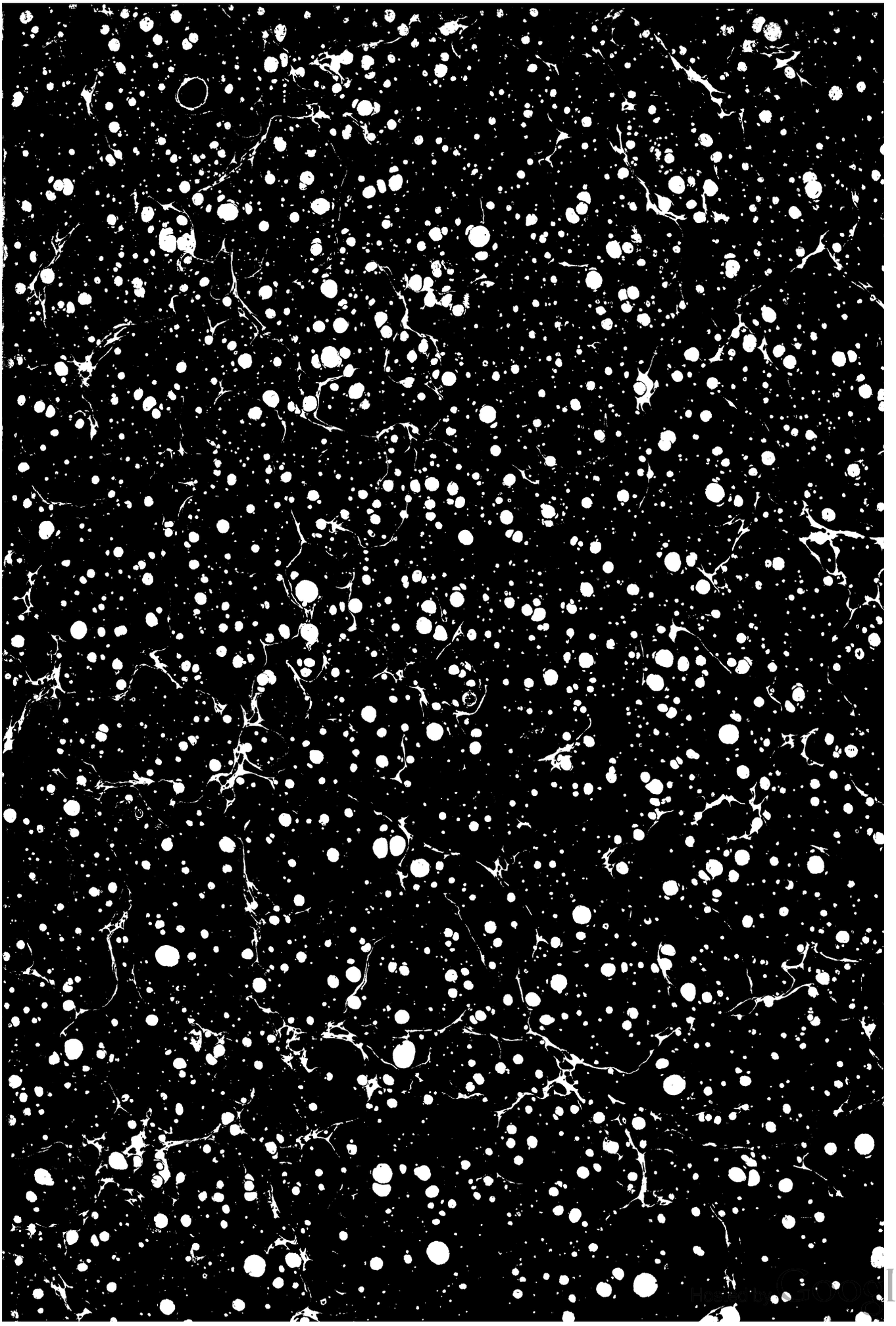

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The United States

OF

North America

PART I

NARRATIVE AND CRITICAL

HISTORY OF AMERICA

EDITED

By JUSTIN WINSOR

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VOL. VI.—PART I.

BOSTON AND NEW YORK

HOUGHTON, MIFFLIN AND COMPANY

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[*The cut on the title shows the obverse of the Washington medal, struck to commemorate the siege of Boston.*]

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NARRATIVE AND CRITICAL

HISTORY OF AMERICA.

CHAPTER I.

THE REVOLUTION IMPENDING.

BY MELLEN CHAMBERLAIN,

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THE American Revolution was no unrelated event, but formed a part of the history of the British race on both continents, and was not without influence on the history of mankind. As an event in British history, it wrought with other forces in effecting that change in the Constitution of the mother country which transferred the prerogatives of the crown to the Parliament, and led to the more beneficent interpretation of its provisions in the light of natural rights. As an event in American history, it marks the period, recognized by the great powers of Europe, when a people, essentially free by birth and by the circumstances of their situation, became entitled, because justified by valor and endurance, to take their place among independent nations. Finally, as an event common to the history of both nations, it stands midway between the Great Rebellion and the Revolution of 1688, on the one hand, and the Reform Bill of 1832 and the extension of suffrage in 1884, on the other, and belongs to a race which had adopted the principles of the Reformation and of the Petition of Right.

The American Revolution was not a quarrel between two peoples, — the British people and the American people, — but, like all those events which mark the progress of the British race, it was a strife between two parties, the conservatives in both countries as one party, and the liberals in both countries as the other party; and some of its fiercest battles were fought in the British Parliament. Nor did it proceed in one country alone, but in both countries at the same time, with nearly equal step, and was essentially the same in each, so that at the close of the French War, if all the people of Great Britain had been transported to America and put in control of American affairs, and all the people of America had been transported to Great Britain and put in control of British affairs, the American Revolution and the contemporaneous British Revolution — for there was a contemporaneous British Revolution — might have gone on just the

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same, and with the same final results. But the British Revolution was to regain liberty; the American Revolution was to preserve liberty. Both peoples had a common history in the events which led to the Great Rebellion; but in the reaction which followed the Restoration, that part of the British race which awaited the conflict in the old home passed again under the power of the prerogative, and, after the accession of William III., came under the domination of the great Whig families. The British Revolution, therefore, was to recover what had been lost. But those who emigrated to the colonies left behind them institutions which were monarchical, in church and state, and set up institutions which were democratic. And it was to preserve, not to acquire, these democratic institutions that the liberal party carried the country through a long and costly war.[1]

The American Revolution, in its earlier stages at least, was not a contest between opposing governments or nationalities, but between two different political and economic systems, to each of which able and honest men then adhered, and now adhere. The motives and conduct of each party, therefore, ought to be stated with exact impartiality. It was not only inevitable, but wise, and on the whole wisely conducted in accordance with the traditions and methods of political action to which our British race had been accustomed. It was also honestly and fairly opposed by those who neither accepted revolutionary principles, nor recognized the validity of the reasons assigned for their application to the existing state of affairs.

Readers of American history from the Restoration of Charles II., in 1660, to the Revolution find frequent reference to the King's Prerogatives, Navigation Laws, Acts of Trade, and in later years to Writs of Assistance, as subjects of complaint between Great Britain and her colonies; and as these were among the immediate causes of the war, they require explanation. When the Earl of Hillsborough (April 22, 1768) required the House of Representatives of Massachusetts, through Governor Bernard (June 21st), in his majesty's name, to rescind the resolution which had given birth to their Circular Letter of February 11, 1768, the order was a claim of right by the king to control the legislative action of that province; and the refusal of the House was regarded by the prerogative party both in Great Britain and in the colonies as in derogation of the king's constitutional power.

What was the foundation of this alleged authority of the king over the colonies? By the public law of all civilized nations in the fifteenth century, the property in unoccupied lands belonged to the crown of the country by which they were discovered;[2] and if, as was generally the case, these lands were inhabited by savages, still the fee was in the crown, subject only to such use as might be made of them by wandering tribes. Such is the law to-day. This title to the English colonies was not in the

[1] The liberal party; for even as late as the Declaration of Independence, the Tory party were, by estimation, two fifths of the whole population.

[2] The validity of this title in the crown was recognized by the congress at Albany in 1754. Proceedings, in *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, xxv. 64.

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people of England nor in the state, but in the crown, and descended with it. The crown alone could sell or give away these lands. The crown could make laws for the inhabitants, and repeal them; could appoint their rulers, and remove them. Parliament could do neither. The political relations of the colonists were to the crown, not to the government of England; nor were they in any respect subject to parliamentary legislation.[1] They were not citizens within the realm, nor, except in a qualified sense, of the empire, but subjects of the crown, having only such rights as it granted to them in their charters; and even these charters the crown claimed, and exercised the right to amend or revoke. James I. amended that of Virginia in 1624, and Charles II. revoked that of Massachusetts in 1684. They were regarded merely as charters of incorporated land companies, and, as such, subject to revocation by the king who granted them; and when these companies had developed into municipal governments, they were considered as still subject to alteration or repeal by the sovereign power,[2] although in both cases rights of property were saved to the owners. Strange as this doctrine may seem, it is now substantial law in England and in America.

To all these rights, privileges, and disabilities the emigrants agreed when they purchased lands from the crown; and the rights and duties, whether of the crown or of its subjects, descended to their respective successors. With such rights, though not in all cases with such views in respect to them, the colonists came to America; and such rights, and no more, their children possessed, under the British Constitution, at the time of the American Revolution, in the days of George III.

These claims of the crown every colony resisted as incompatible with its essential rights, and yet they were legal and constitutional prerogatives, admitted by the greatest judges of England, and must necessarily have been admitted in the colonies not only by Hutchinson and Oliver, but by James Otis and John Adams, had they sat as judges. It was on this legal and constitutional ground that the prerogative party stood both in England and in America.

But in England from the time of James I., and in America from the coming of Winthrop, there had been an anti-prerogative party; and as the prerogative party in England and the prerogative party in America were one and the same, so the anti-prerogative party in England and the anti-prerogative party in the colonies were one and the same, having similar views, and, though separated by a thousand leagues, working to the same end. On this question came the first political contest of the Revolution; that of parliamentary supremacy came later. The strength of one side was in legal and constitutional principles, as they were then interpreted by judicial tribunals; that of the other lay in the changes which were tak-

[1] The exercise of the prerogative, as a cause of the Revolution, finds its just prominence in Frothingham's *Rise of the Republic, passim.*

[2] Franklin thought differently. "The charters are sacred. Violate them, and then the present bond of union (the kingly power over us) will be broken." *Works*, iv. 296; Hutchinson, *History*, iii. 172. But see Chalmers's *Opinions concerning Colonies*, Index, under *King*.

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ing place in the British Constitution, — in short, in revolution. The revolutionary party succeeded in both countries: in America, by war; in England, by more silent influences which have greatly modified, if not destroyed, the prerogative.

Although the prerogative was a cardinal right in the British Constitution, and freely exercised by popular sovereigns like Elizabeth, it began to be questioned under James I., and resisted under Charles I., who lost his life in its defence, as James II. lost his crown.[1] But the progress of this revolution was not steady, nor did it always hold what it had gained. There came periods of reaction, one of which was in the early days of George III. He was strenuous in maintaining his prerogative, and, by the support of the "King's Friends," probably held it with a firmer hand than any of his predecessors since Elizabeth. The contest about the prerogatives encountered this difficulty: that successful resistance in a particular instance settled no principle, but left all other cases untouched.[2] The extension of the navigation acts to the colonies by Parliament, though assented to by King Charles II., was in derogation of his prerogatives; and so in the time of William III. (1696) was the attempt to transfer certain colonial affairs from the Privy Council, which represented the king, to a proposed Council of Commerce, which would have been the creature of Parliament. In consistency with these proceedings, the king's power over the colonies ought to have been transferred to Parliament; and instead of remaining the king's colonies, they ought to have become a part of the empire, and his authority over them no greater than that over the territory within the four seas. But it was otherwise. The colonists remained the king's subjects. He appointed their governors; he frequently set aside their laws, and over them

[1] Its most serious invasion was when the Long Parliament, from the necessity of the case, exercised sovereign powers, — that of the prerogative among others.

[2] There is a notable instance in the case of the judicial tenure. By the British Constitution, the king is not only the fountain of justice, but by a legal fiction he administers it in person, as James I. once proposed to do; and on this theory of actual presence, he chooses his representative and removes him at pleasure. It follows that, when the king dies, the authority of his representative ceases. And such was the case until the reign of William III., when it was attempted to limit the king's prerogative, but with only partial success. By 12 and 13 Will. III. ch. 2 (1701), the judicial tenure was during good behavior instead of the king's pleasure. But George III., a most strenuous asserter of his prerogative, in 1761, soon after his accession, declared to the two Houses that he regarded the independence of the judges as one of the best securities of the rights and liberties of his subjects, and recommended that they should hold office, with settled and permanent salaries, during good behavior, notwithstanding the demise of the crown (*House Journal*, vol. xxviii. 1094); and this became the law by 1 Geo. III. ch. 23. Constitutionally the king sat in his provincial courts as well as in British courts, and his surrender of the prerogative ought to have extended to the former. That, however, was not the decision in 1763, when the New York Assembly remonstrated at the appointment of Chief Justice Prat, to hold during the king's pleasure, by whom his salary was paid. This caused great dissatisfaction in the colonies, and in Massachusetts especially, in 1773, when the judges were paid by the king. The matter was not free from practical difficulties. The king had rights to the revenue which colonial juries would not respect; and consequently in 1698 Parliament set up admiralty courts without juries. The king was also interested in the administration of the civil and criminal law; but unless the judges conducted themselves so as to suit the people, the representatives cut down their salaries, — that is, starved them into compliance with the popular will; consequently, the king thought it best not only to retain but to use his prerogative, with respect to the appointment, tenure, and pay of the provincial judges.

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he exercised his royal prerogatives. One capital point, however, had been gained by the revolutionary party on both sides of the water. Successful invasions of the prerogative had at length created what was called the "spirit of the constitution."[1] The loyalists, however, seemed to be firmly entrenched in their constitutional position, nor did the anti-prerogative party avoid a dilemma: how to escape out of the hands of the king without falling into the hands of Parliament. If, as some claimed when they resisted the royal prerogative, they were British subjects, entitled to the same rights and privileges as native-born subjects within the realm, why then should they, more than other subjects, be free from the burdens imposed by the imperial policy? But when, in pursuance of that policy, Parliament undertook to tax the colonies, then they were forced by the logic of the situation to claim that, though subjects of "the best of kings," they owed no more allegiance to Parliament than the Scotch did before the union.[2]

Probably no one more heartily detested the claims of the prerogative than Franklin; and yet the phase which the controversy had assumed compelled him to take high prerogative ground. Such was his position with regard to the Stamp Act, as is seen in the note below.[3] Andros himself could have asked for nothing better, in 1686; and when Franklin was asked what the king could do, should the colonies refuse just requisitions, he had no other answer than this, — that they would not refuse!

Such is the doctrine of the prerogative which gave rise to constant conflicts between the king and the colonists, from 1660 to 1774, and in every colony was among the political causes which led to the Revolution. But it was an English question as well as an American question, — a party question in both countries, and it was finally settled with the same result in each, though by different means. We must look further for the real controversy between the English people and the American people.

Another cause of the Revolution, but one which, in no strict sense, concerned the political relations between the people of Great Britain and the American colonists, was the attempt of the British merchants to monopolize the trade of the colonies, not for the benefit of the British people, but for their own. This also was a party question, on one side of which were arrayed the adherents of the Mercantile or Protective System, and on the

[1] "Give me leave to ask you, young man, what it is you mean by repeating to me so often, in every letter, the Spirit of the Constitution?" (Dean Tucker, *Letter from a Merchant in London to his Nephew in America*, 1766.)

[2] This was Jefferson's position, but he said he could get only Wythe to agree with him in the early days of the Revolution (*Writings*, Boston ed., 1830, vol. i. 6).

[3] "Why may not an American plead for the just prerogatives of the crown?" (*Works*, iv. 218.) "The sovereignty of the crown I understand. The sovereignty of the British legislature out of Britain I do not understand" (*Ibid.*, 208). "Our former kings governed their colonies as they had governed their dominions in France, without the participation of British Parliaments" (*Ibid.*, 262). "America *is not* part of the dominions of England, but of *the king's dominions*" (*Ibid.*, 284). This theory he carried to the farthest extent, and wrote that "when money is wanted of the colonies for any public service, in which they ought to bear a part, call upon them by requisitional letters from the crown (according to the long-established custom) to grant such aids as their loyalty shall dictate and their abilities permit" (*Ibid.*, 156).

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other those of the Economic or Free Trade System. The mercantile class endeavored to subordinate colonial interests to the protective system by navigation laws and acts of trade; and the resistance of the colonists to these acts was a claim for free trade which finally involved them in a war with the mother country.

What were those navigation laws and acts of trade which called forth the invective of James Otis when he argued the Writs of Assistance, and revived in the bosom of the octogenarian John Adams the hearty curse he bestowed upon them in his youth; and on what foundation did they rest?[1]

Nations acquire new territories, and maintain and defend them, to promote their own interests, and not the interests of those who inhabit them; still less the interests of other nationalities. This has been the case in all ages and under all forms of government, to which our own age and nation form no exception. By the right of discovery the British crown became possessed of the territory included in the thirteen American colonies, settled mainly by British subjects. Lands were granted to individuals, or companies, with the expectation that they would build up prosperous communities, to contribute by their products and trade to the wealth of the mother country. On these purely selfish considerations she protected them; and when their trade was grown to be considerable and their markets valuable, the British merchants took measures to secure both, instead of sharing them with other nations, or allowing them to follow the interests of the colonists. Such was the policy of Great Britain at the dictation of the mercantile class; and in the maintenance of that policy, in sixty years between 1714 and 1774, she paid out of her Exchequer the enormous sum of £34,697,142 sterling, a sum greater than the estimated value of the whole real and personal property in the colonies.[2]

Between 1660 and 1770 Parliament enacted various laws whose enforcement produced irritation from the beginning, and had no inconsiderable influence in promoting the final rupture. These acts may be classed as, — First, navigation laws, designed to secure the naval and maritime supremacy of Great Britain throughout the world; these were aimed at the Dutch. Second, acts of trade, procured by the mercantile class, to monopolize the trade of the British colonies. Like the corn-laws of a later generation, these formed part of the protective system, and were dictated by class interest. Third, acts for the protection of British manufactures by preventing their growth in the colonies, where their best market was found. Fourth, acts designed to secure the strict execution of the preceding acts by establishing colonial admiralty courts, custom-houses, and boards of customs. Fifth, acts which imposed and regulated duties and port charges in commercial towns. In no sense were these acts for revenue, British or colonial. They brought nothing into the British Exchequer, but drew large sums from it.[3] They were passed solely in the interest of the mercantile

[1] *Works*, x. 321.

[2] *The Rights of Great Britain Asserted*, 82.

[3] An American annual revenue of less than two thousand pounds cost Great Britain between

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and manufacturing classes, whose protection had much to do with bringing on the Revolution, but whose clamors happily prevented efficient measures for its suppression. These demonstrations, which gained them great credit in the colonies, grew out of their fear of losing not only the £4,000,000 due by their colonial debtors, but also their future trade.

Before the Grenville Act of 1764 no measures had been taken to relieve the Exchequer from demands on account of the colonies. The people and the government had suffered the mercantile and manufacturing classes to dictate their colonial policy. Not that the prosperity of these classes did not contribute to the general prosperity of the realm; for, on the contrary, it had made Great Britain the most affluent and powerful country on the globe. But this system did not promote the welfare of all classes alike; and when the time came, as it did after the frightful expenditure in the French War, that the Chancellor of the Exchequer was compelled to ask for ready money to pay the interest on the debt and to meet current expenses, neither the merchants nor the manufacturers, who had grown rich by the war, offered on that account to pay larger taxes, but they were quite willing that the British farmer should do so, or that a revenue should be sought from the American colonies.

Some account of these famous laws is essential at this point. There were three statutes embraced under the general term Navigation Laws and Acts of Trade, in which are to be found the principles of the Mercantile System. They were passed in 1660, 1663, and 1672, during the reign of Charles II., and may be found in the *Statutes at Large*,[1] with the following titles respectively: "An Act for the Encouraging and Increasing of Shipping and Navigation," "An Act for the Encouragement of Trade," and "An Act for the Encouragement of the Greenland and Eastland Trades, and for the Better Securing the Plantation Trade."[2]

The navigation laws will be more readily understood if we attend solely to their effect on the American colonies, and disregard unimportant exceptions and limitations. By the act of 1660, none but English or colonial ships could carry goods to or bring them from the colonies. This excluded all foreigners, and especially the Dutch, who at that time were the principal carriers for Europe. The result was that the colonists lost the advantage of their competition. Far more serious was the provision which restricted them from carrying sugar, tobacco, cotton, wool, indigo, ginger, fustic and all other dyeing wood, the product of any English colony, to any part of the world, except Great Britain, or some other English colony. This affected the English sugar islands of the West Indies and the Southern colonies, which were obliged to send their products to the overstocked

seven and eight thousand pounds a year (Bancroft, orig. ed. v. 88, citing the Grenville Papers).

[1] Vol. III. pp. 182, 267, and 381.

[2] A summary of these acts may be found in Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, ii. 201; and they are discussed by John Adams in a series of letters to William Tudor (*Works*, vol. x. *passim*). The first act is understood to be a substantial reënactment of a law of the Long Parliament in 1651, suggested by Sir George Downing, a native of New England.

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English or colonial markets, more than it affected New England, whose great staples, lumber, fish, oil, ashes, and furs, were free to find their best market, provided only they were sent in English or colonial vessels.

British merchants not satisfied with this monopoly procured a more stringent act in 1663, which provided that no commodity, the growth, product, or manufacture of Europe, should be imported into the colonies, except in English-built ships, sailing from English ports. By this act England became the sole market in which the colonists could purchase the products or manufactures of Europe, nor could they send their own ships for them, unless English-built or bought before October 1, 1662. They were obliged to buy in English markets and import in English vessels.[1] This discouraged ship-building for the European trade in a country full of timber, and compelled the payment of charges and profits to English factors dealing in Continental goods for the American market.

By these two acts British merchants had undertaken to monopolize, with certain exceptions, the carrying trade of the colonies and their markets for the sale and the purchase of goods. But avarice was not satisfied. There had grown up a trade, especially profitable to New England, with the Southern colonies which were without shipping. By the act of 1660, foreign and intercolonial trade in certain articles was permitted, with the expectation that it would be limited to necessary local supply. But Boston merchants, shipping to that port tobacco and some other colonial products in excess of the local demand, sent the surplus to Continental Europe, without payment of British or colonial duties, and thus undersold the British trader, who had paid heavy import duties. To suppress this profitable irregularity, it was enacted in 1672 that the enumerated products shipped to other colonies should be first transported to England, and thence to the purchasing colony. The colonial merchants had the option, however, of bringing tobacco, for instance, from Virginia direct to Massachusetts, first paying an export duty equivalent to the English import duty.[2]

These enactments subjected colonial interests to those of British shipowners and merchants; and as they had been thus duly protected, the manufacturers in turn claimed similar protection by statutes which should prevent the colonists from setting up competing manufactories.[3] How could there have been any difference of opinion among the colonists respecting such statutes? A general answer is, that the colonial system, which regarded the colonies as feeders for the navigation, trade, and manufactures of the parent state, was the accepted doctrine of European statesmen. Pitt

[1] Such, at least, seems to be the effect of the words "in English-built shipping," in the act of 1663, excluding those "of the built and belonging to" the colonies which were permitted by the act of 1660. But were the commodities and manufactures of England included among those of "Europe" which could be exported to the colonies only in English-built ships, or could the colonists send their own ships for them?

[2] From overlooking this option, this clause of the act has received unmerited obloquy. It was simple justice to the British trader.

[3] This legislation may be traced in the Table to the *Statutes at Large*, vol. ix., title Plantations, and, in part, in John Adams's *Works*, vol. x. 350, note. See also Franklin's *Works*, iv. 250, 400.

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was its stanchest advocate, and Burke its rational friend. Adam Smith, who assaulted it in 1776,[1] did not succeed in overthrowing it. Twenty-five years later, Henry Brougham controverted Smith's views.[2] It is not strange, therefore, that it found advocates among the colonists themselves. It was also far from being a one-sided question.

James Otis's arguments on the Writs of Assistance and John Adams's letters to William Tudor, by dwelling on the injurious features of these acts, and passing over all compensating considerations, give an erroneous notion of them. The idea that they originated in a hostile disposition of the British people or merchants towards the colonists is not entitled to a moment's consideration. They formed a commercial policy, not a political policy. The more numerous, wealthy, and prosperous the colonists became, the more useful they were to the British merchants, so long as they could monopolize the trade. That was their object; and where the freedom of colonial trade would not interfere with British trade, it was left free. For example, the most profitable trade of New England was with the French and Spanish West India Islands and the Spanish Main. The short distance favored small vessels and small capitals. The exchange of lumber, grain, cattle, and fish for sugar and molasses, with an occasional voyage to the coast of Africa for slaves, during that traffic,[3] yielded rich returns. This trade was free; and so was that of Asia and Africa, and some ports of Europe, except for certain enumerated articles. It was not only permitted, but with respect to some commodities was encouraged by bounties. Between 1714 and 1774, the colonists, chiefly those of New England, received £1,609,345 sterling on their commodities exported to Great Britain;[4] and through a system of drawbacks, by which the duties on goods imported into England were repaid on their exportation to America, the colonists often bought Continental goods cheaper than could the subjects within the realm. These favors no more indicated good will than the restrictions indicated hostility. Both rested on purely commercial considerations. There were other compensations. The naval supremacy of Great Britain, due chiefly to the navigation laws, protected colonial commerce in whatever seas it was pushed; and the stimulus of monopoly withdrew British capital from other less lucrative enterprises, and directed it to the colonies, where it was freely used by planters in developing lands which otherwise would have been uncultivated for lack of capital.[5] And although certain colonial produce was obliged to find its only European market in England, it had the monopoly of that market.

If it was a hardship to the tobacco growers of Maryland and Virginia to be compelled to send that product to England, they had this advantage, that no Englishman could use any other. He was forbidden by penal stat-

[1] *Wealth of Nations*, vol. ii. 435.
[2] *Colonial Policy*, vol. i. 7, 239.
[3] Cf. on this point a paper by Charles Deane in the *Amer. Antiq. Soc. Proc.*, Oct., 1886.
[4] *Rights of Great Britain Asserted*, 87. But see Franklin's opinion as to these bounties (*Works*, iv. 225).
[5] Burke's *Works*, i. 457, Boston ed.

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utes to grow his own supply even in his own garden. As to those laws which restrained manufactures in the colonies, it was the opinion of Henry Brougham,[1] who cites Franklin as an authority, that they merely prohibited the colonist from making articles which could have been more cheaply purchased.[2] He could import a hat from England for less than it cost to make one, and he did so. But the best ground for nominal submission to the navigation laws and acts of trade was found in their easy evasion, and in the fact that they never were, and never could have been, rigidly enforced. From the first, all attempts to enforce them led to dissatisfaction. Randolph's revenue seizures in the time of Charles II. and James II. had no small influence in overthrowing Andros's government in the revolution of 1689, and so had Charles Paxton's in bringing on the American Revolution.

Before the new policy of enforcing these laws was entered upon, the colonies enjoyed British naval protection; they possessed the monopoly of the British market; they drew bounties from the British Exchequer; they purchased European goods more cheaply than the British people could do; and, stating the facts somewhat broadly, they manufactured whatever they found to be for their advantage, and sent their ships wherever they pleased, notwithstanding the navigation laws and acts of trade. The result was that the colonies, especially barren and frozen New England, engrossed most profitable commerce which England had attempted to monopolize, and increased in wealth beyond all colonial precedent.[3] But these halcyon days were destined to pass under clouds. British merchants had seen from the beginning the amassing of fortunes in the colonies by illicit trade, and the falling off of their own. They had striven to enforce the laws, and Parliament had lent its assistance, — but in vain. Under the first charter of Massachusetts, the collector of customs was the governor, whose annual election depended upon the good will of those who were evading the navigation laws; under the second charter, the governor was appointed by the king, and sworn to enforce those laws. But colonial juries generally checkmated the king's representative. Then followed admiralty courts without juries, which produced indignant protests. The new system was irritating rather than efficient on a long line of coast filled with bays, creeks, and ports not patrolled by revenue cutters. The British merchant was foiled, and anger was the result. The attempt to monopolize the commerce of the colonies was a failure; and so long as the navigation laws were a dead letter the advantages of the situation were with the colonists. They were content.

But the time came at the close of the French War when the mercantile system was subordinated to a revenue system, and the enforcement of the navigation laws and acts of trade, made more stringent by some new ones,

[1] *Colonial Policy*, i. 156.

[2] But see *Works*, iv. 301: "Depend upon it, the Americans are not so impolitic as to neglect settlements for unprofitable manufactures; but some manufactures may be more advantageous to some persons than the cultivation of lands."

[3] Burke's *European Settlements in America*, ch. vii.; *Works*, ix. 328.

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became the policy of the government. Its instruments were admiralty courts with enlarged jurisdiction, commissioners of customs, writs of assistance, and an adequate naval force. When that time came, the Revolution was not far off![1]

In 1755, Shirley, then governor of Massachusetts, had persuaded the General Court to attempt by a stamp act to meet the expenses of the French War. This produced an irritation like that which followed in 1765 the act of the British ministry;[2] and to Shirley, as much as to any other man, perhaps, was due the suggestion of those parliamentary measures which led to the Revolution. Long residence in Boston and his profession as a lawyer had made him familiar with the evasions of the navigation laws; and his larger duties as commander-in-chief, in which he found much difficulty in bringing the colonial assemblies into concerted and efficient action, doubtless suggested measures which were adopted by the British ministry. However this may have been, the enforcement of the navigation laws was taken in hand for the first time by the government, and no longer left to depend upon private interests. This unwonted activity was shown as early as 1754. Its most formidable weapon was the Writ of Assistance.

More than four years before the passage of the Stamp Act, James Otis had resisted the granting of these writs before the Superior Court of Massachusetts. John Adams, then a student of law, took notes of Otis's argument, and fifty-six years later wrote: "Then and there was the first scene of the first act of opposition to the arbitrary claims of Great Britain. Then and there the child Independence was born."[3] This was no mere rhetorical phrase.[4] The influence of this controversy in producing the Revolution is not wholly due to the fiery eloquence of Otis, whose words, said John

[1] See Franklin's "Rules for Reducing a Great Empire to a Small One," in *Works*, iv. 387.

[2] See Thacher's "Draft of an Address to the King and Parliament," in *Proc. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, vol. xx. p. 49.

[3] *Works*, x. 248.

[4] The writs to which he attributed so much importance require explanation. A vessel laden with dutiable goods ought to enter some established port and manifest her cargo at the custom-house for payment of duties. This the government justly demands, and with it the fair trader readily complies. Not so the illicit trader. Before reaching port he may discharge a portion of the cargo in some place remote from the custom-house; or in a regular port, by connivance, he may secrete a portion of it, and thus escape paying duties. In either case the revenue officer needs a search-warrant for such goods. If he applies to the court, he must set forth a general description of the goods concealed and the place where, together with the names of witnesses. This is recorded, and may be known to all parties interested. The result is, that the informer subjects himself to private animosity and public obloquy, and the goods meanwhile may be removed to some other place. This process may be repeated indefinitely, with like results. What the officer needs, therefore, is a general warrant, good for an indefinite time, not returnable into the court, and authorizing search of all suspected places at all hours of the day, for any dutiable goods supposed to be concealed. This is a Writ of Assistance. Its formidable nature is readily understood, and the objections to it are apparent. It is like those General Warrants which made a great noise in England in connection with John Wilkes (Campbell's *Lord Chancellors*, v. 207, American ed.; *Parliamentary History, 1764*, vol. xv. 1393). They are prohibited by the Bill of Rights in the Massachusetts Constitution, drafted by John Adams, as infringing the right of the citizen to protect his house from unreasonable search; and when the Constitution of the United States, without a similar provision, was submitted to the people, its absence was noticed, and the omission supplied by the fourth amendment. Such writs are now in force in England (16 and 17 Vict., ch. 107, sec. 221), but not in the United States.

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Adams, "breathed into the nation the breath of life," nor to the range of his argument, which called in question the mercantile and political systems of Great Britain, but to their effect upon the commercial interest — then the leading one — of New England; for if the latent powers of these writs were set free, and used by the revenue officers, the commerce of Boston, Salem, and Newport would have been effectually crippled. Authorized in England, they were extended to the colonies by an act of William III.[1] The officers of customs, however, instead of applying to the courts for them, relied upon the implied powers of their commissions, and forcibly entered warehouses for contraband goods. The people grew uneasy, and some stood upon their rights against the officers, whose activity was stimulated by documents like that given in the note below.[2]

Governor Shirley issued these writs, though the power to do so was solely in the court.[3] But they would have held a less important place in the history of the Revolution had it not been for the concurrence of several circumstances. All writs become invalid on the demise of the crown and six months thereafter. George II. died October 25, 1760, and the news reached Boston December 27th. The government had already resolved upon a more vigorous enforcement of the revenue laws. The king had instructed Bernard, the newly appointed governor of Massachusetts, to "be aiding and assisting to the collectors and other officers of our admiralty and customs in putting in execution" the acts of trade. Pitt also directed the colonial governors to prevent trade with the enemy and a commerce which was "in open contempt of the authority of the mother country, as well as to the most manifest prejudice of the manufactures and trade of Great Britain."[4] Seizures of uncustomed goods were frequent. The third part of the forfeiture of molasses which belonged to the province amounted before 1761 to nearly five hundred pounds in money. Bernard arrived in August, 1760. Chief Justice Sewall, who had expressed doubts as to the legality of writs of assistance, died September 11th, and Hutchinson, his successor, took his seat January 27, 1761. As the outstanding writs had become invalid, their renewal became necessary. But when Charles Paxton, the surveyor at Boston, appeared for that purpose in the Superior Court, February term, 1761, he was confronted by a petition signed by sixty inhabitants of the province, chiefly merchants of Boston, who desired to be

[1] 7 and 8 Wm. 3, ch. 22, sec. 5.

[2] "BOSTON, Feb. 19th, 1753. Whereas, I am informed there still continues to be carried on an illicit trade between Holland and other parts of Europe, and the neighboring colonies, and that great quantities of European and Asiatic commodities are clandestinely brought from thence unto this port by land as well as by sea; and as I am determined to use my utmost endeavors to prevent the carrying on of a trade prejudicial to our mother country and detrimental to the fair trader, I hereby again give this public notice that if any person or persons will give me information where such goods are concealed, that they may be proceeded against according to law, they, upon condemnation, shall be very handsomely rewarded, and their names concealed; and I hereby direct all the officers of the customs within my district to be very vigilant in discovering and seizing all such contraband goods. H. FRANKLAND, *Coll.*" (Nason's *Frankland*, p. 44.)

[3] Hutchinson, *History*, iii. 92.

[4] Quincy's *Reports*, Appendix, 407.

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heard in opposition, in person and by their counsel, James Otis and Oxenbridge Thacher. Otis, Advocate-General for the crown, had resigned his office to avoid supporting the writ.[1] Gridley, the Attorney-General, appeared in his stead. No complete report of the arguments has been preserved.[2] Gridley, who treated the question as purely one of law, to be determined by statutes and precedents, said of Otis's argument, that "quoting history is not speaking like a lawyer;" and as to the arbitrary nature of the writ which allowed the entry of private houses in search of uncustomed goods, he reminded him that by a province law a collector of taxes, without execution, judgment, or trial, could arrest and throw a delinquent taxpayer into prison. "What! shall my property be wrested from me? Shall my liberty be destroyed by a collector for a debt unadjudged, without the common indulgence and lenity of the law? So it is established; and the necessity of having public taxes effectually and speedily collected is of infinitely greater moment to the whole than the liberty of any individual."

Otis's argument is well known. Carried to its logical results, it was a plea for commercial and political independence of the colonies, and was fully vindicated by the result of the conflict it precipitated. But as a legal argument it is less conclusive.[3]

The majority of the court, however, were with Otis; and had judgment been given at the time, the decision would have been in his favor. But Hutchinson counselled delay until the practice in England could be learned; and as it appeared that such writs were issued, of course, from the Exchequer, on the 18th of November, the court, after re-argument, pronounced them to be legal. Thenceforth they were freely used. Otis's argument, without doubt, secured his election to the General Court in May, in which his influence was second to that of no other in bringing on the

[1] It is of little consequence whether the merchants were instigated by one Barons, a dismissed revenue officer, or by Otis, supposed to have been influenced by the appointment of Hutchinson as Chief Justice to the exclusion of his father, who had cherished expectations of elevation to the bench on the first vacancy (Hutchinson, *History*, iii. 86; Tudor's *Life of Otis*, 55; and John Adams's *Works*, x. 281).

[2] Quincy's report, which is of the second hearing, Nov. 18, 1761, gives little more than the authorities cited. Minot adds a point in Gridley's argument (*History*, ii. 89). John Adams's notes, taken at the first hearing in February, may be found in his *Works*, ii. 521, and a more extended report, in Minot, *ut supra*, 91, and in Tudor's *Life of Otis*, 63. See also John Adams's *Works*, vol. x. *passim*.

[3] Horace Gray, Jr., sums up the whole matter in the following paragraph: "A careful examination of the subject compels the conclusion that the decision of Hutchinson and his associates has been too strongly condemned as illegal, and that there was at least reasonable ground for holding, as matter of mere law, that the British Parliament had power to bind the colonies; that even a statute contrary to the Constitution could not be declared void by the judicial courts; that by the English statutes, as practically construed by the courts in England, Writs of Assistance might be general in form; that the Superior Court of Judicature of the province had the power of the English Court of Exchequer; and that the Writs of Assistance prayed for, though contrary to the spirit of the English Constitution, could hardly be refused by a provincial court, before general warrants had been condemned in England, and before the Revolution had actually begun in America. The remedy adopted by the colonies was to throw off the yoke of Parliament; to confer on the judiciary the power to declare unconstitutional statutes void; to declare general warrants unconstitutional in express terms; and thus to put an end here to general Writs of Assistance" (Quincy's *Reports*, Appendix, 540).

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struggle which ended in independence. Nor was its effect limited to Massachusetts. It reached the remotest colonies, and, as John Adams said, led to "the revolution in the principles, views, opinions, and feelings of the American people." [1]

Revolution, however, had been long impending. The treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in October, 1748, which put an end to the long war between England and France, opened with the declaration that "Europe sees the day which the Divine Providence had pointed out for the reëstablishment of its repose. A general peace succeeds to a long and bloody war." But neither the peace, nor the treaty by which it was secured, was satisfactory to one of the belligerents; for England had failed to secure the commercial advantages for which the war had been undertaken, and the terms of the treaty, requiring her to give hostages for the restoration of Cape Breton to France, excited the indignation of the British people. Nor were other causes for the renewal of the war wanting. The aggressive policy of France in respect to the English possessions in Acadia and along the Ohio and the Mississippi, notwithstanding the treaty, soon produced its legitimate results. The Seven Years' War followed. In Asia and in the West Indies, the maritime powers measured their strength by sea. At the same time in North America, England and her colonies on the one side, and France on the other, contended for the empire of the continent. Led by Clive, Wolfe, Amherst, and Rodney, and inspired by the genius of Pitt, the forces of England everywhere prevailed, and she took the first place among the nations.

On the 10th of February, 1763, at Paris, was signed the treaty that recognized the extinction of the French empire in North America. This treaty marks an epoch in the history of America, as well as in that of England and of France. To the latter it was a period of humiliation, not only in the loss of colonies upon which, for nearly a century, she had expended vast sums without any adequate return, but also in the frustration of her purpose of gaining sole possession of the continent.

By England it was regarded as the close of a contest to maintain her power on the same continent, and make it subservient to her commercial and manufacturing interests, which had lasted for nearly a hundred years. Yet there was a well-founded apprehension, expressed at the time, that her colonies, relieved from the fear of French aggressions, would throw off the authority of the mother country.[2] What was the fear of the mother country, on the other hand, was the hope and expectation, more or less remote, of the colonies. For the experience gained in the French wars was of great value to them in the revolutionary struggle. Officers had become familiar with the direction of large bodies of troops, and with the means of their transport and supply; and soldiers had learned that efficiency depended upon discipline. Provincial assemblies also had been taught to look for safety in strategic operations remote from their own territory. But

[1] *Works*, x. 183.

[2] Hutchinson, iii. 100.

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at no time before the assembling of the congress of 1754 had the colonies been called to consider such a union of all as would give unity to military operations, and secure the semblance, at least, of a general government. The union proposed at that time would have involved some loss of independence, without securing any efficient means of enforcing the recommendations of the congress, and so the colonies hesitated, and finally laid it aside. But there can be no doubt that the consideration given to it by the several colonies led them more readily to come together for concerted action in the congress of 1765.

The year 1763 is usually regarded as the beginning of the American Revolution, because in that year the English ministry determined to raise a revenue from the colonies. This led to a contest, which, like most civil wars, was long and embittered. It engendered feelings which have not yet passed away, — feelings which interfere with a calm and dispassionate review of the motives of the parties concerned, and of the circumstances which attended their controversy. It was a war between Britons and the descendants of Britons, who, with a common ancestry, laws, and manners, retained their essential race characteristics in spite of the lapse of time or the change of place: everywhere and always lovers of liberty, but in power haughty, insolent, and aggressive on the weak, and in subjection turbulent and impatient of restraint; proud of ancestry, partial to old customs and precedents, but quick to resist laws which impede the course of equity, and never permitting forms to prevent the accomplishment of substantial justice. Such was the parent and such was the child: and in the light of these facts we are to read the history of the Revolution. It exhibited the race in no new light, nor did the contest involve any new principle. Its sentiments were expressed in the old idiomatic language, — petition, remonstrance, riot, war.

For more than a hundred years the colonies had been regarded as appendages to the crown rather than as an integral part of the empire; and when Parliament, at the instigation of the mercantile classes and in derogation of royal prerogative, began at the close of the seventeenth century to assume control over them, and, a few years later, to vote large sums from the imperial treasury for their protection, and, in some cases, for the support of their civil governments, that body looked for reimbursement to the profits which would inure to British merchants from the monopoly of colonial trade and navigation, and flow indirectly into the national Exchequer. But with the close of the French War a new policy seemed to become necessary. The debt had swelled to frightful proportions. The British people were groaning under the weight of the annual interest and their current expenses. Every source of revenue seemed to be drained, and the ministry turned their eyes for relief to the colonies; not, indeed, for relief from the present debt, but from the necessity of adding to it the whole expense of defending the colonies. This was the fatal mistake which

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precipitated the Revolution. On this subject, however, there seems to be some misapprehension. The popular idea was, and still is, that the colonists were to be taxed to pay the interest on the national debt and the current expenses of the government, and that all moneys raised in the colonies were to pass into the British Exchequer (thus draining them of their specie), there to remain subject to the king's warrant. Such, however, was not the scheme of the ministry. Not a farthing was to leave America. All sums collected were to be deposited in the colonial treasuries, and only certificates thereof were to be sent to the Exchequer. These were to be kept apart from the general funds, and, after defraying the charges of the administration of justice and the support of the civil government within all or any of the colonies, they were to be subject to parliamentary appropriation for their defence, protection, and security, and for no other purpose.[1]

The alleged necessity was this: The government had broken the French power in Canada, and shaken its hold upon the lakes and great rivers of the West. This achievement, so glorious to the empire, and therefore to the colonies as parts of it, and more immediately for their benefit, had added one hundred and forty millions to the national debt, under which the subjects within the realm were staggering. While some colonies had been tardy or negligent in furnishing their quotas of men and money for the war, yet it was acknowledged that as a whole they had borne their fair proportion of the expense, and that some had exceeded their share. So far all was clear. Although Canada had been conquered mainly for the colonies, still the conquest added to the security and glory of the empire, and the accounts for past expenditures were squared. But what of the future? As these possessions had been acquired, a stable government was needed for them, both for the safety of the colonies and for the honor of England. They were still inhabited by Indians under French influence, and they might become dangerous unless controlled by military power. Choiseul, the great French minister, informed by the reports of his secret agent, foresaw the complications likely to arise in the government of the colonies, and was not without hope of retrieving by diplomacy the losses which had occurred from war. Forts and garrisons were necessary. Although the Northern colonies were comparatively secure, the Carolinas and Georgia were menaced by powerful and hostile tribes. The government must regard the colonies as a unit, of which all parts were entitled to imperial protection. To this view of the case there could be no sound objection. Twenty thousand troops, — Pitt thought more would be needed, — besides civil officers to regulate such affairs as did not fall within colonial jurisdictions, were to be sent to the colonies. At whose expense ought these military and civil forces to be maintained? The British farmer objected to pay for the protection of his untaxed colonial competitor in the British market. If the colonies were to continue to be governed in the interest of the mercantile classes, upon them might reasonably fall the expense of their

[1] Pownall's *Administration of the Colonies*, 3d ed., Appendix, iii. 40.

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protection. But the acquisition of vast territories required a new policy, and it was deemed equitable that they should be defended at the expense of the empire of which the colonies were a part. They had claimed and received imperial protection, and they ought to bear a proportional part of the cost, which might be collected under the imperial authority with the same certainty and promptness as were taxes on other subjects of the king. This was the ministerial view of the matter as I gather it from the debates in Parliament.

This claim of the ministry was met by the liberal party on both sides of the water in two ways. It was asserted that the late war, and in fact all the wars which affected the colonies, had been waged in the interest of commerce and for the aggrandizement of the realm of which they were no part, and that the newly acquired territories were of doubtful advantage to colonies as yet sparsely populated. But if these considerations were not conclusive, still the colonists ought not to be taxed, because the imperial government by monopolizing their trade received far more than the colonial share of the expense attending their defence. The liberals also asserted that there was no disposition on the part of the colonists to seek exemption from a reasonable share of these imperial expenses; but as in the past they had voluntarily contributed their part, and in some cases even more, so they would in the future; and that in the future, as in the past, these contributions ought to be voluntary, and the frequency and amount to be determined by the provincial assemblies. Moreover, as the colonists neither had, nor could have, any equitable or efficient representation in the imperial Parliament, they could not consent to have their property taken from them by representatives not chosen by themselves.

The ministry and their adherents replied that the foregoing arguments, even if sound, were such as no party charged with the administration of affairs, and obliged to raise a certain amount of money from a people clamorous for relief from present taxes, could accept; that no reliance could be placed on voluntary contributions; that the necessities of government required that money should be raised by some system which would act with regularity and certainty, and reach the unwilling as well as the willing; that even in the last war, when the existence of the English colonies was threatened by a foe moving with celerity by reason of its unity, the movements of English troops had been delayed by the backwardness of the colonies in furnishing their quotas; and now that the pressure of the French power was removed from New England, that section would leave the Middle and Southern colonies to their own resources, especially when it was remembered how remiss those colonies had been in assisting the north and east when attacked.[1] It was also answered that so far from the monopoly

[1] In 1763, when the Indians on the southern frontiers were menacing, Gen. Gage required 750 men from Massachusetts to assist in a movement against the Indians on the lakes. The House declined; nor would it yield even when the Secretary of State urged compliance (Minot's *History*, ii. 142). But while Massachusetts refused the required assistance, Connecticut, though reluctantly, granted it, — a fact of much significance in respect to the reliability of voluntary contributions for the common defence of the colonies.

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of the colonial trade being a set-off to the expenses incurred by the mother country in defending the colonies, the fact was notorious that by the evasion of the navigation laws and acts of trade the colonists had escaped the restrictions intended by those laws, and at the same time had received bounties and drawbacks from the British Exchequer which enabled them to undersell the British merchants in the markets of Europe.

Here was a deadlock. The arguments on both sides seemed conclusive. No practical solution of the difficulty was proposed at the time, nor has been since. Both parties were firm in their convictions. Neither could yield without the surrender of essential rights. A conflict was unavoidable unless one party would relinquish the authority claimed by the imperial government; unavoidable unless the colonies, essentially free by growth, development, and distance, would yield to pretensions incompatible with their rights as British subjects. The new policy contemplated after the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748 was carried into effect after the treaty of Paris in 1763. But nothing could have been more unfortunate than the time at which Great Britain inaugurated this policy, and no ministers than those by whom it was to be carried out. On essential political questions which divided the colonists and the mother country Great Britain herself was in the midst of a revolution. The new policy which was inaugurated fell into the hands of those opposed to it. Whig ministers were charged with the execution of an illiberal and reactionary scheme. Consequently, the administration of American affairs was weak and vacillating. The result was inevitable. Had Pitt, with his large views and great administrative abilities, been at the head of affairs for ten years after the peace, the Revolution might have been postponed. On the other hand, had the mercantile system during the same period been administered with the unity of purpose and thoroughness of measures which characterized Carleton's administration in Canada, and had it been enforced by the military genius of Clive, the rebellion might have been temporarily suppressed.

In the journals and statutes of the provincial assemblies we find from the beginning a similarity of causes leading to the final rupture. There are the same quarrels about the royal prerogative; the same repugnance to the navigation laws and acts of trade; the same unwillingness to make permanent provision for the support of the royal governors and judges, and the same restiveness under interference with their internal affairs; but owing either to differences in their original constitutions or of interests, commercial and agricultural, or because of varied nationality and religion, or by reason of all these causes combined, discontent was less general in the Southern than in the Northern colonies. Of the Northern colonies, in Massachusetts we find the causes which brought on the war operative and continuous from the beginning. Party strife between friends and opponents of prerogative existed in other colonies, but in Massachusetts the conflict broke out with special virulence between the adherents of Otis and those of Hutchinson. It was also intensified by the pecuniary interests

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of a large part of the inhabitants of Boston, which were affected by the enforcement of the navigation laws through the aid of writs of assistance. It was for this enforcement that Hutchinson was held responsible when the mob sacked his house, and were ready to do violence to his person.

The province had received from the British Exchequer more than £60,000 sterling for the war expenses of 1759, and nearly £43,000 for those of 1761. Money was plentiful, and more was expected from the same source. There was a lull in the angry storm of local politics when news of the preliminaries of peace reached Boston in January, 1763. With this came assurances that Parliament would reimburse the colonies for expenses incurred, beyond their proportion, in the last year of the war; and the two Houses of the General Court agreed upon an address expressing gratitude to the king for protection against the French power, and full of loyalty and duty. But quiet was not of long continuance. The close of the war dried up several sources of profitable trade or adventure,[1] — some legal, such as furnishing supplies to the king's forces, and some illicit. Then came orders from the Board of Trade to enforce the navigation laws, heretofore chiefly evaded, but now to be enforced with the aid of writs of assistance. At the same time plans were entertained by the cabinet for making changes in the constitutions of the colonies; and what was hardly less opportune, the English bishops incessantly pressed upon the ministry the adoption of archbishop Secker's scheme of introducing an episcopal hierarchy into America, which would have carried with it some of the worst features of the prerogative.[2] The history of the period from the treaty of 1763 to the meeting of the Continental Congress at Philadelphia in 1774 is a narrative of an attempt by the British ministry to enforce certain measures upon unwilling colonists, and of the resistance of the colonists to those measures. Who were the ministers, what were their measures, and how did the colonists resist them?

Pitt had carried the country through a long and glorious war; but he was not satisfied with the results. The cost had been heavy, and as a guaranty against future expense he meditated the substantial annihilation of the French power. He knew that France and Spain had entered into the Family Compact with a view to a war with England. War with Spain was only a question of time, and he would have anticipated its declaration by seizing the immense treasure belonging to that power, then on the sea. This would have replenished the British Exchequer, and perhaps have deferred a resort to American taxation. Pitt urged this measure at a cabinet meeting, September 18, 1761. His advice was not followed, and he resigned October 5. But war was declared against Spain, January 1, 1762, and carried on with brilliant results, though the golden opportunity of securing the Spanish treasure was lost. The preliminaries of peace were signed at

[1] More than 400 privateers had been fitted out from the colonial ports, which had cruised against French property even as far as the coast of France (Ramsay, *Amer. Rev.*, i. 40).

[2] Grahame, *Hist. U. S.*, iv. 138.

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Fontainebleau, November 3, 1763. This virtually ended Pitt's connection with the ministry and with the conduct of American affairs as a leader; for although he was again at the head of the ministry from August 2, 1766, to October, 1768, his direction was merely nominal. It was during his administration that the Townshend Acts were passed, and the Mutiny Act

GEORGE III.[1]

extended to the colonies, — facts which show divided counsels and the lack of uniform purpose. Pitt seldom appeared in the ministry except to oppose his own government. Whenever his great powers were most needed by sore-pressed colleagues to devise some practicable policy for replenishing

[1] [From Andrews's *Hist. of the War*, London, 1785, vol. i. It follows a painting by Reynolds. Cf. cut in Murray's *History*, vol. i. — ED.]

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the Exchequer, or for governing the colonies, he was in the country wrestling with the gout. This was a serious loss to the mother country, but it hastened the independence of America.

The terms of peace with France were settled by Bute and Bedford, against the views of Pitt; but on April 16, 1763, Bute retired from the ministry, before the new policy for the government of the colonies had been fully developed. He was succeeded by George Grenville, who continued at the head of the government until July, 1765. Grenville was able, well informed, and thoroughly honest. His knowledge of financial matters was extensive and accurate, and, as Chancellor of the Exchequer during the preceding administration, he had become familiar with the difficulties of providing for the expenses of government. No question could have been more perplexing at this time. A certain amount of revenue was required to meet the interest on the public debt, and to defray current expenses. Economic theories of commercial policy would not serve as an item in the budget. The minister needed the money, and the Stamp Act was framed and passed. He also encountered other difficulties when public sentiment had become inflamed by the question of General Warrants. His relations to the king were unfriendly. Pitt threw his influence into the scale of the opposition, and Grenville's administration was a failure.

LORD NORTH.[1]

The Rockingham ministry began July 13, 1765, and ended August 2, 1766. The colonists themselves could hardly have chosen one more to their mind.

It was weak and vacillating. It repealed the Stamp Act, and passed the Declaratory Bill. To Dowdswell, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Massachusetts House voted their thanks. Then came the Chatham-Grafton ministry, which was in power until December 31, 1769. This was nominally Pitt's ministry; but his elevation to the peerage impaired his influence with the people, and after nine months he retired from public affairs by reason of ill health. Men of such opposite views and character as Shelburne, Hillsborough, Charles Townshend, and Lord North were of this ministry.

Lord North was premier from February 10, 1770, to September 6, 1780. Long after he wished to retire he continued to hold power at the personal

[1] [From Doyle's *Official Baronage*, ii. 89. It follows Dance's picture. Cf. J. C. Smith's *Brit. Mez. Portraits*, i. p. 135; Gay's *Pop. Hist. U. S.*, iii. 365; Walpole's *Last Journals*. — ED.]

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solicitation, and even by the command, of the king. He was able, faithful, and patriotic; but his heart was not in the work of subduing the colonies, nor could he pilot the ship of state through dangerous seas.

Such were the ministers at one of the most critical periods in English history. No first-class man is to be found among them save Pitt, and his real attitude was that of opposition. He raised the storm, but when his hand ought to have been on the helm he was prostrate in the cabin.

Nor were the governors of Massachusetts, during a period when affairs needed a firm hand, although worthy gentlemen, altogether such as a far-seeing ministry would have chosen to carry out the new policy. Shirley was the only governor of Massachusetts who possessed the favor of the people; and yet he believed in the king's prerogative, and valued himself highly as its representative. He endeavored to suppress illicit trade and to enforce the navigation laws; and from his conferences with Franklin, it is certain that he contemplated some radical changes in the constitutions of the colonies.[1] But he got more money from the people for public uses than any previous governor, and even persuaded them to pass a provincial stamp act.[2] The secret of Shirley's influence may have been that he was less eager to secure his own salary than some of his predecessors had shown themselves to be, and that he had displayed unequalled activity in conducting the French war, which engaged the attention of the people. Pownall, who succeeded Shirley, belonged to the popular party. He gave no particular attention to the navigation laws, and was on the opposite side from Hutchinson, who was lieutenant-governor during the latter part of his term, which closed in 1760.

After Pownall came Bernard, and with him the beginning of the Revolution. Bernard was not without ability, accomplishments, and good intentions; but he was a Tory. More firmly even than Shirley, he believed in the royal prerogatives, and in some modification of the provincial charters to bring their action into harmony with the imperial system. During his administration, and in some cases at his suggestion, the ministry entered upon that series of measures which lost the colonies to Great Britain: the enforcement of the navigation laws; the use of writs of assistance; Grenville's revenue acts in 1764; the Stamp Act of 1765; the Townshend duties of 1767; and the arrival of military forces in 1768.

The purposes contemplated by these successive administrations were not unreasonable, nor were the measures by which they sought to accomplish them unwise in themselves. The general policy was the same as that afterwards pursued by the colonies when they had become a great empire, — homogeneity, equal contributions to expenses, a preference for their own shipping, and protection to their own industries.

The difficulty arose from a misconception of the relations of the colonies to the mother country. They were not a part of the realm, and could neither equally share its privileges nor justly bear its burdens. The attempt

[1] See Vol. V. p. 613.

[2] See Vol. V p. 177.

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to bring them within imperial legislation failed, and could only fail. They were colonies; and the chief benefit the parent state could legitimately derive from them was the trade which would flow naturally to Great Britain by reason of the political connection, and would increase with the prosperity of the colonies.

Early in 1763 the Bute ministry, of which George Grenville and Charles Townshend were members, entered upon the new policy. To enforce the navigation laws, armed cutters cruised about the British coast and along the American shores; their officers, for the first time, and much to their disgust, being required to act as revenue officers. To give unity to their efforts, an admiral was stationed on the coast. To adjudicate upon seizures of contraband goods, and other offences against the revenue, a vice-admiralty court, with enlarged jurisdiction, and sitting without juries, was set up.[1] Royal governors, hitherto chiefly occupied with domestic administration, were now obliged to watch the commerce of an empire. It was seen long before this time that the successful administration of the new system would require some modification of the provincial charters; but the difficulties were so serious that the matter was deferred.

Such was the new order of things. The student who reflects upon the complete and radical change effected or threatened by these new measures, so much at variance with the habits and customary rights of the colonists, breaking up without notice not only illicit but legitimate trade, and sweeping away their commercial prosperity, is no longer at loss to account for the outburst of wrath which followed the Stamp Act, a year later.[2] To avert these hostile proceedings, the colonists memorialized the king and Parliament. They employed resident agents to act in their behalf. They availed themselves of party divisions and animosities in England. They alarmed British merchants by non-importation and self-denying agreements. When these measures seemed likely to prove ineffectual, they aroused public sentiment through the press, by public gatherings and legislative resolutions, by committees of correspondence between towns and colonies, and finally by continental congresses. They did not scruple to avail themselves of popular violence, nor, in the last extremity, of armed resistance to British authority.

So far as trade and commerce were concerned, it was a struggle between British and colonial merchants. The colonial merchants desired freedom of commerce; the British merchant desired its monopoly. But this does not state the case precisely; for the colonial merchants were desirous of retaining what they possessed rather than of acquiring something new. By the navigation laws the British merchant had a legal monopoly of certain specified trades; but by evading these laws, the colonial merchants had gained a large part of this trade for themselves. One party, standing

[1] In England, admiralty courts were without juries; but revenue cases were tried in the Court of Exchequer, with juries.

[2] Grahame gives a full and graphic account of these changes (*Hist. U. S.*, iv. 170).

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on legal rights, wished to recover this lost trade; the other party, basing their claim on natural equity and long enjoyment, wished to retain it. This was an old question, a hundred years old; but it had acquired new interest since the government, with the aid of writs of assistance, had undertaken to enforce the navigation laws and acts of trade. Such was the first issue between the parties. The second was this, and it was new: As has been said, Great Britain had never undertaken to raise a revenue from the colonies, though she had often contemplated doing so, and especially during the French war just closed. At the close of the war it was estimated that £300,000 would be required to man the forts about to be vacated by the French, and to maintain twenty regiments to hold the Indians in check, who were still under French influence and might become dangerous, as happened in Pontiac's time; and to give efficiency to civil administration by granting to governors, judges, and some other officers fixed and regular salaries, instead of having them depend on irregular and fluctuating grants of colonial assemblies. One third of these expenses — £100,000 — the ministry proposed to raise by laying duties on importations, reserving a direct tax by stamps for fuller consideration.

The colonists met this proposition by denying both the necessity and the right of raising a revenue, — at first distinguishing between external and internal taxes, and finally objecting to all taxes raised by a Parliament in which they neither were nor practically could be represented. These issues were complicated with several others of long standing, but which may be left out of the account here.

The popular idea has been that the Revolution began with the Stamp Act. But it seems strange that prosperous colonists, in whose behalf the British people had expended £60,000,000 sterling, should refuse to pay £100,000, one third of the sum deemed necessary for their future defence, and that months before they were called upon to raise the first penny they should fall into a paroxysm of rage, from one end of the continent to the other, and commit disgraceful acts of violence upon property and against persons of the most estimable character.

This view, however, overlooks several facts. If we disregard the chronic quarrels in all the colonies, growing out of the exercise of the royal prerogatives, Virginia and Massachusetts especially had been aroused on the abstract questions concerning the relations of the colonies to Great Britain, and in them the earliest demonstrations of hostility to the Stamp Act were manifested. In the famous "Parsons Case" argued by Patrick Henry in December, 1763, in words which rang through Virginia because they affected every man in that colony, he drew the prerogative into question, not only in regard to the ecclesiastical supremacy of the Anglican hierarchy, but also on the right of the king to negative the "Two-penny Act" of the colonial assembly. In Massachusetts, James Otis, in 1761, arguing the writs of assistance, assumed the natural rights of the colonists to absolute independence. But the promulgation of none of these theories of abstract rights accounts

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for the general outbreak in 1765. Its most potent influence was the enforcement of the navigation acts in the great commercial centres, and the ruin threatening New England through the breaking up of her trade with the French West Indies and the Spanish Main[1] by the modification of the Sugar Act in 1764. The staples of New England were fish, cattle, and lumber. The better quality of fish found a market in Europe, but this trade was subject to competition. For the poorer quality the chief market was in the French West Indies, where by the French law it could be exchanged only for molasses. This was shipped to New England, and used not only in its raw state, but distilled into rum, which, besides supplying home consumption, was to some extent exported to Africa in exchange for slaves. This trade and commerce with the Spanish Main was the chief source of the wealth of New England. But in 1733, to protect the sugar industry of the English West India islands, a duty amounting to prohibition was laid on all sugar and molasses imported into the American colonies from the French islands. So long as this act was not enforced, it did little harm; but if enforced, it would not only ruin the trade in rum and lumber, but injure the fisheries also, for the English islands were limited in population and had no liking for poor fish. The French, besides being more numerous, were less particular as to their diet; but if they could not sell molasses, they would not buy fish. It was proposed to modify and enforce this act. Minot[2] says: "The business of the fishery, which, it was alleged, would be broken up by the act, was at this time estimated in Massachusetts at £164,000 sterling per annum; the vessels employed in it, which would be nearly useless, at £100,000; the provisions used in it, the casks for packing fish, and other articles, at £22,700 and upwards; to all which there was to be added the loss of the advantage of sending lumber, horses, provisions, and other commodities to the foreign plantations as cargoes, the vessels employed to carry fish to Spain and Portugal, the dismissing of 5000 seamen from their employment, the effects of the annihilation of the fishery upon the trade of the province and of the mother country in general, and its accumulative evils by increasing the rival fisheries of France. This was forcibly urged as it respected the means of remittances to England for goods imported into the province, which had been made in specie to the amount of £150,000 sterling, beside £90,000 in the treasurer's bills for the reimbursement money, within the last eighteen months. The sources for obtaining this money were through foreign countries by the means of the fishery, and would be cut off with the trade to their plantations." This was what the enforcement of the molasses act meant. Neither the duties laid in 1764 nor the collection of the taxes anticipated from the Stamp Act

[1] "For some time before and after the termination of the war of 1755, a considerable intercourse had been carried on between the British and Spanish colonies, consisting of the manufactures of Great Britain imported by the former and sold to the latter, by which the British colonies acquired gold and silver, and were enabled to make remittances to the mother country" (Ramsay, *Amer. Rev.*, i. 44).

[2] *History*, ii. p. 147.

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of 1765 would have produced a tithe of the evil that would have followed. John Adams,[1] confirming the statement of Minot, says: "The strongest apprehensions arose from the publication of the orders for the strict execution of the molasses act, which is said to have caused a greater alarm in the country than the taking of Fort William Henry did in the year 1757."[2] Rumors of the intention of the ministry had been rife for some time, and in January, 1764, the Massachusetts Assembly wrote to their agent in London that the officers of the customs, in pursuance of orders from the Lords of the Treasury, had lately given public notice that the act, in all its parts, would be carried into execution, and that the consequences would be ruinous to the trade of the province, hurtful to all the colonies, and greatly prejudicial to the mother country.[3]

Besides the rumors of the modification of the Sugar Act came others respecting new duties, and a Stamp Act. In its alarm, the General Court determined to send Hutchinson to London as special agent, to prevent, if possible, the intended legislation. He was in favor of allowing the colonies the freest trade, but acknowledged the supremacy of Parliament.[4] No man knew the colonies better, or was better able to present their just claims, than Hutchinson. He had much at stake in the colony in which he was born, and to which he had rendered many and honorable services. No man loved her better, or was more worthy of honor from her. He was chosen by both Houses; but Governor Bernard suggested doubts as to the expediency of his going to England without the special leave of the king; and subsequently the project was laid aside in consequence of some rising suspicions as to his political sentiments.[5]

Ruin threatened New England. A Stamp Act was not needed to set her aflame; and the other colonies soon had reasons of their own for joining her in the general opposition. All parties were agreed as to the danger, but they differed as to the remedy.

The reports which reached America in the winter of 1764, respecting the intentions of the ministry to raise a revenue from the colonies, were

[1] *Works*, x. 345.

[2] The expression is Governor Bernard's in January, 1764 (Frothingham's *Rise of the Republic*, 123, note). The consequences of breaking up the West India trade by the enforcement of the navigation laws, and its influence upon the minds of the commercial colonies, will more fully appear in the following facts. The sugar colonies, being cultivated by slaves, afforded an insufficient market for English manufactures. Consequently, the large ships which were needed to bring off sugar and molasses were obliged to proceed thither without profitable freight. But the Northern colonies, and New England in particular, could supply the islands with the commodities they needed, — cattle, horses, lumber for buildings, casks for sugar and molasses. A cargo of these commodities sent to the islands was exchanged for sugar and molasses, which were brought to New England; or for bullion, which, with a cargo of sugar, was carried to Old England. The freight money and bullion were exchanged for British merchandise, which was brought to New England, thus making a profitable double voyage. With her advantages of position and of profitable freight, New England also became the carrier of the sugar of the French islands to Spain.

[3] As to illicit trade in Rhode Island, and the measures to prevent it, see Bartlett's *Destruction of the Gaspee*, 6.

[4] *History*, iii. 108.

[5] *Ibid.*, iii. 106.

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verified in the following spring. The substance of Grenville's resolutions (with the exception of that respecting stamps, which was laid aside for the present) became a law April 6, 1764. Bancroft has summarized this act as "a bill modifying and perpetuating the act of 1733, with some changes to the disadvantage of the colonies; an extension of the navigation acts, making England the storehouse of Asiatic as well as of European supplies; a diminution of drawbacks on foreign articles exported to America; imposts in America, especially on wines; a revenue duty instead of a prohibitory duty on foreign molasses; an increased duty on sugar; various regulations to restrain English manufactures, as well as to enforce more diligently acts of trade; a prohibition of all trade between America and St. Pierre and Miquelon." [1]

Organized opposition to the ministerial measures began in Boston, and perhaps, at that time, could have begun nowhere else. For not only were the interests of that town, in the fisheries, trade, and navigation, the most considerable in the colonies, but there, as nowhere else in the same degree, for more than a century, had been operative causes of dissatisfaction connected with the navigation acts, the exercise of the royal prerogatives, and ecclesiastical affairs; and in no other section had Otis's declaration of the general principles of liberty found such ready acceptance.

The Grenville Act of April, 1764, was to take effect September 30. News of its passage had scarcely arrived in Boston before the citizens in town meeting, May 24, voted instructions [2] to their representatives in the General Court, which had been presented by Samuel Adams. They were directed to endeavor to prevent proceedings designed to curtail their trade, and to impose new taxes, — "for if their trade might be taxed, why not their lands?" — and to obtain from the General Assembly all needed advice and instruction, so that their agent in London might effectually "demonstrate for them all those rights and privileges which justly belonged to them either by charter or birth." Since the other colonies were equally interested, their representatives were also to endeavor to obtain coöperation in that direction.

Thus at the very outset the patriots sought counsel and union with the sister colonies. These instructions were scattered far and wide. The General Court came in on the 30th. June 1, letters from the London agent were referred to a committee of which Otis was one. On the 8th,

[1] *Hist. U. S.*, final revision, iii. 73. Two things in the above summary require explanation. Merchandise imported into England was subject to heavy duties; but if it was reëxported to America, then these duties, in whole or in part, were repaid to the importer, and the result would be that the colonists could purchase wines and Continental goods cheaper than could be done by British subjects at home. To equalize this burden, and still to derive a revenue, these drawbacks were reduced; and, of course, the British Exchequer would gain the amount of this reduction.

In the Treaty of 1763, two small islands, St. Pierre and Miquelon, on the south coast of Newfoundland, were accorded to France for the convenience of her fishing vessels. But they had been made ports of an illicit trade with the American colonies. Hence the prohibition of all trade with them.

[2] Printed as an appendix to Otis's *Rights of the British Colonies*.

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The Rights of the British Colonies was read,[1] and again on the 12th, when it was referred to the committee of which Otis was a member.[2] On the 13th a letter to Mauduit, their agent, was reported, which must have made his ears tingle,[3] for it was a scathing rebuke for neglect and inefficiency in not preventing the injurious legislation, and for making unwarranted concessions in behalf of the colony.[4] Otis went over the whole question of colonial rights and grievances, but by implication he admitted that representation in Parliament would prove satisfactory.[5] The same committee was directed to correspond with the other governments, requesting coöperation in their endeavors to effect the repeal of the Sugar Act and to prevent the Stamp Act. The letter of the committee, drawn by Otis, together with his *Rights of the Colonies*, was sent to the agent in London, to make the best use of them in his power. As this action taken by the House of Representatives, which did not seek the concurrence of the Council as usual, was not regarded as judicious by the moderate party, the governor was induced to call the General Court together on the 12th of October. In the mean time the temper of the merchants had become soured by revenue seizures to the amount of £3,000.[6]

The General Court (November 3), in answer to the governor's speech, elaborately discussed the act of Parliament, and the same day agreed upon a petition to the House of Commons, setting forth the injurious nature of the new measures and of the navigation laws, as well as deprecating their enforcement. This was accompanied by a letter to their agent, showing historically the services and expenses of the colony in various wars, and their willingness to share in the defence of the empire.[7] These papers — the petition and the letter — were drawn up by Hutchinson; but though able, candid, and convincing, their tone did not satisfy the more ardent patriots, especially when they were contrasted with Otis's fiery letter to the agent in June, or when compared with similar documents emanating from some other colonies, — that of New York in particular: for the discontent of the colonies, to which the Boston instructions doubtless contributed, was general, and manifested itself in petitions, remonstrances, and correspondence.[8]

The events of 1764 left no doubt as to the manner in which the people would receive the Stamp Act of 1765; nor, although with grievances of their own, were they unobservant of what was going on in England. "Wilkes and Liberty" was a familiar cry in Boston as well as in London, and the names Whig and Tory became terms of reproach.[9]

[1] *Journal of the House*, 1764, 53. This paper was not Otis's pamphlet with a similar title, though it may have been the substance of it. See Frothingham, *Rise of the Republic*, 169, *n.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 66.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 72.

[4] The reader of Tudor's *Life of Otis*, 170, would infer that Hutchinson was chosen agent at this time instead of in the January preceding. *House Journal*, 1763–4, 236.

[5] Hutchinson's *History*, iii. 112.

[6] Minot's *History*, ii. 168.

[7] *Mass. State Papers*, 18 *et seq.*

[8] Frothingham's *Rise of the Republic*, p. 171.

[9] Hutchinson's *History*, iii. 103. Two Americans, Franklin and William S. Johnson, were

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Notwithstanding the memorials and petitions of the colonial assemblies, and the remonstrances of their agents in London, George Grenville persevered in his determination to bring in a stamp bill. Since its first suggestion, he had listened patiently to the colony agents and other friends of America; but they proposed nothing better, or so good, if the colonies were to be taxed at all. They admitted that the stamp tax would be inexpensive in its collection, and general in its effect upon different classes of people. Indeed, so little did the agents understand the real feeling in America that they — and Franklin was among them — were quite ready, when the time came, to solicit positions as stamp-distributors for their friends, and Richard Henry Lee even asked a place for himself.[1] February 6, 1765, Grenville introduced his resolutions for a Stamp Act, and put forward his plan in a carefully prepared speech. Colonel Barré's opposition called forth the well-known question of Charles Townshend, and the still more famous rejoinder of the former. Pitt was away and ill. The debate occupied but one session of the Commons, and the ministers were directed to bring in a bill, which was done on the 13th. Numerous petitions against it, presented by colonial agents, were rejected under the rule which allowed no petition against a money bill. The bill passed both Houses, and on March 22 received the royal assent. But in America there was no apathy. If there had been a calm, it presaged the coming storm. The passage of the bill was known in America before the end of May, and from Virginia came the first legislative response. She spoke through the voice of her great orator. Of Patrick Henry's six resolutions, though supported by a powerful speech, only four, however, were carried, May 30, by a small majority, in a House in which the Established Church and the old aristocracy were very powerful.[2]

The General Court of Massachusetts did not meet until May 27, but set to work so promptly that the House, June 6, under the lead of James Otis, who had recovered from a fit of vacillation, voted that it was highly expedient that there should be a meeting, as soon as might be, of committees from the several colonial assemblies, "to consult together on the present circumstances of the colonies, and the difficulties to which they are and must be reduced by operation of the late acts of Parliament for levying duties and taxes on the colonies." It was agreed to send them a circular letter to that effect, recommending a congress, in the city of New York, the first Tuesday of October. This measure, which led to the Stamp Act Congress, was pushed through with an unanimous vote of the House (June 6), though probably not with the equally concordant opinion of the members; and the circular, which was dated June 8, was immediately

reporting on the Wilkes turmoils in England, at this time, to their home correspondents. Cf. Franklin's *Works* (Sparks's ed.), vii. 401, 403; Bigelow's *Life of F.*, ii. 9; *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, xlix., 270 *et seq.*

[1] Bancroft, *History*, v. 275.

[2] These resolutions are in Ramsay, *Amer. Rev.*, i. 59.

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dispatched.[1] James Otis, Oliver Partridge, and Timothy Ruggles — the last two having little heart in the matter — were chosen delegates. The response to the Massachusetts circular was neither unanimous, nor, from some of the assemblies, enthusiastic.[2] At this stage of the Revolution, in high offices and in provincial assemblies were friends of the royal government able to make their influence felt in opposition to popular measures. Nine of the colonies, however, were represented in the congress, and from others came expressions of good-will. In the mean time public sentiment was rapidly shaping itself into violent opposition to the act. In Boston the Sons of Liberty were on the alert. When the name of Andrew Oliver appeared among the stamp-distributors he was hanged in effigy from the Liberty Tree on the night of the 13th of August; and the next night the frame of a building going up on his land, and supposed to be intended as a stamp-office, was broken in pieces and used to consume the effigy before his own door.[3] On the 26th of the same month the records of the hated Vice-Admiralty Court were burned by the mob, the house of the comptroller of the customs sacked, and that of Chief Justice Hutchinson forcibly entered and left in ruins. His plate and money were carried off, and his books and valuable manuscripts were thrown into the streets. Nor did he or his family escape without difficulty. The militia were not called out to maintain order, for many of the privates were in the mob. Men of standing secretly connived at proceedings which they afterwards insincerely condemned. Though these violent outbreaks came earlier and were carried to greater excess in Massachusetts than in any other province, similar demonstrations followed in Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, and Pennsylvania.[4]

When the Stamp Act Congress met in New York, October 7, 1765, that city was the headquarters of the British forces in America, under the command of General Gage. Lieutenant-Governor Colden, then filling the executive chair, was in favor of the act, and resolved to execute it; but the Sons of Liberty expressed different sentiments. The Congress contained men some of whom became celebrated. Timothy Ruggles was chosen speaker, but Otis was the leading spirit. In full accord with him were the Livingstons of New York, Dickinson of Pennsylvania, McKean and Rodney of Delaware, Tilghman of Maryland, and Rutledge and the elder Lynch of South Carolina. New Hampshire, Virginia, North Carolina, and Georgia failed to send delegates, but not for lack of interest in the cause. The Congress prepared a Declaration of Rights and Grievances, An Address to the King, a Memorial to the House of Lords, and a Petition to the House of Commons, and adjourned on October 25th. For a clear, accurate, and calm statement of the position of the colonies these papers were never sur-

[1] The proceedings, with the circular letter, may be found in the *Mass. State Papers*, 35.

[2] Of the colonies south of New England, South Carolina was the first to agree to the proposed congress. Ramsay, *Amer. Rev.*, i. 68.

[3] Later, in December, he was compelled to renounce his office under circumstances of special ignominy, from which his age and character afforded no protection.

[4] Frothingham's *Rise of the Republic*, 184.

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passed; nor, until the appearance of the Declaration of Independence, was any advance made from the ground taken in them.[1]

It is not to be inferred from the results of their proceedings that there were no differences of opinion among the delegates. Several of them afterwards took sides with the king; and there was doubtless diversity of sentiment on the Stamp Act, as well as in Parliament, which reassembled January 14, 1766, under a different ministry from that which had carried the measure less than a year before. For in a few months after the passage of the act, George III., chiefly on personal grounds, had changed his legal advisers. After negotiations with Pitt had failed, a new ministry, with the Marquis of Rockingham as chief, and the Duke of Grafton and General Conway as Secretaries of State, was installed, July 13, 1765. It was a Whig ministry. With it, though not of it, was associated Edmund Burke, private secretary of Rockingham, and not long after, through his influence, a member of the House of Commons. This change of the ministry was regarded with favor by the colonists, and doubtless encouraged their resistance to the Stamp Act. The action of the colonists produced a great effect on the new ministry, and alarmed the British merchants trading with America. Their trade had been threatened by non-importation agreements made to take effect January 1, 1766, and their debts were imperilled by the determination of the colonists to withhold the amount of them as pledges for good conduct. The general confusion likely to arise in the administration of justice, and the transactions of the custom-house, from want of stamps, brought the ministry to their wits' end. Parliament assembled December 17th. But notwithstanding an effort by Grenville to bring on a general consideration of American affairs, the subject was postponed until after the holidays.

ROCKINGHAM.[2]

In the mean time some embarrassment was anticipated from the want of stamps, November 1,[3] when the act was to go into operation. Governor Bernard (September 25) had called the attention of the House of Representatives to the courts, which guarded the property and persons of the inhabitants, and to the custom-houses, upon which depended legal trade and navigation. The House, in its answer, October 23, had not shared his excellency's apprehensions, but was not then quite ready to say, as it said three months later (January 17, 1766), "The courts of justice must be open, — open immediately, — and the law, the great rule of right in every

[1] Frothingham gives a summary of these papers, with the names of the committees who drafted them (*Rise of the Republic*, pp. 186, 187).

[2] [From Doyle's *Official Baronage*, iii. 170. — ED.]

[3] Though this day was observed in several colonies by the tolling of bells, closing of shops, funeral processions, and other demonstrations of hostility to the act, there was no violence (Ramsay, *Amer. Rev.*, i. 68, 70).

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county of the province, executed." [1] But this attitude had not been taken without intermediate steps. In December the town of Boston presented a petition to the governor and council for the reopening of the courts, which was supported by John Adams, who then first publicly identified himself with the patriot cause, of which he became one of the most efficient advocates. After some delay and inconvenience, the courts and custom-houses throughout the colonies, early in the spring, took the risk of proceeding without stamped papers, trusting to find their justification in necessity.

Parliament reassembled January 14, 1766. The king's speech opened with a reference to "affairs in America, and Mr. Secretary Conway laid before the House of Commons important letters and papers on the same subject." On the 17th a petition of the merchants of London trading with North America against the Stamp Act was presented. Then (January 28) followed the examination of Franklin, in relation to the Stamp Act, before the House, in committee.[2] With this mass of information before them, American affairs received an exhaustive discussion. The Stamp Act was repealed, and the royal assent was given March 18th. The debates on the Declaratory Act were no less full. It was a memorable session, — memorable for the first speech of Burke; for those great speeches of Pitt which placed him at the head of modern orators, for Grenville's masterly defence of his colonial policy, and for Franklin's examination. It was also memorable for the constitutional discussions of Mansfield and Camden in the House of Lords. If the reader finds it difficult to resist Mansfield's judicial interpretation of the British Constitution adverse to the American claim, he recognizes in the great principles then enunciated the force which popularized that Constitution and marked a forward movement of the British race.

The Declaratory Act — that the king, with the advice of Parliament, had full power to make laws binding America in all cases whatsoever — was passed. This gave Pitt some trouble, considering his emphatic declaration in that regard; but the liberal party in the colonies soon met it with the counter-affirmation that Parliament possessed no authority whatever in America except by consent of the provincial assemblies. If the colonists had not forced the British government from its position, they had advanced from their own. The repeal, however, caused great rejoicing on both sides of the Atlantic. British merchants expected no further trouble from non-importation agreements, and hoped that the colonists would now pay their debts, — amounting to £4,000,000. But there were misgivings on both sides. The ardent patriots were outspoken in condemning the Declaratory Act, which Franklin had thought would give no trouble. But the act of 1764, laying duties, remained; and the enforcement of the navigation laws — their real grievance — lost none of its vigor. Governor Bernard was under instructions to enforce the laws against illicit trade; and in addition to these official obligations, his share in the forfeitures of condemned

[1] *Mass. State Papers*, 61.

[2] *Parliamentary History*, xvi. 133 *et seq.*

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Glorious News.

BOSTON, Friday 11 o'Clock, 16th *May* 1766.

THIS Inſtant arrived here the Brig Harriſon, belonging to *John Hancock*, Eſq; Captain *Shubael Coffin*, in 6 Weeks and 2 Days from LONDON, with important News, as follows.

From the LONDON GAZETTE.

Weſtminſter, March 18th, 1766.

THIS day his Majeſty came to the Houſe of Peers, and being in his royal robes ſeated on the throne with the uſual ſolemnity, Sir Francis Molineux, Gentleman Uſher of the Black Rod, was ſent with a Meſſage from his Majeſty to the Houſe of Commons, commanding their attendance in the Houſe of Peers. The Commons being come thither accordingly, his Majeſty was pleaſed to give his royal aſſent to

An ACT to REPEAL an Act made in the laſt Seſſion of Parliament, intituled, an Act for granting and applying certain Stamp-Duties and other Duties in the Britiſh Colonies and Plantations in America, towards further defraying the expences of defending, protecting and ſecuring the ſame, and for amending ſuch parts of the ſeveral Acts of Parliament relating to the trade and revenues of the ſaid Colonies and Plantations, as direct the manner of determining and recovering the penalties and forfeitures therein mentioned.

Alſo ten public bills, and ſeventeen private ones.

Yeſterday there was a meeting of the principal Merchants concerned in the American trade, at the King's Arms tavern in Cornhill, to conſider of an Addreſs to his Majeſty on the beneficial Repeal of the late Stamp-Act.

Yeſterday morning about eleven o'clock a great number of North-American Merchants went in their coaches from the King's Arms tavern in Cornhill to the Houſe of Peers, to pay their duty to his Majeſty, and to expreſs their ſatisfaction at his ſigning the Bill for Repealing the American Stamp-Act, there was upwards of fifty coaches in the proceſſion.

Laſt night the ſaid gentleman diſpatched an expreſs for Falmouth, with fifteen copies of the Act for repealing the Stamp-Act, to be forwarded immediately for New York.

Orders are given for ſeveral merchantmen in the river to proceed to ſea immediately on their reſpective voyages to North America, ſome of whom have been cleared out ſince the firſt of November laſt.

Yeſterday meſſengers were diſpatched to Birmingham, Sheffield, Mancheſter, and all the great manufacturing towns in England, with an account of the final deciſion of an auguſt aſſembly relating to the Stamp-Act.

When the KING went to the Houſe of Peers to give the Royal Aſſent, there was ſuch a vaſt Concourſe of People, huzzaing, clapping Hands, &c. that it was ſeveral Hours before His Majeſty reached the Houſe.

Immediately on His Majeſty's Signing the Royal Aſſent to the Repeal of the Stamp-Act, the Merchants trading to America diſpatched a Veſſel which had been in waiting, to put into the firſt Port on the Continent with the Account.

There were the greateſt Rejoicings poſſible in the City of London, by all Ranks of People, on the TOTAL Repeal of the Stamp-Act,—the Ships in the River diſplayed all their Colours, Illuminations and Bonfires in many Parts.— In ſhort, the Rejoicings were as great as was ever known on any Occaſion.

It is ſaid the Acts of Trade relating to America would be taken under Conſideration, and all Grievances removed. The Friends to America are very powerful, and diſpoſed to aſſiſt us to the utmoſt of their Ability.

Capt. Blake ſailed the ſame Day with Capt. Coffin, and Capt. Shand a Fortnight before him, both bound to this Port.

It is impoſſible to expreſs the Joy the Town is now in, on receiving the above, great, glorious and important NEWS—The Bells in all the Churches were immediately ſet a Ringing, and we hear the Day for a general Rejoicing will be the beginning of next Week.

PRINTED for the Benefit of the PUBLIC, by *Drapers, Edes & Gill, Green & Ruſſell*, and *Fleets*.

The Cuſtomers to the Boſton Papers may have the above gratis at the reſpective Offices.

[Fac-simile of an original in the library of the Mass. Hist. Society. — ED.]

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goods laid his motives open to suspicion. Nothing could have been more unfortunate for his administration. It was also alleged that merchants were encouraged in schemes to defraud the revenue; and that when their ships and cargoes were compromised, they were seized and condemned. At a time when conciliatory measures were needed to reassure the colonists, the harshest were followed. Nevertheless, the repeal weakened the prerogative party on both sides of the water, and encouraged the liberal party by a knowledge of its power.

Governor Bernard opened the General Court, May 29, 1766, with congratulations on the repeal of the Stamp Act. If he had stopped there he would have acted wisely; but he alluded to the "fury of the people" in their treatment of Hutchinson, and to some personal matters, which called forth a reply from the House couched in terms showing no abatement of animosity. This was increased on the receipt of another message from the governor (June 3), enclosing the Act of Repeal and the Declaratory Act, and at the same time informing them that he had been directed by Secretary Conway to recommend "that full and ample compensation be made to the late sufferers by the madness of the people," agreeably to the votes of the House of Commons. He also complained of their exclusion of the principal crown officers from the Council by non-election.[1] The General Court promptly availed themselves of this last topic for reply, instead of committing themselves on the matter of compensation. They did not fail, however, to vote a politic address of thanks to the king for assenting to the repeal of the Stamp Act, and to offer their grateful acknowledgments to Pitt and those members of the two Houses who had advocated it.[2] But the subject of compensation could not be passed by. The governor urged prompt compliance with the recommendation of Conway. The House, however, professing the greatest abhorrence of the madness and barbarity of the rioters, and promising their endeavors "to bring the perpetrators of so horrid a fact to exemplary justice, and, if it be in their power, to a pecuniary restitution of all damages," regarded compensation by the province as not an act of justice, but rather of generosity, and wished to consult their constituents. Therefore they referred the matter to the next session.[3]

In December the two Houses passed a bill granting compensation to those who had suffered losses in the Stamp Act riots, but, on the suggestion of Joseph Hawley, accompanied it with a general pardon, indemnity and oblivion to the offenders. Why they should have been so solicitous for the safety of those who had committed crimes, condemned in June in the severest terms, does not appear; and this invasion of the royal prerogative of pardon did not fail to attract the attention of the Parliament.[4]

[1] *Mass. State Papers*, 81.

[2] *Mass. State Papers*, 91, 92.

[3] *Mass. State Papers*, 94.

[4] *Parliamentary History*, vol. xvi. 359; *Prior Documents*, 134. During the adjournment a double broadside had been issued, containing the proposed bill for compensation, an extract from Secretary Conway's letter to Governor Bernard, and letters from De Berdt, the agent, advising compliance with the parliamentary recommendation. A copy is in the Boston Public Library.

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In the late contest with Parliament the colonists had gained a victory, but it was neither final nor precisely on the right ground. As a matter of practical politics, they were ready to accept Pitt's distinction between commercial regulations and internal taxes. They took the repeal of the Stamp Act with thanks, but not as a finality. They participated in the lively demonstrations of joy which followed that event on both sides of the Atlantic; but thoughtful observers on both sides perceived that one of the most powerful agencies in effecting the repeal was the mercantile class, which had no intention of relinquishing its grasp upon colonial commerce. Nor was the popular feeling without guidance. It was the good fortune of the colonists, all through the long contest, to have statesmen like John Adams, Jay, and Dickinson, who could supplement the passionate appeals of Otis and some of his associates with the calm reasons of political philosophy. None rendered more valuable services in this respect than John Adams. In a series of papers which appeared in the *Boston Gazette* in the summer and fall of 1765, — when the minds of the people were inflamed by the Stamp Act, — and were afterwards republished in London as *A Dissertation on the Canon and Feudal Law*, he combated the ecclesiastical and feudal principles which lay at the bottom of the monarchical and Anglican system.

The substantial grievance of the commercial colonies was not the Stamp Act, which had not taken a farthing from their pockets. It was the enforcement of trade regulations, which impaired the value of the fisheries and dried up a principal source of revenue. A renewal of the contest, and for the first time on its true grounds, was not long postponed. The Rockingham ministry gave way, and Pitt, gazetted Earl of Chatham July 30, 1766, took the helm of state August 2d, and was the nominal head of the government until October, 1768. Among those associated with him were the Duke of Grafton, Charles Townshend, Conway, and the Earl of Shelburne. It was Pitt's misfortune — and his country's — during these stormy times, that when he was most needed he was disabled by sickness. Historians have speculated as to the probable pacification of America had Pitt — not Chatham — guided affairs.[1] Pitt's was a great name in America as well as in Europe. By his genius the French power in America had been destroyed. This the colonists knew. He had been generous in reimbursing their expenses in the late war. This, and his efforts in effecting the repeal of the Stamp Act, they remembered with gratitude. Whatever man could do in restoring things to their old order Pitt could have done. He might even have relinquished something of his claims for parliamentary supremacy in respect to trade and general legislation; but it is doubtful whether, even at that early period, he could have eradicated the ideas of independence which had taken possession of the colonists, or have arrested the movement which resulted in the independence of America and the overthrow of the royal prerogative in England. The Massachusetts Assembly

[1] Mahon's *Hist. of Eng.*, v. 81.

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was in no amiable frame of mind. When there was no cause for quarrel, they made one. Bernard had probably been advised to preserve a prudent

JOHN ADAMS. (*Amsterdam print.*)[1]

[1] [The Amsterdam edition, 1782, of *Geschiedenis van het Geschil tusschen Groot-Britannie en Amerika . . . door zijne Excellentie, den Heere John Adams.*

There is a likeness of John Adams as a young man engraved in his *Life and Works*, vol. ii. He says of himself at the time of the famous scene when Otis was making his plea against the Writs of Assistance, and he was taking notes of it, that the artist depicting it would have to represent the young reporter as "looking like a short, thick Archbishop of Canterbury" (*Works*, x. 245). There was a print published in London in 1783 showing a head in a circle, which is reproduced in the *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, xi. 93. Copley painted him once, in 1783, in court dress, and the painting now hangs in Memorial Hall, Cambridge. The head of this full-length picture was engraved for Stockdale's edition of Adams's *Defence of the Constitutions*, published in 1794; and the painting was never engraved to show the entire figure till it appeared in vol. v. of the *Works* (A. T. Perkins's *Copley*, p. 27). Cf. the head in Bartlett Woodward's *United States*.

Stuart first painted him in 1812, and this picture belongs to his descendants, and is engraved in the *Works*, vol. i. There are copies of this picture by Gilbert Stuart Newton and B. Otis, both of which have been engraved. The Newton copy is in the Mass. Hist. Society (*Catal. of Cabinet*, no. 47; *Proc.*, 1862, p. 3). The Otis copy has been engraved by J. B. Longacre (Sanderson's *Signers*, vol. viii.). Stuart again painted Adams in 1825, the year before he died, representing him as sitting at one end of a sofa. It is engraved on steel in the *Works*, vol. x., and on wood in the *Mem. Hist. Boston*, iii. 192. (Cf. Mason's *Stuart*, p. 125.) Another Stuart is owned by Mr. T. Jefferson Coolidge, of Boston.

A portrait by Col. John Trumbull also hangs in Memorial Hall, Cambridge; and Adams's likeness is also in Independence Hall. (Cf. Irving's *Washington*, quarto ed., vol. v.) A cabinet full-length by Winstanley, painted while Adams was at the Hague (1782), is in the Boston Museum (Johnston's *Orig. Portraits of Washington*, p. 93).

Among the contemporary popular engravings, mention may be made of that by Norman in the *Boston Magazine*, Feb., 1784; one in the *European Magazine* (vol. iv. 83).

Stuart also painted a portrait of the wife of John Adams, which is engraved in the *Works*, vol. ix. A picture of her by Blythe, at the age of twenty-one, accompanies the *Familiar Letters*.

Views of the Adams homestead in Quincy, Mass., are given in the *Works* (vol. i. p. 598); in *Appleton's Journal* (xii. 385); in Mrs. Lamb's *Homes of America*. An india-ink sketch, showing a distant view of Boston beyond the house, is in the halls of the Bostonian Society. — ED.]

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In 1760 and 1761 upon the first Appearance of the Design of Great Britain to deprive Us of our Liberties by Asserting the Souvereign Athority of Parliament over Us I took a decided Part against her, and have persewered for fifty five Years in opposing and resisting to the Utmost of my power every Instance of her Injustice and arvbirary Power towards Us. I am, Sir with much respect

your humble Servant John Adams

AUTOGRAPH OF JOHN ADAMS, 1815.

[Part of a letter in Smith and Watson's *Hist. and Lit. Curios.*, 1st ser., pl. vii. — ED.]

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silence respecting political affairs. At the opening of the session, January 28, 1767, in a message of less than ten printed lines, he recommended "the support of the authority of the government, the maintenance of the honor of the province, and the promotion of the welfare of the people," as the chief objects for their consultation. This called forth a captious reply, and a complaint because Lieutenant-Governor Hutchinson, who had not been reëlected to the Council, appeared in the council-chamber at the opening of the session, at the request of the governor and as matter of courtesy. The House found in his presence, if voluntary, "a new and additional instance of ambition and lust of power."

In the spring of 1767, Parliament had occasion to inquire into some colonial legislation. In April, 1765, the Mutiny Act had been extended to the colonies. This was intended in part to provide for military offences not within the jurisdiction of civil courts, and in part to require the colonies in America, as in England in like cases, to provide for quartering the king's troops. The New York Assembly made only partial provision. When Sir Henry Moore, the governor, communicated to them the letter of Earl Shelburne, to the effect that the king expected obedience to the act, the Assembly resolved not to comply, and called in question the authority of Parliament. Parliament then took the matter in hand, and suspended their legislative authority until compliance.[1] This action brought them to terms. It made considerable stir throughout the colonies, and was regarded as a serious invasion of their rights.

The arrival of several companies of royal artillery at Boston, in the fall of 1766, and the quartering of them at the expense of the province, by order of the governor and council, gave the General Court occasion, at their session in January, 1767, to express their opinion about unauthorized expenditures of the public money, and to enquire if more troops were expected.[2] The governor explained the quartering of the troops, and said he had no expectation, except from common rumor, of the arrival of additional forces. But his statement failed to allay apprehensions of a design on the part of the ministry to support their measures by military power. Added to other causes of alarm in 1767 was a report that Anglican bishops were about to be supported in the colonies, at the expense and under the patronage of the British government.

In 1767 strife was renewed on what are known as the Townshend Acts. Charles Townshend was Chancellor of the Exchequer in the Chatham-Grafton ministry. He had reluctantly voted for the repeal of the Stamp Act, and still held to his opinions that the colonists should pay some share of the civil and military expenses arising from their defence and government; and if, to secure promptness and uniformity of action, some modification of their charters should be found necessary, then that ought to follow. In conformity with these views, he had given some pledges in respect to deriving a revenue from America, and, during Chatham's retire-

[1] *Parliamentary History*, vol. xvi. 331.

[2] Bradford, *History of Mass.*, i. 97.

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ment, had brought forward his scheme of taxation in certain resolutions of the Committee of Ways and Means, April 16, 1767,[1] the substance of which was enacted June 29th, to go into effect November 20th. There were two acts known as the Townshend Acts: the first[2] providing for the more effectual execution of the laws of trade, and for the appointment of commissioners for that purpose; and the second[3] granting duties on glass, paper, colors, and tea, and legalizing writs of assistance. The revenue thus raised was to be applied to "defraying the charge of the administration of justice, and the support of the civil government in such provinces where it should be found necessary; and towards further defraying the expenses of defending, protecting, and securing the said dominions." Before the act went into operation Charles Townshend died (September 4, 1767), and Chatham's powers continued to be enfeebled by disease. It was the misfortune of Great Britain that both these able men should have been withdrawn from the public service during this critical period, and that the policy of each had to be represented by inferior men. Chatham's conciliatory methods had no fair trial; and Townshend's coercive measures were pressed neither with unity of purpose nor vigor of execution.

Between the passage of Townshend's Acts in the summer of 1767 and their taking effect in November, the colonists had ample time to study and organize opposition, stimulated by the arrival (November 5, 1767) of Burch and Hulton, two of the five commissioners of customs who had been sent over to enforce them. At first the people expressed their resentment, in which, as usual, those of Boston took the lead, by renewing their non-importation agreements. In the mean time efforts had been made to introduce domestic manufactures.[4] These practical measures in Massachusetts were supplemented by one of the ablest discussions of colonial rights which had yet appeared. In the early winter of 1767–8 John Dickinson published in a Philadelphia newspaper a series of essays entitled *The Farmer's Letters*,

[1] *Parliamentary Hist.*, xvi. 375.

[2] 7 Geo. III. ch. 41, *Statutes at Large*, vol. x. 340.

[3] 7 Geo. III. ch. 46, *Ibid.*, 369. Bancroft's account of these Acts is not quite accurate (*History*, vi. 84, 85): "By another Act (7 Geo. III. ch. xli.) a Board of Customs was established at Boston, and general Writs of Assistance were legalized." The execution of the Laws of Trade was placed under the direction of Commissioners of Customs, "to reside in the said Plantations," where the king should direct, — not localized at Boston. It was by ch. xlvi. sec. x., not xli., that Writs of Assistance were legalized. But a more serious error is in the statement that "Townshend's revenue was to be disposed of under the sign-manual at the king's pleasure. This part of the system had no limit as to time or place, and was intended as a perpetual menace." This is far from being accurate. By section iv. it is provided that the revenue arising from the act should be applied, in the first place, "for the charge of the administration of justice, and the support of *civil government*" in the colonies; and the residue was to be paid into the receipt of the Exchequer, and entered separate and apart from all other moneys, and reserved to be disposed *by Parliament* for the defence of the colonies. It was the civil administration alone that could be paid by the king's warrant. The expense of the army could be appropriated only by Parliament; and the difference is worthy of attention.

[4] It was reported at a town meeting held at Boston on October 28, 1767, in which James Otis presided, that Lynn, in the previous year, had turned out forty thousand pairs of women's shoes, — an industry which has since grown to very large proportions, — and that another town had made thirty thousand yards of cloth (Frothingham's *Rise of the Republic*, 208).

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which soon attracted notice both in America and England. Their influence among all classes was widespread and profound.

Your affectionate
Humble Servant
Samuel Adams[1]

[1] [From *An impartial History of the War in America* (Boston, 1781), vol. i. p. 325, engraved by J. Norman, a Boston engraver.

In 1772, when Adams was forty-nine, John Hancock commissioned Copley to paint pictures of Adams and himself, to commemorate their political union, and the two portraits hung for many years in the Hancock mansion on Beacon Street in Boston, before they were given to the town. That of Adams is a three-quarters length, and shows him standing at a table, holding a paper, in the attitude of speaking (Perkins's *Copley*, p. 28). As engraved by H. B. Hall, it is given in Wells's *Life of Samuel Adams*, vol. i.; and it is also engraved in Delaplaine's *Repository* (1815); in Bancroft, vol. vii. (orig. ed.), and in other places, as well as, on wood, in the *Mem. Hist. of Boston* (iii. 35). After having hung for some years in Faneuil Hall, it has now been transferred to the Art Museum. It was engraved — the bust only — by Paul Revere, for the *Royal American Mag.*, April, 1774, and a reproduction of this is given by Wells (vol. ii.). A copy of the original was made by J. Mitchell, and from this a mezzotint by Samuel Okey was issued at Newport in 1775.

Another and smaller picture, also by Copley (Perkins, p. 29), and said to have been painted in 1770, hangs in Memorial Hall, Cambridge, and has been engraved in the *Mem. Hist. of Boston*, ii. 438. Cf. Sanderson's *Signers*, vol. ix.

The Copley type of head characterizes the

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The year 1768 was one of the most momentous of the Revolutionary period. Hitherto the colonists, in defence of their property, had denied

SAMUEL ADAMS, LONDON, 1780.

engraving by J. Norman, given above from the Boston edition of a current history. The London edition (1780) of the same book has a picture which has little resemblance to the Copley type, as will be seen by the fac-simile likewise herewith given, and marked "London, 1780."

There was a picture made late in life by John Johnson, which has been destroyed; but from a mezzotint of it, made in 1797 by Graham, H. B. Hall reëngraved it for Wells's third volume, and on wood in Higginson's *Larger History*, p. 255.

The statue by Miss Whitney follows the Copley head. One copy of this is in the Capitol at Washington, and another in Dock Square, in Boston. — ED.]

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the supremacy of Parliament as based on usurpation; but now, in defence of their privileges, they denied the prerogative of the king, the source of their political existence. This grew out of the Massachusetts Circular Letter. The General Court came together December 30, 1767. John Hancock, James Otis, and Joseph Hawley were prominent members, but though James Otis was still active, Samuel Adams was the master spirit. Never was his practical sagacity more serviceable to the cause; never did his genius for politics shine brighter. His fruitful pen is apparent in the remarkable series of state papers called forth by the Townshend Acts, comprising the letter of the House to their London agent (January 12, 1768), the Petition to the king (January 20), and the Circular Letter to the assemblies of the several colonies (February 11).[1] If the Townshend Acts were to be successfully resisted, union of sentiment and action among all the colonies was essential. This was the object of the circular letter. It was an arraignment of Parliament and the ministry in respect to the revenue acts, and the system by which the British government proposed to make civil officers, including the judges, the instruments for its enforcement; and it solicited an interchange of opinions on these subjects.[2] Governor Bernard watched the proceedings of the House with the deepest interest, nor was he long in doubt as to the nature of the circular letter, for two days after its adoption a copy of it was proffered, in case he desired it.[3] This letter was preceded (besides the documents already mentioned) by letters to the Marquis of Rockingham, General Conway, Lord Camden, and to the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury. The details of these papers cannot be given here. They present the whole case of the colonies, their rights, their grievances, their remonstrances, and their petitions. They proceeded mainly from the pen of Samuel Adams, who, when he had shaken himself clear from profuse professions of loyalty and disclaimers of "the most distant thoughts of independence," rose to the annunciation of the loftiest principles of statesmanship, in the declaration that "the supreme legislative, in any free country, derives its power from the constitution, by the fundamental rules of which it is bounded and circumscribed;" — "that it is the glory of the British Constitution that it hath its foundation in the law of God and nature;" — "that the necessity of rights and property is the great end of government;" — "that the colonists are natural-born subjects by the spirit of the law of nature and nations;" and "that the laws of God and nature were not made for politicians to alter." Nor does he confine himself to the enunciation of abstract principles, but states the rights of the colonists of Massachusetts on historical grounds, and shows the oppressive and impolitic nature of the acts

[1] *Mass. State Papers*, 121, 124, 134.

[2] The circular letter was not adopted without opposition. Bernard says that the proposition was first rejected two to one; and after the measure was finally carried, in order to give the appearance of greater unanimity, the former proceedings of dissent were obliterated from the journal (*Letters*, 8).

[3] *Mass. State Papers*, 113.

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complained of.[1] Changes were taking place in the Grafton ministry which boded evil to the colonies. Shelburne, the most liberal friend of the Americans, was succeeded by Hillsborough in December, 1767, and Conway by Weymouth, January 20, 1768. While the circular letter was on its way to the colonies and to Westminster (for it was intended also for England), events were occurring at Boston which showed the temper of the people, and had no inconsiderable influence upon the action of the British government. The anniversary of the repeal of the Stamp Act, March 18, 1768, did not pass without popular demonstrations of ill-will to the customs officials, nor did the governor escape abusive language from the mob.[2] For some years these officers had been resisted in making seizures of uncustomed goods, which were frequently rescued from their possession by interested parties, and the determination of the commissioners of customs to break up this practice frequently led to collisions; but no flagrant outbreak occurred until the seizure of John Hancock's sloop "Liberty" (June 10, 1768), laden with a cargo of Madeira wine. The officer in charge, refusing a bribe, was forcibly locked up in the cabin, the greater part of the cargo was removed, and the remainder entered at the custom-house as the whole cargo. This led to seizure of the vessel, said to have been the first made by the commissioners, and for security she was placed under the guns of the "Romney," a man-of-war in the harbor. For this the revenue officers were roughly handled by the mob Their boat was burned, their houses threatened, and they, with their alarmed families, took refuge on board the "Romney," and finally in the Castle. These proceedings undoubtedly led to the sending additional military forces to Boston in September.[3]

The General Court was in session at the time, but no effectual proceedings were taken against the rioters. Public sympathy was with them in their purposes, if not in their measures. But the inhabitants of Boston, in town meeting on the 14th, in an address to Governor Bernard, probably drawn by Otis,[4] among other matters complained of being invaded by an armed force. With grim humor, the address represents the commissioners, who had fled for safety to the Castle, as having "of their own notion" relinquished the exercise of their commission, and expressed the hope that they would never resume it, and demanded of the governor to give immediate order for the removal of the "Romney" from the harbor. Some weeks

[1] Abstracts of these papers convey no adequate idea of their strength. They must be read in their completeness, and so read, in connection with Lord Mansfield's speech in the House of Lords, one sees the arguments of each party stated at their best.

[2] Hutchinson's *History*, iii. 188.

[3] Gordon, i. 231. Governor Bernard has given an account of these transactions in a series of letters addressed to Shelburne or Hillsborough, and published in a collected volume. It is a graphic narrative, in many cases of events in which he had participated, or which he had learned from eye-witnesses. Apparently they are as fair as other partisan accounts of the transactions, which may be found in various histories. The truth yet waits to be told; but it will not be accurately told by one who assigns all sublimated virtues to one party, and the most malignant depravity to the other.

[4] See Hutchinson's *History*, iii. 192, and 488 for the address.

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later (June 30) the Council passed the customary resolution, setting forth "their utter abhorrence and detestation" of the riotous proceedings, and desiring that the governor, through the attorney-general, would prosecute all guilty persons, that they and "their abettors might be brought to condign punishment." [1]

When the circular letter was laid before the ministry, April 15, 1768, it caused great excitement in parliamentary circles, and led to the gravest mistake which was made by the government during the entire Revolutionary period. Other measures, perhaps without exception, had a show of necessity; nor, as the British Constitution was then interpreted by the highest authority, were they clearly unconstitutional. But when the Earl of Hillsborough, speaking for the king, June 21, 1768, required the Massachusetts House of Representatives to rescind their circular letter on pain of immediate dissolution, there was a violation of the constitutional right of the House to express their opposition to measures deemed injurious to their constituents, and to communicate their sentiments to other colonies whose interests were similarly affected. Equally unwise was Hillsborough's letter to the colonial assemblies, requiring them to disregard the Massachusetts circular. Responses to the circular letter, when they expressed the sentiments of the assemblies rather than those of the royal governors, were in full sympathy with Massachusetts.[2] The representatives, says Bernard, "have been much elated, within these three or four days, by some letters they have received in answer to the circular letter," [3] and Hutchinson thought that "the strength which would be derived from this union confirmed many who would otherwise have been wavering." [4] But when Governor Bernard (June 21, 1768) communicated to the House instructions from the king to rescind the circular letter, and recommended immediate action as of important consequence to the province, no doubt it caused anxiety. Under a similar pressure New York had receded. The House apprehended the gravity of the situation, and took seven or eight days for consideration, and even then desired to consult their constituents. But when Bernard informed them that further delay would be considered as a refusal, they voted, 92 to 17, not to rescind, and "the number 92," Hutchinson says, "was auspicious, and 17 of ill omen, for many months after, not only in Massachusetts Bay, but in most of the colonies on the continent." [5] They doubtless were influenced by Otis, who spoke with great power, and, according to Bernard, unsparingly denounced the ministry and "passed an encomium on Oliver Cromwell." [6] Massachusetts deliberately disobeyed the king's command, and defied his power. Before dissolution, the House agreed (June 30, 1768) upon a message to the governor, arguing the question very fully, and declaring their refusal to rescind; a letter to the Earl of Hillsborough; and a

[1] *Mass. State Papers*, 156.

[2] For a summary of these replies, see Frothingham's *Rise of the Republic*, 213.

[3] *Letters* 41.

[4] *History*, iii. 196.

[5] *Ibid.*, iii. 197; see also Frothingham, 239.

[6] *Letters* 40.

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Report and Resolves, in which they repeat the story of their grievances, doings, and rights with great fullness and ability.[1]

The effect of this action, so honorable to the House, was unfavorable upon the ministry. De Berdt, the London agent, in a letter to the House, August 12, 1768, giving the substance of a conversation with the Earl of Hillsborough, says that his lordship informed him that he would have used his influence for the repeal of the Townshend Acts, and believed he could have obtained it; but since the news respecting the non-rescinding of the circular letter, the matter was in doubt. "The crown must be supported, or we sink into a state of anarchy."

In July, 1768, General Gage, then at New York, had been directed by the ministry to remove one or two regiments to Boston; and when the news of the riots of March 18 reached England, on August 14, two additional regiments were ordered from Ireland. When rumors of these orders became rife in Boston, there were indications that the country would be raised to prevent the landing of the troops; but different counsels prevailed. A town meeting was held in Faneuil Hall on the 12th and 13th of September, which agreed to call a meeting of the towns.[2] Ninety-six towns and eight districts were finally represented in the convention which assembled at the time appointed (September 22). Their first act was a petition to the governor setting forth their apprehensions in respect to a standing army. This the governor refused to receive, but he expressed his opinion of the unauthorized meeting they were holding, directed them to separate instantly, and threatened to assert the prerogatives of the crown. After a recital of grievances, with declarations of loyalty and promises of assistance to civil magistrates in suppressing disorders, they adjourned on the 29th. Their proceedings were moderate, — a moderation induced, as some supposed, by the arrival at Nantasket, September 28, from Halifax of a fleet of seven armed vessels, with nearly a thousand troops.[3] If contempt of the royal prerogative, after the refusal to rescind the circular letter, could have been more pointedly expressed, it was by holding a provincial convention with-

[1] *Mass. State Papers*, 147.

[2] Otis was chairman. On the first day several committees were appointed: one to learn from Governor Bernard the grounds of his apprehensions that additional regiments were expected; another to present a petition for convening the General Court "with the utmost speed;" and a third to take into consideration the state of public affairs, and report salutary measures at an adjourned meeting. The next day the governor replied that his information in regard to the troops was private: when he had public letters on the subject he would communicate them to the Council. As for calling another assembly, he could do nothing without his majesty's commands. Whereupon a series of resolutions and votes was passed to the effect that the inhabitants of Boston would defend the king, the charter, and their own rights; that levying of money within the province, or keeping a standing army, except by consent of the General Assembly, was in violation of the charter and of natural rights; that the several towns be asked (the letter is in Hutchinson, iii. 492) to send delegates to a convention to be held on the 22d; that on account of a "prevailing apprehension, in the minds of many, of an approaching war with France," the inhabitants be provided with arms; and that the ministers in town set apart a day of fasting and prayer. A broadside of these proceedings was published, of which a fac-simile is in the Boston Public Library.

[3] Hutchinson's *History*, iii. 212. They were the Fourteenth, Twenty-ninth, and part of the Fifty-ninth British regiments.

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out sanction of law. Between these measures and April 19, 1775, no step involving a new principle was taken. The burning of the "Gaspee" in 1772 and the destruction of the tea in 1773 were merely the filling in of a picture firmly sketched in outline.

The refusal of the provincial council and of the town to provide for quartering the royal troops on their arrival was a practical nullification of the Mutiny Act, which served still further to strain the relations between Massachusetts and the British ministry. Parliament came together November 8, 1768. Both Houses were swift to condemn the late proceedings of the General Court of Massachusetts and of the town of Boston. On December 15 these acts were made the basis of eight resolutions, introduced by the Earl of Hillsborough, and an address to the king, moved by the Duke of Bedford, to obtain information respecting the actors in the riotous proceedings since December 10, 1767, with a view, if deemed advisable, of ordering their transportation to England for trial. These were passed by the House of Commons (January 26, 1769), after a debate in which the whole subject of American affairs was discussed.[1] The news of these proceedings at first created some uneasiness in Boston among those implicated; but apprehension subsided when it was learned from their friends in England that the voting of Bedford's Address by the two Houses was merely political;[2] that lenient, not rigorous, measures were intended by the ministry; and that the late act laying duties would be repealed. This intelligence reassured the patriotic party, but correspondingly depressed the tories, who saw no hope in the vacillating policy of the ministry.[3] A policy was much needed. Chatham had resigned in October, 1768, and the Duke of Grafton became the nominal, as he had long been the real, head of the ministry. Lord North, Chancellor of the Exchequer, had charge of the revenue. The Duke of Grafton favored the total repeal of the Townshend duties, but Lord North favored the retention of that on tea, as a matter of principle; and so it was decided by a majority of one in the Cabinet Council. Parliament rose May 9, and four days later the Earl of Hillsborough reported to the several colonies the resolutions of the government on the circular letter. Lord Hillsborough's letter gave little comfort to the Massachusetts House of Representatives, whose firmness was commended by Pennsylvania and Virginia, and the threat of transportation of the Bostonians to England for trial under a statute of Henry VIII. called forth from the latter colony vigorous resolutions and an address to the king, May 16, 1769.[4] Jefferson has given the history of these resolutions.[5] This action did not meet the approval of Lord Botetourt, the governor of Virginia, and he dissolved the House of Burgesses. This, however, did not prevent the delegates from meeting at the Apollo, in the Raleigh tavern, and, as citizens,

[1] *Parliamentary History*, vol. xvi. 476 *et seq.*; Mahon's *History*, v. 240; Hutchinson's *History*, iii. 219.

[2] W. S. Johnson, *Trumbull Papers*, 317.

[3] Hutchinson's *History*, iii. 221.

[4] *Ibid.*, iii. 494.

[5] *Writings*, i. 3 (Boston ed.).

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entering into a non-importation agreement which bore the names of Henry, Randolph, Jefferson, and Washington, and became an example to all the colonies.[1] During the remainder of the year 1769 the progress of the Revolution was confined chiefly to Massachusetts, and there it assumed the form of an altercation between the House of Representatives and the governor in respect to the presence of the king's forces.[2] Coming in for their annual session near the end of May, the House, unwilling even to organize in the presence of the military, sent a message to the governor, remonstrating against so gross a breach of its privileges, and requesting him to give orders to remove the standing army, the main guard of which was kept with cannon pointed at the very door of the State House.[3] There was no design in this arrangement, but it was very menacing, nevertheless. For nearly two weeks messages kept passing back and forth, to the purport, on the governor's side, that he had no authority to remove the troops, they being under the commander-in-chief; and on the part of the House, that they would do no business while the troops remained. It occurred to the governor that, if he could not remove the troops, he could remove the General Court; and this he did by directing the secretary to adjourn it to Cambridge. The Court did not appreciate this stroke of humor, and proceeded to business only after a protest of necessity. But Bernard's career was drawing to a close. June 28th he informed the House that the king desired him to repair to Great Britain. July 8th the House passed nineteen resolutions,[4] covering the whole ground of dispute with the home government, and arraigning the governor for various political misdemeanors. They petitioned for his recall; and Governor Bernard left the province, accompanied by the reproaches of the House and manifestations of joy by

[1] North Carolina adopted resolutions similar to those of Virginia, and associations were formed to prevent importation of British goods. Ramsay, *Amer. Rev.*, i. 84.

[2] Part of the Sixty-fourth and Sixty-fifth regiments, under Colonels Mackey and Pomeroy, arrived at Boston November 10th.

[3] Hutchinson's *History*, iii. 233.

[4] *Ibid.*, vol. iii. 498.

[NOTE. — The plan on the following page is a reduction from that used in the trial following the massacre, and was made by Paul Revere. It now belongs to the MS. collections of the writer of this chapter. The key to the letters in the street, a part of the original drawing, is lost. Those attached to the buildings, etc., are substituted for the legends which are in the original, and which would be illegible in the reduced scale of the present reproduction. They signify as follows: —

A, Doct^r Jones; B, Doct^r Roberts; C, Brigdens, goldsmith; D, John Nazro, store; E, Main Street; F, Town house; G, Brazen Head; H, Benj. Kent, Esq., house; I, Mrs. Clapham; J, Exchange Tavern; K, Exchange Lane; L, Custom House; M, Col. Marshall's house; N, "N.B. The pricked line is the Gutter;" O, Mr. Paine's house; P, Mr. Davis's house; Q, Mr. Amory's house; R, Quaker Lane; S, Warden and Vernon's shop; T, Levi Jening, shop; U, Mr. Peck, wa[t]ch maker, shop; V, Court Square; W, whipping-post; X, J. & D. Waldo, shop; Y, Pudin Lane; Z, G. C. Phillips, house; 1, Ezk. Prince, Esq., office; 2, Guard House; 3, Mr. Bowse, shop.

Revere engraved a large folding picture of the massacre, which appeared in the official *Short Narrative*, which has been reproduced in the *Old State House Memorial* (Boston, 1882, p. 82) and in the *Mag. of Amer. Hist.* (Jan., 1886. p. 9), in an article on Revere by E. H. Goss. A reëngraving of Revere's plate is in the London (Bingley) edition of the same, and on a smaller scale in the other London (Dilby) edition, and this last is reproduced in the *Mem. Hist. Boston*, iii. 40. Thomas's *Mass. Kalendar* (1772) has a wood-cut representation, after Revere's drawing. Cf. nos. 579 to 583 of the *Catal. of the Cab. of the Mass. Hist. Soc.* — ED.]

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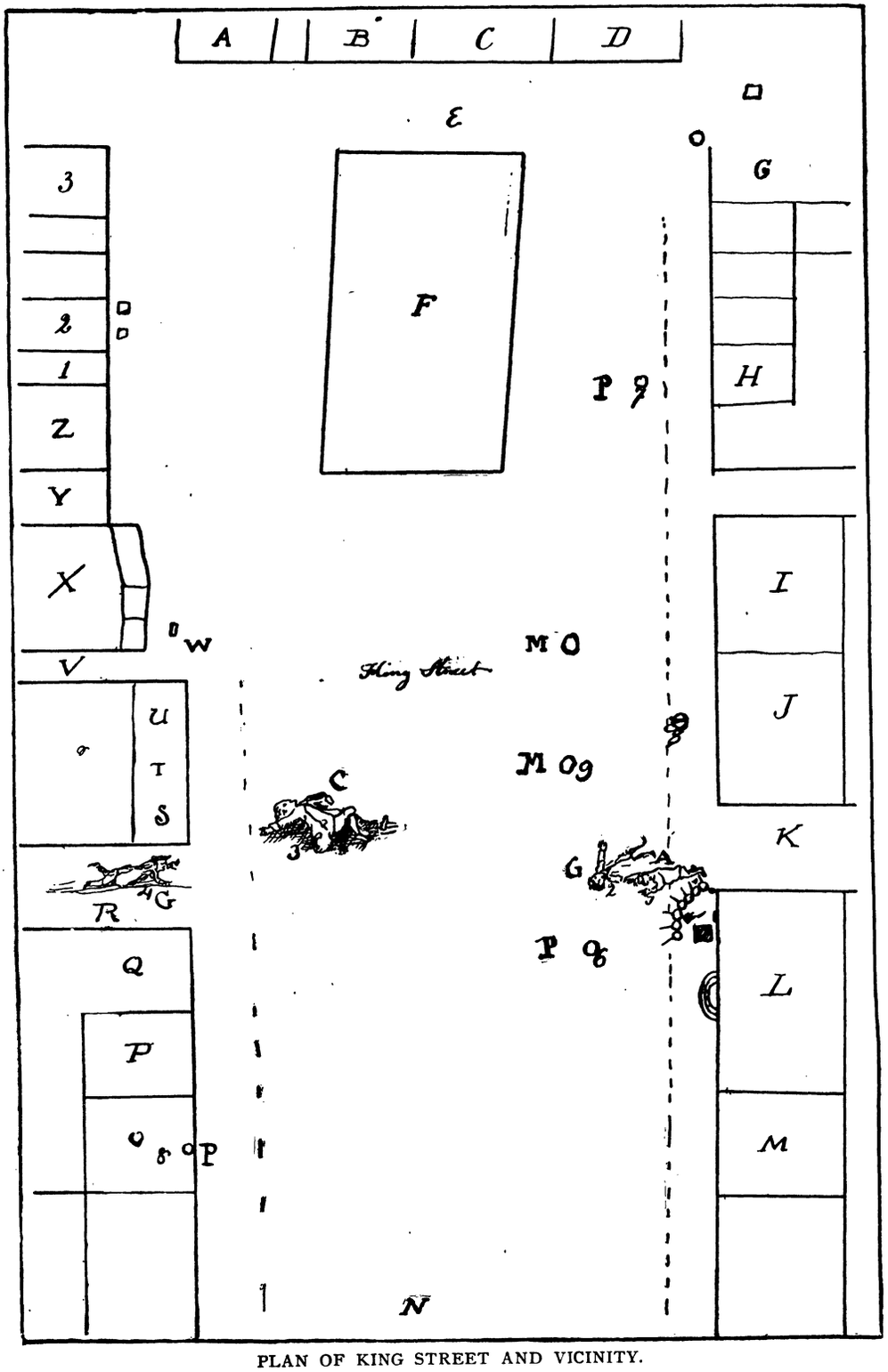

PLAN OF KING STREET AND VICINITY.

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the people. He did not succeed in a position in which all who had preceded him and all who followed him failed. He could not serve well two masters.

When Sir Francis Bernard[1] sailed for England on board the "Rippon," in August, 1769, he left the administration in the hands of Lieutenant-Governor Hutchinson. For several months nothing of importance took place, except misunderstandings growing out of the non-observance of the non-importation agreements (which were renewed March, 1770), and quarrels between the troops and the populace which resulted in the deplorable scenes of March 5, 1770. The circumstances which led to this affair are too well known to need recital in detail. While the town was occupied by British regiments, collisions were constantly occurring. None knew better than the populace the helplessness of the soldiers to resent insult or injury by arms. Even in case of riots, the reading of the Act and the intervention of the civil power were necessary preliminaries to firing upon the crowd. Nothing but confinement of the soldiers to their barracks could have prevented collisions with the populace. The patriot leaders had determined to get rid of the regiments at all cost. The affair at Gray's wharf on Saturday, March 2, led to the more serious affray on Monday, the 5th. On the evening of that day, between seven and eight o'clock, the cry of fire and ringing of bells drew together a large crowd, which was followed by a collision with the troops, and resulted in the death of three persons and wounding of several others, two mortally. The Boston Massacre soon became known throughout the country, and aroused a spirit of resistance hitherto unfelt. Its immediate effect was the withdrawal of the troops from the town to the Castle, on account of the resolute attitude assumed by Samuel Adams. The men who lost their lives in this affray were buried in one grave, to which they were followed by an immense procession, and for some years the anniversary of their death was observed by commemorative ceremonies. All classes in the community joined in execrating the soldiers, and gave no ear to justifying or mitigating circumstances. Inflamed and grossly inaccurate accounts of the transactions were drawn up and scattered through the colonies and sent to Great Britain. But time somewhat allayed the first feeling of animosity; and when the facts became better known, it clearly appeared that the soldiers had fired, without orders, upon the crowd only when it had become necessary in defence of their lives. Captain Preston (October 24) and the soldiers (November 27) engaged in the affray were brought to trial on a charge of murder, and were all acquitted, except two soldiers who were convicted of manslaughter. These were slightly branded, and all of them were liberated. John Adams and Josiah Quincy, Jr., appeared in their defence, and with equal honor the jurors did their duty in accordance with the law and the evidence. The news of the events of March 5 became known in London April 21, through Mr. Robertson, one of the commissioners of the customs.[2]

[1] He was created a baronet March 20, 1769 (Gordon, *History*, i. 275).

[2] An unpublished letter of this date, from Charles Lloyd to George Grenville, giving an

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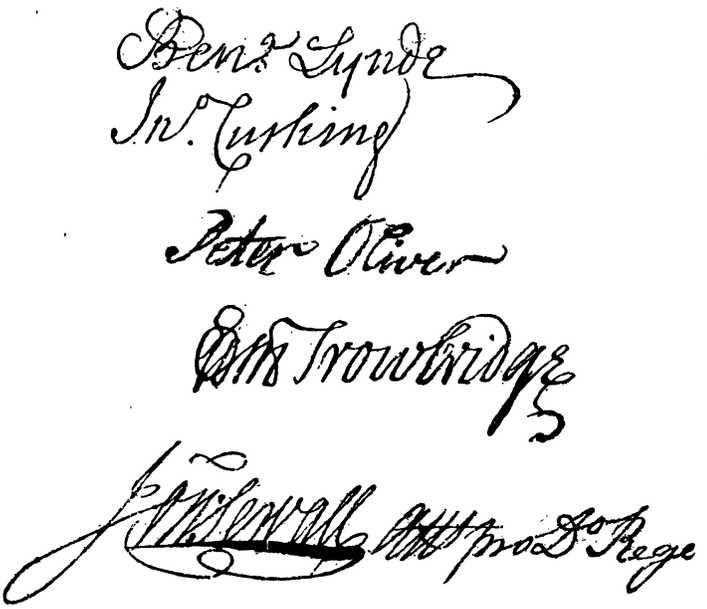
The Townshend act, though drawn conformably to the colonial distinctions between internal and external taxes, produced the same dissatisfaction as the Stamp Act had done. There was no real difference. If Parliament could lay external taxes, it could lay internal taxes. Non-importation agreements in the several colonies followed in 1769, and so long as they were observed, even without great strictness, were disastrous to British merchants, the value of whose exports to the American colonies between



THE COURT AT THE TRIAL.[1]

Christmas in 1767 and Christmas in 1769 fell off nearly £700,000 sterling; or, if we take the figures for those colonies where the agreement was most effective, in New England from £419,000 to £207,000, in New York from £482,000 to £74,000.[2] Though the agreement was not observed equally in all the colonies, nor in entire good faith in any, — Massachusetts and Rhode Island, particularly, suffered some discredit in this respect, as compared with New York and Philadelphia, — the general result seriously

account of the affair, is in the possession of the writer.

[1] [A fac-simile of a group of original autographs belonging to the writer of this chapter. Winthrop was the clerk of the court. The Attorney-General Sewall drew the indictment, but did not appear for the king. — Ed.]

[2] W. S. Johnson, *Trumbull Papers*, 423.

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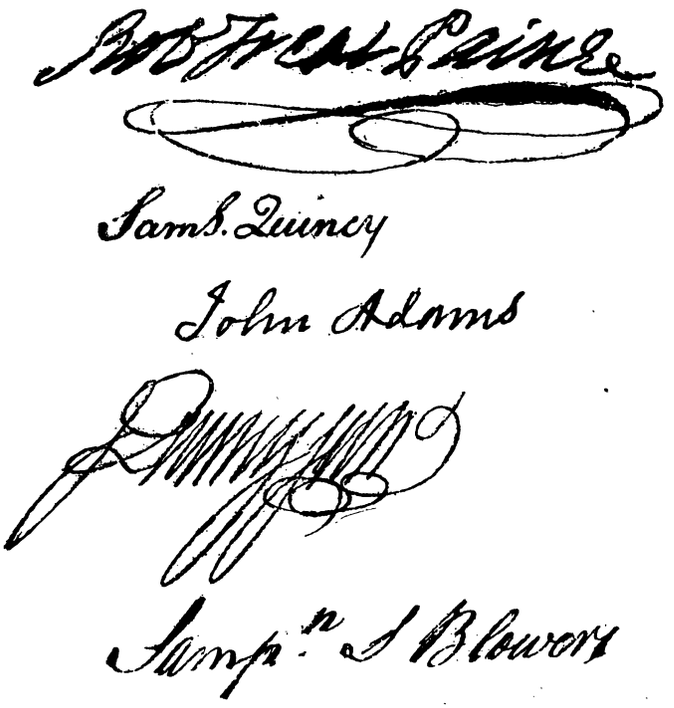
alarmed British merchants, who petitioned Parliament for the repeal of the Townshend act.[1] These petitions were considered in the House of Commons March 5, 1770, and Lord North, in accordance with Earl Hillsborough's circular letter, proposed to take off all the duties laid by the Townshend act of 1767, except that on tea, which he would preserve as a sort of declaratory act, especially since the conduct of the Americans had been such as to prevent an entire compliance with their wishes.[2] Gov-



THE COUNSEL OF THE GOVERNMENT AND OF THE ACCUSED.[3]

ernor Pownall offered as an amendment the entire repeal of the act, and supported his motion in an extremely able and interesting speech.[4] Pownall's amendment was lost by a vote of 204 to 142. The merchants failed to procure a repeal of the duties, although Alderman Trecothic made one more effort in their behalf, on the 9th of April, "in a very sensible speech."[5]

[1] May, 1770. "Agreeably to a vote of the town of Boston, Capt. Scott sailed from thence this month for London, with the cargo of goods he had brought from thence, contrary to the non-importation agreement; to give evidence, on the other side the water, of the sincerity of said agreement" (*Mass. Hist. Coll.*, ii. 44).

[2] W. S. Johnson, *Trumbull Papers*, 421. The Minute of the Cabinet, May 1, 1769, by which Hillsborough was authorized to make the promise contained in his circular letter, may be seen in Mahon's *History of England*, v. Appendix, xxxvii.; and the reasons upon which the minute rests are both interesting and significant — "upon consideration of such duties having been laid contrary to the *true principles of commerce*."

[3] [A fac-simile of a group of signatures belonging to the writer of this chapter. — ED.]

[4] *Parliamentary History*, xvi. 855, 979.

[5] W. S. Johnson, *Trumbull Papers*, 430.

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When the news of the Boston Massacre reached England late in April, 1770, it recalled attention to American affairs, which, after the defeat of Trecothic's motion, seemed to have been laid aside for the remainder of the session. Trecothic called for the papers.[1] While waiting for them, Governor Pownall made a speech on the "powers of government [which] the crown can and ought to grant to the dependencies of the realm; what form and power of government the British subject in those parts ought to be governed by; what powers are granted, both civil and military; and what arrangements, and means taken, for administering and executing these powers."[2] Burke, in the second of eight resolutions, affirmed "that a principal cause of the disorders which have prevailed in North America hath arisen from the ill-judged and inconsistent instructions given, from time to time, by persons in administration, to the governors of some of the provinces of North America."[3] Later, the same resolutions were brought forward in the House of Lords by the Duke of Richmond. But Burke was not acting in good faith. A close observer wrote at the time: "It is plain enough that these motions were not made for the sake of the colonies, but merely to serve the purposes of the opposition, to render the ministry, if possible, more odious, so that they may themselves come into the conduct of affairs, while it remains very doubtful whether they would do much better, if at all, than their predecessors."[4] This resulted well for the colonies, and, in the long run, for the progress of liberal ideas in both countries. But to those who wished for the continuance of the British connection, and believed in its practicability, it must have been a matter for profound regret that the liberal leaders, from Chatham to Fox, simply found fault with the acts of the ministry, and proposed nothing instead. The ministry, conciliatory to-day and severe to-morrow, had no fixed policy. American affairs gave way to the exigencies of a general election, just as we have lately seen in this country, great interests jeopardized by the unwillingness of both political parties to treat them on the eve of a presidential election. If, instead of this vacillating and inconsistent policy, both parties had given their attention to devising some rational system of colonial administration, as proposed by Pownall,[5] leaving local affairs to the colonists, but placing imperial affairs under a permanent board, not changeable with every ministry, the colonies and the mother-country might have remained united, perhaps for a generation, longer.

The Townshend duties, except those on tea, were repealed in April; but this did not satisfy the colonists, and dissensions arose among the merchants of the several colonies in regard to the non-importation agreement. Those of New York became dissatisfied with Boston and Newport merchants, who had agreed to import non-dutiable articles, even before the news of the repealing act; and in October, 1770, all sections fell into the

[1] W. S. Johnson, *Trumbull Papers*, 435.
[2] *Parliamentary History*, xvi. 981.
[3] *Ibid.*, 1006.
[4] W. S. Johnson, *Trumbull Papers*, 437.
[5] *Administration of the Colonies.*

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same plan, but no teas were to be imported. The Sons of Liberty in New York in vain resisted this arrangement.

In Massachusetts the patriots were seldom without causes of just complaint. Governor Hutchinson, in obedience to instructions of General Gage, had delivered (September 10) the keys of Castle William, in Boston harbor, which belonged to the province, to Colonel Dalrymple, who was the servant of the king; and following royal instructions, had refused to convene the General Court at Boston, instead of Cambridge, or to assent to any bill by which the assessors (in 1771) could tax the officers of the crown.[1] These exercises of the royal prerogative, and the payment of the governor's salary by the crown, involved constitutional questions of higher import, as the British Constitution then stood, than the question of parliamentary supremacy, and were matters of unceasing contention. In 1770, Franklin was chosen London agent of the colony, although not without some objection, in the place of De Berdt, recently deceased (May), and Hutchinson was appointed governor in March, 1771.

In 1772, although it was a year of general quiet, two events happened, which, in different ways, promoted the purposes of the more ardent patriots, — the burning of the "Gaspee" at Providence in June, and the formation of committees of correspondence in November. On the 9th of June, Lieutenant Dudingston, commander of the "Gaspee," who had shown great activity in the revenue service at Rhode Island, in undertaking to intercept the "Providence Packet," Captain Lindsay, ran aground on Namquit Point. While in this position, the "Gaspee" was boarded on the following night by a party of citizens led by John Brown, a respectable merchant. In the *mêlée* the lieutenant was wounded and the vessel was burned. The affair created a great sensation in England, and it was ordered that those engaged in it should be sent to England for trial. For this purpose the home government appointed colonial commissioners, who sat at Newport from the 4th to the 22d January, 1773, to inquire into the matter.[2] At the end of their deliberations they required Wanton, the governor of Rhode Island, to arrest the offenders, for trial in England. He appealed for directions to the Assembly, as did Stephen Hopkins, the chief-justice of the highest court. That body referred the matter to the discretion of the chief-justice, and he accordingly refused to arrest, or to allow the arrest of, any person for transportation.[3] Nothing came of the order except ill-humor in England and indignation in the colonies, where it was regarded as an invasion of their constitutional right of trial by their peers.

Samuel Adams was always busy on political subjects; nor were subjects wanting. The Earl of Hillsborough had been succeeded in the American department (August 4, 1772) by Lord Dartmouth; but the change in administration made no change in the policy of paying the salaries of the

[1] *Mass. State Papers*, 306.

[2] Lossing's *Field-Book of the Revolution*, i. 630. For a full account of this affair, see Bartlett's *History of the Destruction of the Gaspee.*

[3] W. E. Foster's *Stephen Hopkins*, Pt. ii. 95.

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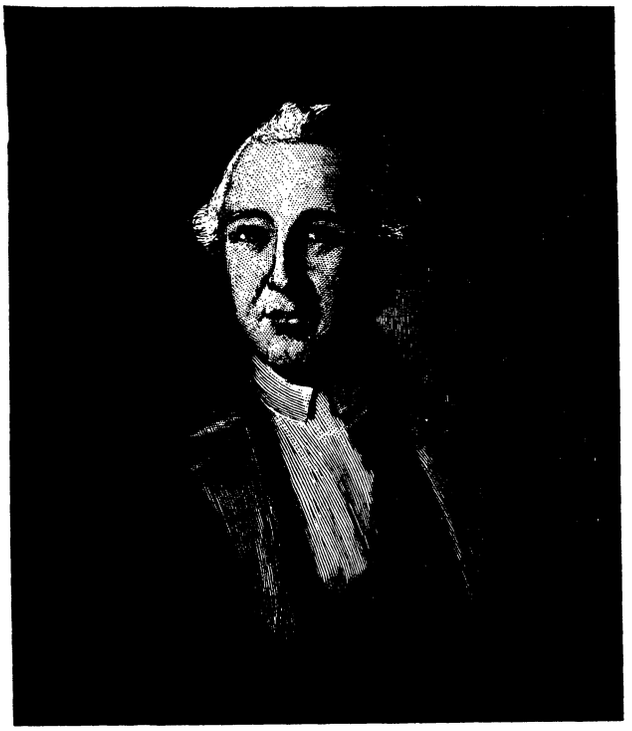
provincial judges by the king, and thus rendering them less dependent on the popular will. This was thought to be in derogation of colonial rights, especially so long as the judges held their seats only during the king's pleasure. Accordingly, a town meeting assembled in Faneuil Hall, October 28, and adjourned November 2d. Samuel Adams moved "that a committee of correspondence be appointed, to consist of twenty-one persons, to state the rights of the colonies, and of this province in particular, as men, as Christians, and as subjects; to communicate and publish the same to the several towns in this province and to the world, as the sense



JOSEPH WARREN.[1]

of this town, with the infringements and violations thereof that have been, or from time to time may be, made; also requesting of each town a free communication of their sentiments on this subject."[2] This was the beginning of an organization (November 22), entered into with hesitation by some of the leading patriots of Boston, which finally secured the public confidence, and became a great power for the concentration of popular sentiment. It undoubtedly led to the larger measure of intercolonial correspondence instituted by Virginia during the next spring; and not the least of its claims to consideration is the fact that it engaged the attention and

[1] [From a pastel owned by the heirs of the late Hon. C. F. Adams. It is unfinished below the chest. — ED.]

[2] Frothingham's *Rise of the Republic*, 266.

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BOSTON, JUNE 22d, 1773.

SIR.

THE Committee of Correſpondence of the Town of *Boſton*, conformable to that Duty which they have hitherto endeavoured to diſcharge with Fidelity, again addreſs you with a very fortunate important Diſcovery; and cannot but expreſs their grateful Sentiments in having obtained the Approbation of ſo large a Majority of the Towns in this Colony, for their paſt Attention to the general Intereſt.

A more extraordinary Occurrence poſſibly never yet took Place in *America*; the providential Care of that gracious Being who conducted the early Settlers of this Country to eſtabliſh a ſafe Retreat from Tyranny for themſelves and their Poſterity in *America*, has again wonderfully interpoſed to bring to Light the Plot that had been laid for us by our malicious and inſidious Enemies.

Our preſent Governor has been exerting himſelf (as the honorable Houſe of Aſſembly have expreſſed themſelves in their late Reſolves) "by his ſecret confidential Correſpondence, to introduce Meaſures "deſtructive of our conſtitutional Liberty, while he has practiced every "method among the People of this Province, to fix in their Minds "an exalted Opinion of his warmeſt Affection for them, and his "unremitted Endeavours to promote their beſt Intereſt at the Court "of Great-Britain." This will abundantly appear by the Letters and Reſolves which we herewith tranſmit to you; the ſerious Peruſal of which will ſhew you your preſent moſt dangerous Situation. This Period calls for the ſtricteſt Concurrence in Sentiment and Action of every individual of this Province, and we may add, of THIS CONTINENT; all private Views ſhould be annihilated, and the Good of the Whole ſhould be the ſingle Object of our Purſuit—"By uniting we ſtand," and ſhall be able to defeat the Invaders and Violaters of our Rights.

We are,

Your Friends and humble Servants,

Signed by Direction of the Committee for Correſpondence in *Boſton*,

William Cooper } *Town-Clerk.*

To the Town-Clerk of , *to be immediately delivered to the Committee of Correſpondence for your Town, if ſuch a Committee is choſen, otherwiſe to the Gentlemen the Selectmen, to be communicated to the Town.*

[Slightly reduced from an original in the Boston Public Library. — ED.]

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secured the services of Joseph Warren as the trusted lieutenant of Samuel Adams.[1]

The American Revolution rests upon grounds so high and clear, and was carried forward by measures so honorably conceived and so persistently adhered to, that all who adopt its principles must regret any circumstance in its history by which the opinion of candid people is divided. Such a division is found in connection with the Hutchinson letters. The story is briefly this: — In the years 1768 and 1769 Thomas Hutchinson and Andrew Oliver, then officers in Massachusetts, appointed by the crown, and sworn to a faithful discharge of their duties, with several other persons, in a private correspondence with Thomas Whately, an English gentleman, formerly, but not then, connected with the government, communicated facts about colonial affairs the truth of which has never been impugned, and expressed opinions which Tories might honestly entertain. These letters in some unexplained manner found their way — either from the cabinet of the person to whom they were addressed, after his death, or, as is more likely, from the papers of George Grenville, to whom Whately had probably entrusted them for perusal — into the hands of Franklin, the colony agent in London, by whom they were sent in 1773, with an unsigned letter, to the speaker of the Massachusetts House. The injunctions in respect to them were loosely regarded, and they were published by a breach of faith which implicated a large body of men. They were made the basis of a petition by the General Court to the king for the removal of their writers from the offices which they held; but after a hearing before the Privy Council, January 29, 1774, the petition, which the province did not attempt to support by evidence, was dismissed as "groundless, vexatious, and scandalous." Two days later, Dr. Franklin was removed from the office of deputy postmaster-general for the colonies, — a circumstance of great consequence to the American cause, since it irrevocably committed to it one who had been thought its lukewarm promoter.

Massachusetts, which had led in most of the Revolutionary movements, did not take the lead in establishing committees of correspondence between the colonies. That honor belongs to Virginia; and its chief cause was the action of the commissioners in the "Gaspee" case. March 12, 1773, Dabney Carr, who had been put forward at the suggestion of Jefferson, moved certain resolutions in the Virginia House of Burgesses, which, supported by Richard Henry Lee and Patrick Henry, were unanimously adopted. Rhode Island followed in adopting similar measures. On May 28th the Massachusetts House responded to Virginia.[2] Hutchinson justly considers this as one of the most important and daring movements of the patriotic party during the Revolution.[3] It paved the way for the union of the

[1] For a full account of the formation and purpose of the Committee of Correspondence, with the names of the Boston members, see Frothingham's *Rise of the Republic*, 263.

[2] See resolutions and members of the committee in *Mass. State Papers*, 400.

[3] *History*, iii. 397.

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colonies and for the General Congress which was convened at Philadelphia the next year.

To the patriots of Philadelphia belongs the credit of making the first public demonstration against the project of the East India Company for transporting their accumulated stock of tea to America, in a series of resolutions passed October 18, at a meeting held in the State House.[1] News of the intention of the company to do this had reached America in August. Samuel Adams was ready. The towns in the province of Massachusetts were aroused by Joseph Warren's circular letter in behalf of the Committee of Correspondence, September 21, 1773, and the Philadelphia resolutions were adopted in Faneuil Hall. Constant communications were kept up between the importing colonies. Ships loaded with tea were dispatched about the month of August to Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Charleston, but the tone of the public press in those towns indicated a determination not to allow the sale of the cargoes. The Charleston consignees, on the request of the people, resigned; those at Boston refused. November 28, one of the tea ships arrived in Boston, followed not long after by two more. These were placed under guard by the patriots. The consignees would neither resign nor return the tea, and the time was near at hand when they would be seized for non-payment of duties. Thursday, December 16, a large meeting of the citizens was held at the Old South Church, at which Josiah Quincy, Jr., spoke in words that have become historical. After all efforts to induce Hutchinson to grant a pass for the return of the tea (which he thought would be illegal) had proved futile, a war-whoop was sounded at the door of the Old South, and a large company of men disguised as Indians rushed to Griffin's wharf. Teas to the value of £18,000 were thrown from the vessels into the sea, and the same treatment was bestowed upon another cargo which came some weeks later. This act, although applauded throughout the colonies, was not imitated by them; other means were found to prevent the sale of the teas.[2]

While the news of these events was on its way to England, John Adams signalized his zeal in the patriotic cause and evinced his faith in the provincial constitution by leading in the impeachment of Chief-Justice Oliver for having accepted his salary from the crown instead of the people, in derogation of their fundamental rights.[3]

Governor Hutchinson, finding himself powerless to quell the storm, determined to put himself in closer communication with the ministry by going to England, but was delayed by the death of Lieutenant-Governor Oliver, until he was finally superseded by General Gage, who arrived in Boston May 13, 1774. As he was about to leave, he received an address, dated May 30, approving his conduct, and signed by many respectable Tories; but some of them were afterwards obliged by threats of popular

[1] Ramsay gives these resolutions. *Hist. Amer. Rev.*, i. 98.

[2] Frothingham's *Rise of the Republic*, 294; Hutchinson's *History*, iii. 441.

[3] Hutchinson's *History*, iii. 441.

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violence to make their recantations in the newspapers. June 1, he sailed from Boston, and never saw his native shore again.[1] In the mean time an account of the destruction of the teas had reached England, and produced great indignation, which was shared to some extent by the most ardent friends of the colonists, whose efforts to mitigate and delay the punishment visited upon the offending people of Boston were unavailing. On the 7th of March, the king sent a message communicating the despatches from America; and on the 14th Lord North brought in the Boston Port Bill, which transferred the commerce of Boston, after the 1st of June, to Salem, but gave power to the king, in council, to restore it, upon the return of order and full compensation to the owners for the teas destroyed. Having passed both Houses, this received the king's assent March 31, and took effect June 1. While the measure was pending in the House of Lords, Lord North introduced another bill, which provided for the appointment of councillors by the crown, the appointment and removal by the governor of judges of the superior courts, justices of the peace, and other minor officers, and, with the consent of the council, of sheriffs. The governor's permission was made necessary for the holding of town meetings, except for the choice of officers. It was also provided by another act that offenders and witnesses might be transported for trial to the other colonies, or to England.[2]

These severe measures did not pass without resistance or protest by the liberal party in Parliament. They reached Boston June 2, 1774, were printed in the newspapers on the 3d, and soon found their way into all the colonies, where they excited indignation against the ministry and sympathy for the people of Boston, which was manifested by liberal contributions for relief when afterwards the loss of business had brought distress. If anything more was needed to arouse the anger of New England, it was supplied by the Quebec Bill, less objectionable to that section because it extended the bounds of Canada over regions for which the colonies had contended, than because it perpetuated civil and ecclesiastical institutions hateful to the descendants of Puritans. Hutchinson thought that these severe measures would bring the recalcitrant Bostonians to reason. But he was mistaken. The matter had already passed from the forum of reason, and was reserved for the arbitrament of impending war. Instead of being subdued, the spirit of the people became more resolute.

The Boston Port Bill, designed as a punishment for the destruction of the tea, brought ruin to the commerce of Boston, and distress to all whose subsistence depended upon it; but its political effect was to draw the colonies together, and that was so effectually promoted by the vigorous action of the committee of correspondence that the idea of a continental congress soon became general.

On May 26, 1774, Governor Gage informed the General Court that by the king's command its sessions would be held at Salem from June 1st until further orders. The court was convened at that place, and the patriots,

[1] He died at Brompton, England, June 3, 1780. [2] Frothingham's *Rise of the Republic*, 347.

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guided by Samuel Adams, were making arrangements for a general congress at Philadelphia, when the governor, getting a hint of their action, sent Flucker, the provincial secretary, with a message to dissolve them. The secretary, however, found the door of the chamber of the Representatives locked; and before it was opened, that body had determined that "a committee should be appointed to meet, as soon as may be, the committees that

A CONTEMPORARY PRINT.[1]

are or shall be appointed by the several colonies on this continent, to consult together upon the present state of the colonies," and had chosen James Bowdoin, Samuel Adams, John Adams, Thomas Cushing, and Robert Treat Paine delegates thereto. Such was the origin in Massachusetts of the first Continental Congress which met at Philadelphia September 5, 1774.[2]

[1] [Sketched from a finely executed mezzotint, published in London in 1774. The man thrown from his horse seems to be Gage. The original belongs to the Boston Public Library. — ED.]

[2] The action of the other colonies in respect to the proposed Continental Congress may be found in Frothingham's *Rise of the Republic*, 331, n.

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The 17th of June, the day on which delegates to the Continental Congress were chosen, is also notable for "the Port Act" meeting in Faneuil Hall. From the general distress among the laboring classes in Boston the Tories had expected a reaction in favor of the ministry; consequently a counter demonstration by the patriots was deemed advisable. In the absence of Samuel Adams, then at Salem, John Adams was chosen moderator, and from this time he was one of the most conspicuous actors in the American Revolution. Joseph Warren was also present, and active in the cause which, a year later, he consecrated with his blood. The action of the town became widely known from a broadside, which is here reproduced.

After the repeal of the Stamp Act and the modifying of the Townshend act, there remained nothing to threaten seriously the pockets of the colonists. The tea duty had been retained to save the claim of parliamentary supremacy, which was not likely to be asserted in any offensive way. The navigation acts must soon have given way to a more liberal and equitable policy, and everything out of Massachusetts — certainly out of New England — indicated that the people were becoming tired of strife, and were ready for a return to more cordial relations with the mother country. This was what Samuel Adams feared, and determined to prevent. To this end nothing could have been more efficient than his policy in respect to the teas, and nothing more to his mind than the consequent action of Parliament. After this a contention which had been mainly local became general. The essential modification of the Massachusetts charter was a blow which imperilled every colonial government, and made the cause of Massachusetts that of every other colony, — a cause for which other colonies manifested their sympathy not only in relieving the distress occasioned by the closing of the port of Boston, but by uniting in declarations of their common right to maintain the integrity of a system of government which had been forming through many generations.

The Congress of 1774 was the inevitable result of the conduct of the British ministry subsequent to the peace of 1763. This served only to engender discontent in the colonies, and to strengthen the purpose of the patriotic party to hasten a revolution which many regarded as inevitable in time. The parliamentary government of the colonies fell into confusion for want of a well-defined policy and a consistent administration. But instead of such a policy, colonial affairs were regulated by ministers as wide apart in their views as Grenville, Rockingham, Townshend, Grafton, Shelburne, Hillsborough, Lord North, and Earl Dartmouth. Nothing could have kept the colonies as an integral part of the empire except some plan such as Franklin or Pownall might have devised and Shelburne might have administered. But the colonies were remote and but little known, and in the complication of European affairs, and amid the contentions of parties, they received only slight and intermittent attention from the ministry or the Parliament. No statesman save Choiseul seems to have understood the completeness of the change in interests which had been brought about by

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VOTES and PROCEEDINGS of the Town of BOSTON,

JUNE 17, 1774.

AT a legal and very full meeting of the freeholders and other inhabitants of the town of Boston, *by adjournment at* Faneuil-hall, *June* 17, 1774.

The Hon. JOHN ADAMS, Esq; Moderator.

UPON a motion made, the town again entered into the conſideration of that article in the warrant, Viz. "To conſider and determine what meaſures are proper to be taken upon the preſent exigency of our public affairs, more eſpecially relative to the late edict of a Britiſh parliament for blocking up the harbour of Boſton, and annihilating the trade of this town," and after very ſerious debates thereon,

VOTED, (With only one diſſentient) That the committee of correſpondence be enjoined forthwith to write to all the other colonies, acquainting them that we are not idle, that we are deliberating upon the ſteps to be taken on the preſent exigencies of our public affairs; that our brethren the landed intereſt of this province, with an unexampled ſpirit and unanimity, are entering into a non-conſumption agrement; and that we are waiting with anxious expectation for the reſult of a continental congreſs, whoſe meeting we impatiently deſire, in whoſe wiſdom and firmneſs we can confide, and in whoſe determinations we ſhall chearfully acquieſce.

Agreable to order, the committee of correſpondence laid before the town ſuch letters, as they had received in anſwer to the circular letters, wrote by them to the ſeveral colonies and alſo the ſea port towns in this province ſince the reception of the Boſton port bill; and the ſame being publicly read,

VOTED, unanimouſly, That our warmeſt thanks be tranſmitted to our brethren on the continent, for that humanity, ſympathy and affection with which they have been inſpired, and which they have expreſſed towards this diſtreſſed town at this important ſeaſon.

VOTED, unanimouſly, That the thanks of this town be, and hereby are, given to the committee of correſpondence, for their faithfulneſs, in the diſcharge of their truſt, and that they be deſired to continue their vigilance and activity in that ſervice.

Whereas the Overſeers of the poor in the town of Boſton are a body politic, by law conſtituted for the reception and diſtribution of all charitable donations for the uſe of the poor of ſaid town,

VOTED, That all grants and donations to this town and the poor thereof at this diſtreſſing ſeaſon, be paid and delivered into the hands of ſaid Overſeers, and by them appropriated and diſtributed in concert with the committee lately appointed by this town for the conſideration of ways and means of employing the poor.

VOTED, That the town clerk be directed to publiſh the proceedings of this meeting in the ſeveral news papers.

The meeting was then adjourned to Monday the 27th of June, inſtant.

Atteſt,

WILLIAM COOPER, Town Clerk.

BROADSIDE, JUNE 17, 1774.[1]

[1] [The original is in the Boston Public Library. There are other significant broadsides of about this time. On June 8th, the citizens of Boston issued an address to their countrymen relative to the blockade of their port, and on July 26th they adopted a letter on the blockade, which was sent to the several towns,—both in broadside.—ED.]

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the extinction of the French power in America, or the necessary advance of the colonies under a new régime to a place among the great powers of the world. The colonists themselves felt, rather than understood, their relations to nationality and to the commerce of the world. This was the time chosen by the British ministry to impose upon them the restrictive mercantile system of Charles II.

It is doubtful, however, whether any policy could have rendered permanent the subjection of the colonies, even such a nominal subjection as that in which they had always been held. In looking for the causes of the Revolution, it is well to discriminate between those which were general in their effects and those which were local. The latter had been more actively operative and of longer existence in Massachusetts, where the Revolution began, than in any other colony. These were interwoven with the civil and ecclesiastical history of her people, which made them peculiarly apprehensive in respect to threatened invasion of rights which they had secured only by expatriation. Although the peculiar experience of Massachusetts did not cause the Revolution, it is doubtful whether, except for that experience, the Revolution would have occurred for some years. Nor was resistance to the Anglican ecclesiastical pretensions, connected as they were with the most odious features of the prerogative, confined to New England, but made itself felt in New York and in Virginia.[1] The general causes were the ever present and ever active strife between parties, — the liberals and the conservatives, — arising from a diversity of political ideas, and intensified by ambition, interest, and personal animosities. But the proximate causes of the Revolution will be found in that change of policy which led the ministry, at the close of a war that had strained the colonies to the utmost, to enforce the navigation laws, to lay taxes, to invoke the prerogative, and finally to overthrow the government of Massachusetts, and thus to threaten the autonomy of the people under the provincial constitutions.

CRITICAL ESSAY ON THE SOURCES OF INFORMATION.

THE change in British colonial policy contemplated by the ministry during the progress of the French War, and entered upon between 1763 and 1774, developed those causes of dissatisfaction which had been intermittently operative for more than a century, and finally led to war in 1775. In the preceding chapter I have omitted, or passed lightly over, many incidents of the period which had no particular political significance, and dwelt more at length on the principles and causes which led to the Revolution. I shall pursue the same course in this essay.

The growth and development of the colonies brought forward, in succession, two practical questions. The first was, how far the interests of the colonies, as appendages to the

[1] See authorities in *John Adams*, a pamphlet by the writer of this chapter, 1884.

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crown, but subject, nevertheless, to an undefined parliamentary authority, could be subordinated to the interests of the trading and manufacturing classes in England. This was purely an economic question, and the answer to it in England assumed the subjection of the colonies and the validity of the mercantile system, neither of which was vigorously contested by the colonists so long as neither was rigidly enforced. But the question changed during the progress, and more especially at the close, of the French War, and then became this: How far could the interests of the colonies be subordinated to the necessities of an imperial revenue and the political policy of an empire? Hence arose the second question: What degree of autonomy could be allowed to the colonies, as integral parts of the empire, entitled to its privileges and subject to its burdens, when both were to be determined consistently with the constitutional prerogatives of the king and the supremacy of Parliament on the one side, and on the other with the natural and acquired rights of the colonies?

Regarded purely as an economic question, it was a matter of indifference to the colonists whether their pockets were depleted by the enforcement of an old policy or by the adoption of a new policy. The Sugar Act of 1733, if enforced, would have produced a parliamentary tax. The Grenville Act of 1764 did no more. But the former was intended as a regulation of trade; the latter to produce a revenue. This difference of intent raised a constitutional question, and it was on this constitutional question, behind which lay the real economic question, that the patriotic party chose to fight the battle. Grenville's Act, as an external tax, produced but little; and the Stamp Act, as an internal tax, not a farthing.

It was, therefore, mainly on the constitutional question — of the right to tax, rather than to throw off intolerable burdens — that people divided into parties. As Webster said, "They went to war against a preamble. They fought seven years against a declaration."[1] To understand the attitude of the tories on the economic question as well as on the constitutional question, we must consider the state of colonial affairs which led to the Congress of 1754, and the tentative efforts of that body to find consistent and reciprocal relations of the colonies to the imperial government, for union, defence, and revenue. To understand the attitude of the patriots, we must consider the reasons of the ministry for rejecting such a union, and their efforts to force each colony into relations to the crown and Parliament deemed by them consistent and reciprocal, but regarded by the colonists as subversive of their rights as Englishmen, and of their rights acquired by charters, growth, development, and usage, which, as they justly claimed, had become constitutional.

Though the enforcement of the navigation laws and acts of trade, at the close of the French War, is regarded by historians as one of the principal causes of the Revolution, I fail to find a satisfactory or entirely accurate account of them, either as the basis of the mercantile system, or, later, of a revenue system. Such a treatment would hardly be practicable in the limits of a general history. These laws have been elaborately discussed by Thomas Mun, Sir Josiah Child, Sir William Patty, Charles Davenant, Joshua Gee, John Ashley, and, not to mention others, Adam Smith and Henry Brougham. But these authors wrote with reference to their influence, as part of the mercantile system, on British interests. How they affected colonial interests is the question which chiefly concerns us.

To answer this question we must know not merely what those laws enacted, but to what state of colonial trade they originally and successively applied. For instance, what, from time to time, by development of agricultural or other industries, between 1640 and 1774, had the colonists to sell, and what, as they increased in wealth, did they wish to purchase; and where, left to the unrestricted course of trade, would they have carried their products, and where purchased their merchandise? In other words, what would they have done and become under free trade?

[1] *Works*, iv. 109. I find in the works of no other writer, historical or political, more accurate conceptions of the causes, immediate and remote, of the Revolution, and so fair and judicial a statement of them. *Works*, i. 24, 92.

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Then we must know what changes in this normal condition of trade were intended by the navigation laws, and to what extent and with what effect their partial enforcement operated before 1763. With these facts before us, we could estimate with some exactness the valid objections to the new system on the part of the colonists, when enforced by the British navy, commissioners of customs, admiralty courts, and writs of assistance, and what was their influence in bringing on the Revolution.

Having made up the debit account, we should be able to set against it the compensations in naval protection, bounties,[1] drawbacks, British capital, and long credits, in developing colonial agriculture and commerce.[2]

Unfortunately there does not exist any history of the commerce of the American colonies, from the Commonwealth to 1774, as affected by navigation laws, acts of trade, and revenue measures. No one who has read the twenty-nine acts which comprise this legislation will recommend their perusal to another; for, apart from their volume, the construction of these acts is difficult, — difficult even to trained lawyers like John Adams, whose business it was to advise clients in respect to them.[3] Nor have special students, like Bancroft, stated their effect with exact precision, as in respect to the Act of 1663;[4] and notably in respect to the Townshend Act of 1767,[5] where his error amounts to a perversion of its meaning. Palfrey has been more successful, though not entirely free from error.[6] The author of the *Development of Constitutional Liberty*,[7] a work of uncommon research and ability, reads the act of 1672 as though it prohibited the carrying of fish from Massachusetts to Rhode Island except by the way of England, failing to notice that it was not one of the "enumerated articles," or that even those could pass directly from colony to colony upon payment, at the place of export, of duties equivalent to those laid upon their importation to England. To give a monographic treatment to the subject would require familiarity with the construction of statutes, and exact information not only of the shifting conditions of colonial trade, but of the evasions which called forth supplemental acts, or constructions of existing acts by the Board of Trade.[8]

In Burke's *Account of the European Settlements in America*[9] much may be found respecting colonial products and commerce, and especially those of New England (in ch. vii.), which leaves little to be desired concerning the sources of her wealth, and the complaints of British merchants of the methods by which it had been acquired. But I have found nowhere else so full and clear an account of the course of trade of Boston at the time of the Revolution, and the effect upon it of the enforcement of the navigation laws and acts of trade in 1770, as in an anonymous pamphlet entitled *Observations of the Merchants at Boston in N. E. upon Several Acts of Parliament, 1770*.[10]

[1] Bancroft, v. 250.

[2] See *Rights of Great Britain asserted against the claims of America* (London, 1776).

[3] *Works*, x. 321.

[4] *History*, ii. 43.

[5] *Ibid.*, vi. 85.

[6] *Hist. N. E.*, ii. 444.

[7] New York, 1882, by Eben Greenough Scott.

[8] In the absence of such a work, the student will find something to his purpose in the *Hutchinson Papers* (Prince Soc. ed.), ii. 150, 232, 265, 301, 313 *et passim*; *Andros Tracts*, ii. 69, 215, 224, 233 *et passim*; Sewall's *Letters*, i. 4; Chalmers's *Political Annals*, in the notes particularly, and in his *Introduction to the History of the Revolt of the Colonies*; Palfrey, *Hist. New England*, ii. 444; iii. 276, 279, *n.* For the commerce and products of Virginia in 1671, and the effect of the navigation laws, see Chalmers's *Political Annals*, 327; and in 1675, *Ibid.*, 353, 354; and for duties imposed on commerce by colonial assemblies, *Ibid.*, 354, 404. For complaints of British merchants to Charles II. of infractions of the navigation laws by New England, *Ibid.*, 400, 433, 437. See Ramsay's *American Revolution*, i. 19, 22, 23, 45, 46, 49; and Franklin's *Works*, iv. 37, for British trade with the colonies. Jefferson's *Notes*, 277, gives the amount of Virginia exports just before the Revolution. *Queries and Answers*, relative to the commerce of Connecticut in 1774 (*Mass. Hist. Coll.*, vii. 234), affords much interesting information as to shipping, sailors, and importations from Great Britain, the course and subjects of foreign trade of the colony. For similar papers relating to New York, see O'Callaghan's *Documentary Hist. of New York*, 8vo ed., vol. i. 145, 699, 709, 737, and vol. iv. 163.

[9] *Works*, Boston ed., vol. ix.

[10] *The Late Regulations Respecting the British Colonies* (published at Philadelphia, 1765, and

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An essential part of this history is that which relates to the medium of exchange, and to the attempts of Parliament to regulate the issue of paper money as a legal tender in the interests of British merchants.[1]

The history of the navigation laws suggests the similarity of the causes which led to the successive revolutions of 1689 and 1775 in Massachusetts. The violation of these laws was a principal reason for the abrogation of the first charter, in 1684, graphically described by Palfrey,[2] and their enforcement by courts of admiralty, under Dudley, Andros, and Randolph, was one cause of the overthrow of the Andros government in 1689.[3] The resistance to the same and additional enactments, when enforced as revenue measures, led to the alteration of the second charter in 1774, and this again led to revolution by the united colonies.

One of the most efficient instruments in the execution of the navigation laws was the writs of assistance granted by the court in Massachusetts in 1761.[4]

If the student of American history finds difficulty in accepting the common accounts of the constitutional opinions and motives of two fifths of the colonists, among whom were many who must be regarded as intelligent and respectable, his doubts as to the accuracy of these narratives receive some confirmation when he becomes familiar with the history of the Congress of 1754, the circumstances which led to it, and the opinions of some of its representative men. A comparison of their views will show how far they were willing to go in the "abridgment of English liberties," for the sake of union, defence, and government. Franklin, Hutchinson, and Pownall formed plans for union, and all were at Albany in 1754, and participated in the discussions, though Pownall, not being a member, explained his views outside the congress.[5]

attributed to John Dickinson) contains valuable statistics of commerce, and discusses the British commercial and revenue policy with great ability; also, *Considerations on the Propriety of Imposing Taxes in the British Colonies*, attributed to Daniel Dulaney, of Maryland, 1765; *The Right to the Tonnage*, by the same, Annapolis, 1766.

[1] Cf. Felt's *Massachusetts Currency;* Pownall's *Administration of the Colonies*, 102 *et seq.*

[2] *Hist. N. E.*, iii. ch. ix.

[3] Sewall says that the first admiralty court was held July 5, 1686, and that several ships had been seized for trading contrary to the acts (*Letters*, i. 34). Dudley was inaugurated May 26, 1686, and soon got to the work of enforcing the laws. See also *Andros Tracts*, iii. 69.

[4] The history of these writs is given, with a fulness and accuracy which leaves nothing to be desired, in the Appendix to *Quincy's Reports*, by Horace Gray, Jr. (now Mr. Justice Gray, of the Supreme Court of the United States). Besides other sources of unpublished information, in England and America, Mr. Gray had access to the *Bernard Papers* (now in Harvard University library); in his administration these writs were legalized and efficiently used.

[5] See Vol. V. p. 612. For more than a century in the government of the colonies political considerations were subordinated to a commercial policy; New England was favored during the Protectorate, and Virginia after the Restoration, equally on political grounds. But with the beginning of the French War this commercial policy began to give way to an imperial policy. To the Congress of 1754 is due the distinction of being the only body, among similar gatherings before or since, which of its own motion seriously entertained and adopted a project of bringing the colonies, as a unit, into defined relations to the mother country, for general government in respect to their defence. Nobody saw more clearly than Franklin, or has more explicitly pointed out the necessity of some general government for the defence of the colonies (*Works*, by Sparks, iii. 32 *et seq.*); and to secure these ends he was willing to go further, in some respects, even than Hutchinson. He admitted the power and necessity of parliamentary action in the alteration of colonial charters (*Works*, iii. 36). He provided that the President-General should be appointed and his salary paid by the crown (3 *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, v. 70); that the Speaker should be approved by the President-General, thus admitting the validity of the prerogative (*Works*, iii. 44; and see Plan, that the assent of the President-General should be requisite to all *acts* of the Grand Council, instead of all *laws*, as stated by Bancroft, iv. 123); and that the Grand Council should have power to "lay and levy such general duties, imposts, or taxes as to *them* shall appear most equal and just" (*Works*, iii. 50). Bancroft, in summarizing the Plan of Union, drawn by Franklin, says (*Hist.*, iv. 124) the general government was empowered "to make laws and levy just and equitable taxes," thus giving the impression that the pow-

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The difference between Pownall, Hutchinson, and Franklin was this: that while all contemplated the union of the empire under one general government as something dictated by the interest of all the parts, Hutchinson limited the power of the President more than Franklin, and Pownall was unwilling to contemplate the transfer of its seat to America; the prospect of which gave Franklin no concern. "The government cannot be long retained without union. Which is best, to have a total separation, or a change of the seat of government?"[1] Speculations as to the results of such a union are now idle, unless for the interest drawn towards them by Professor Seeley's *Expansion of England*, and Franklin's belief, expressed in 1789, "that if the foregoing plan [that of 1754], or something like it, had been adopted and carried into execution, the subsequent separation of

ers of the Council were limited by absolute justice and equity, or by what each colony should so judge. But this is what Franklin neither meant nor said. He lodged the powers in the sole discretion of the Council, which is quite a different thing. Grenville or Townshend asked no more for Parliament. The General Assembly of Connecticut knew what the words meant. In their reasons for rejecting the proposed plan (1 *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, vii. 212) they say, "The proposal, in said plan contained, for the President-General and Council to levy taxes, &c., *as they please*, throughout this extensive government, is a very extraordinary thing, and against *the rights and privileges of Englishmen*." Their objections to Franklin's Plan read like an answer of the Massachusetts General Court, drawn by Samuel Adams, to a message of Bernard. The governor and council of Rhode Island had similar fears. They said that they found it to be "a scheme which, if carried into execution, will virtually deprive this government, at least, of some of its most valuable privileges, if not effectually overturn and destroy our present happy constitution" (*Rhode Island Hist. Tracts*, ix. 61). And that sturdy patriot, Stephen Hopkins, who was associated with Franklin, Hutchinson, Pitkin, and Howard in the Albany Plan, was subjected to much worry for invoking the parliamentary authority in modifying the Rhode Island charter, and was driven to self-vindication in *A True Representation* (*Ibid.*, 1). Whatever modifications Franklin's opinions may have undergone in later years on other matters, "it was his opinion thirty years afterwards that his plan was near the true medium" (*Works*, iii. 24, Sparks's note).

There is a plan of union in the handwriting of Thomas Hutchinson (*Mass. Archives*, vi. 171, and in the *Trumbull MSS.*, in Mass. Hist. Soc., i. 97; and printed in Frothingham's *Rise of the Republic*, Appendix) which probably expressed his sentiments in 1754, when it was rejected by the General Court. Like Franklin, he was willing to acknowledge and invoke the parliamentary authority for the union, with the power in the Grand Council to levy such taxes as they deemed just and equal; but, unlike Franklin, he did not allow the President to negative the choice of the Speaker by the Grand Council.

But no one wrote from a more varied experience, or more careful examination of colonial constitutions, and of their possible relations to the mother country, than Thomas Pownall. His connection with the Commissioners of Trade and Plantations, as their secretary, in 1745, made him familiar with the difficulties of colonial administration from the British point of view; and his successive administrations, as lieutenant-governor, or governor, of New Jersey, Massachusetts, and South Carolina from 1755 to 1761, extended his acquaintance with the state of colonial affairs in the Northern, Middle, and Southern colonies. He was a moderate Whig, and, like all moderate men in those days, his counsels were duly regarded by neither party. He embodied his views in a work entitled *The Administration of the Colonies*, which passed through several editions. His scheme was elaborate and wise, if his concurrence with Franklin in points which they treat in common may be regarded as a test of wisdom. His commercial scheme was predicated on the general law that colonial trade follows capital, and, while sharing the benefits, pays profit to it. He would have left that trade free to develop itself within certain limits; but inasmuch as it must tend somewhere, — to the English, French, or Dutch, — he thought it right that the trade of English colonies should pay profit to England, as the country whose navy defended it, and by whose capital it was developed. But England ought to grasp this trade only as the centre of a commercial dominion of which America was a part and entitled to parliamentary representation, which he thought practicable. In theory he acknowledged the prerogative of the crown in respect to colonial government, but recognized the necessity of parliamentary intervention, and would have reduced both to cases of actual necessity, and would always have subordinated the question of power to the dictates of reason and expediency.

[1] See letter of Pownall to Franklin, on this subject, and Franklin's remarks (*Works*, iv. 199).

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the colonies from the mother country might not so soon have happened, nor the mischiefs suffered on both sides have occurred, perhaps, during another century."[1]

A comparison of the views of such men as Franklin, Hutchinson, and Pownall, expressed before they were forced into partisan relations to the impending conflict, help us in forming opinions respecting their conduct when affairs, no longer within the control of individuals, were swept onward by an uncontrollable impulse. Neither the colonies[2] nor the ministry approved of the proposed union; and when the new policy of raising a revenue was inaugurated the colonies were without defined integral relations to the mother country, and the government without administrative machinery for their regulation. The result was confusion. The press became heated, and an angry war of pamphlets ensued. At first the controversy was confined to the distinction between internal taxes and commercial regulations, but soon it involved the whole question of parliamentary power. This was elaborately and temperately discussed in the *Farmer's Letters*, by John Dickinson, but nowhere in America with more fulness (within the period covered by this chapter) than by Governor Hutchinson and the two Houses of the Massachusetts General Court, in messages and answers respectively, in January and February, 1773.[3]

So far as the Revolution grew out of the Massachusetts controversy between the king's representatives and the General Court, its progress may be traced in the *Speeches of the Governors of Massachusetts, 1765 to 1775, and the Answers of the House of Representatives to the same.*[4] These authentic documents, with the *Journals of the House* and the *Records of the Town of Boston*, may be referred to as showing the temper with which the parties treated each other, and the questions that were of paramount interest. The student will not find it easy to ascertain the facts which should make the history of the period. Contemporaneous accounts were generally drawn up with a partisan disregard of truth, and too much has been written subsequently in the same spirit. For the critical period of 1768, when the troops were sent over on account of the revenue riots, we have Bernard's *Letters*, which, though representing only one side, were written under a sense of official responsibility to the government. Though much complained of at the time as wanting in candor, their statements were evaded rather than controverted by the *Answer of the Major Part of the Council*, in a letter to the Earl of Hillsborough (April 15, 1769), as well as in *The Vindication of the Town of Boston* (Oct. 18, 1769), drafted by Samuel Adams. For the entire period covered by this chapter, I find no narrative apparently more just, or opinions more candidly expressed, than in Ramsay's *History of the American Revolution.* Remote from the scene of the conflict, Ramsay shared the passions of neither party.

The most important events of this period were the passage of the Boston Port Bill, and other related measures. The reasons which led to these acts are set forth at length in *The Report from the Committee on the Disturbances in the Colony of Massachusetts Bay*, April 20, 1774.[5] In this report may be seen the strength of the British case. Franklin's view of the matters referred to in the Report of the Lords may be found in a paper entitled *Proceedings in Massachusetts*,[6] and the bill itself was discussed in an interesting pamphlet by Josiah Quincy, Jr., *Observations on the Act of Parliament.*[7]

Franklin's paper was a clever argument in which he treated facts so as to serve his purpose rather than that of historic truth. His use of Oliver's phrase, "to take off the original incendiaries," which was a pleasant *ad hominem* hit, has been adopted seriously by Bancroft,[8] in a chapter entitled "A Way to Take off the Incendiaries." The concessions

[1] See the whole passage, not often quoted by historians, in Frothingham's *Rise of the Republic*, 149, *n.*

[2] Sidney S. Rider (*Rhode Island Hist. Tracts*, 9, xxx.) denies that Rhode Island rejected the Plan, as affirmed by Sparks.

[3] *Massachusetts State Papers.*

[4] Published at Boston in 1818, and edited by Alden Bradford. It is often quoted as *Mass. State Papers.* The answers were chiefly from the industrious pen of Samuel Adams.

[5] *Journals of the House of Lords*, xxxiv. 124.

[6] *Works*, iv. 466.

[7] *Memoir of Josiah Quincy, Jr.*, 355.

[8] *History*, vi. p. 244.

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which Franklin was willing to make for a settlement of the difficulties, as late as December 4, 1774, may be seen in "Some Special Transactions of Dr. Franklin in London, in Behalf of America," in Ramsay.[1]

Nellie Chamberlain

[1] *Hist. of the Revolution*, i. 175.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

THE argument of Otis on the Writs of Assistance is the first well-arranged expression of the gathering opposition,[1] and what John Adams called "the heaves and throes of the burning mountain," forerunning the eruption, were shown in James Otis's *A vindication of the conduct of the House of Representatives of the province of the Massachusetts-Bay; more particularly, in the last session of the general assembly* (Boston, 1762).[2]

John Dickinson and Joseph Galloway were already pitted against each other on the question of maintaining the proprietary government of Pennsylvania, or of seeking a royal one.[3]

Frothingham[4] says the earliest organized action against taxation was when the town of Boston passed instructions to its representatives, May 24, 1764, the original writing of which is among the Samuel Adams MSS. The paper was printed in the newspapers of the day, and shortly afterwards in the famous tract of Otis, *The Rights of the British Colonies asserted and proved*,[5] in which, however, he failed, with all his fervid and cogent reasoning, to stand in every respect by the advanced position which he had taken in his plea against the Writs of Assistance.[6]

One of the ablest as well as one of the most temperate expressions of the stand taken by the

[1] What we know of this speech is derived mainly from the notes of it taken by John Adams (*Works*, ii. 521–525), and from the reminiscent account of it which Adams gave to William Tudor in 1818, with his description of the scene in court during its delivery. Minot, in his *Hist. of Massachusetts*, 1748–1765 (vol. ii. 91–99), worked up these notes, and they form the basis of the narrative in Tudor's *Life of Otis* (p. 62). The legal aspects have been specially examined by Horace Gray in an appendix to the *Reports of Cases in the Superior Court 1761–1772, by Josiah Quincy, Jr., printed from his original manuscripts, and edited by Samuel M. Quincy* (Boston, 1865). Cf. *John Adams's Works*, x. pp. 182, 233, 244, 274, 314, 317, 338, 342, 362. Cf. also *Ibid.*, vol. i. p. 58; ii. 124, 521; and the Adams-Warren Correspondence in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, xliv. 340, 355. Cf. also Hutchinson's *Mass. Bay*, vol. iii.; *Essex Institute Hist. Coll.*, Aug., 1860; Bancroft's *United States*, ii. 546, 553; Thornton's *Pulpit of the Rev.*, 112; Barry's *Massachusetts*, ii. 264; Everett's *Orations*, i. 388; Scott's *Constitutional Liberty*, 237; *Mem. Hist. Boston*, iii. 5; Palfrey's *Compend. Hist. N. E.*, iv. 306; Wells's *Sam. Adams*, i. 43. There is a copy of one of these writs in the cabinet of the Mass. Hist. Society. W. S. Johnson wrote to Governor Trumbull that the process was in vogue in England (*Trumbull Papers; Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, xlix. pp. 292, 374), as it is to-day. The most conspicuous instance of an attempt to search under these writs was when the officers tried to enter the house of Daniel Malcom in Oct., 1766, and were forcibly resisted. The papers connected with this, as transmitted to London, and telling the story on both sides, are among the *Lee Papers* in Harvard College library (vol. i. nos. 14–25).

[2] Sabin, xiv. p. 84. Haven in Thomas, ii. p. 559; *John Adams*, x. p. 300. Lecky skilfully sketches the condition of the colonies at this time (*England in the Eighteenth Century*, iii. ch. 12), and Lodge's *Short Hist. of the English Colonies* depicts, under the heads of the various colonies, the prevailing characteristics.

[3] Dickinson's speech in the Assembly, May 24, 1764, passed through two editions (Philad., 1764), and was reprinted in London (1764). (Carter-Brown, iii. nos. 1,387–88.) Galloway's *Speech in Answer* (Philad., 1764; Carter-Brown, iii. 1,395) was reprinted in London (1765), with a preface by Franklin (Carter-Brown, iii. 1,452), and Dickinson's *Reply* was printed in London, 1765 (Carter-Brown, iii. 1,444). Dickinson's speech is also in his *Works* (i. p. 1). Cf. *Franklin's Works*, iv. pp. 78, 101, 143.

[4] *Rise of the Republic*, p. 167.

[5] It is analyzed in *John Adams's Works* (x. 293), and in Frothingham, p. 169. It was published in Boston in 1765, and in London the same year, by Almon, and was circulated through the instrumentality of Thomas Hollis (Sabin, xiv. p. 83).

[6] *John Adams's Works*, x. 189. Cf. Palfrey, *New England* (Compend. ed., iv. 343), and Tudor's *Otis*. See *ante*, p. 28.

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JAMES OTIS.[1]

[1] After a statue of James Otis, by Crawford, in the chapel at Mount Auburn. The usual portrait of Otis

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colonies was in Stephen Hopkins's *Rights of the Colonies examined; published by Authority* (Providence, 1765).[1]

Similar arguments were set forth in behalf of Connecticut by its governor.[2]

Already, in 1764, when Oxenbridge Thacher printed his *Sentiments of a British American*, he had formulated the arguments against the navigation acts and British taxation, which ten years later, in the Congress of 1774, Jay embodied in his Address to the British People.[3]

John Adams, in later years, when distance clarified the atmosphere, looked upon the conflict which Jonathan Mayhew waged with Apthorpe, and with the abettors of all schemes for imposing episcopacy on the people by act of Parliament, as the repelling of an attack upon the people's right to decide such questions for themselves, and as but a forerunner of the great subsequent question.[4]

The issue on the question of taxation without representation was forced, after many indications

is by Blackburn, painted in 1755, and now owned by Mrs. H. B. Rogers. The earliest engraving of it which I have noticed is by A. B. Durand in Tudor, and again in the *Worcester Magazine* (1826), vol. i. It has been engraved by W. O. Jackman, J. R. Smith, O. Pelton, and best of all by C. Schlecht, in Gay's *Pop. Hist. U. S.*, iii. 332. Cf. Loring's *Hundred Boston Orators*, and the wood-cut in the *Mem. Hist. Boston*, iii. 6. The earliest engraved likeness is probably a rude cut on the title of Bickerstaff's *Almanac* (1770), which is reproduced in Lossing's *Field-Book of the Rev.*, i. 486.

There is a photograph of the house where Otis was killed by lightning (May 28, 1783) in Bailey's *Andover*, p. 86. Cf. *Appleton's Journal*, xi. 784. The principal detailed authority on the career of Otis (born, 1724; died, 1783) is William Tudor's *Life of James Otis*, which Lecky, in his *England in the Eighteenth Century* (iii. 304), calls "a remarkable book from which I have derived much assistance." Francis Bowen wrote the life in Sparks's *Amer. Biog.*, vol. xii. John Adams had an exalted opinion of Otis, and Otis's character receives various touches in Adams's *Works* (x. 264, 271, 275, 279, 280, 284, 289–295, 299, 300). Bancroft depicts him in 1768 (vol. vi. 120, orig. ed.), but he failed rapidly later by reason of the blows he received in an assault in Sept., 1769, provoked by him. Cf. Greene's *Hist. View* (p. 322); D. A. Goddard in *Mem. Hist. Boston* (iii. 140); Barry's *Mass.* (ii. 259).

[1] Carter-Brown, iii. no. 1,456; Sabin, viii. no. 32,966; *Cooke Catalogue*, no. 1,202. It was reprinted in London in 1766, at the instigation of the Rhode Island agent, as *The Grievances of the American Colonies carefully examined* (Sparks, no. 1,272; Cooke, no. 1,203). There is a reprint in the *R. I. Col. Records*, vi. 416. The London text is followed in Selim H. Peabody's *American Patriotism* (N. Y., 1880). The original edition of all was published by order of the R. I. Assembly in 1764, but no copy is known. Cf. Wm. E. Foster's *Stephen Hopkins, a Rhode Island Statesman; a study in the political history of the eighteenth century* (Providence, 1884, — no. 19 of *R. I. Hist. Tracts*), who examines (ii. p. 227) the claims of Hopkins to its authorship, for the tract was printed anonymously. Cf. Frothingham's *Rise of the Republic*, p. 172; Palfrey's *New England* (Compend. ed.), iv. 369. Hopkins's tract was controverted in a *Letter from a gentleman at Halifax* (Newport, 1765, — Sabin, x. 40,281); and James Otis replied in a *Vindication of the British Colonies against the aspersions of the Halifax gentleman* (Boston, 1765; Carter-Brown, iii. no. 1,480); and this in turn was followed by a *Defence of the Letter*, etc. (Newport, 1765), and *Brief Remarks* (Brinley, i. nos. 190, 198). A tract usually cited by a similar title, but which was called at length *Coloniæ Anglicanæ illustratæ: or the Acquest of dominion and the plantation of Colonies made by the English in America, with the rights of the Colonists examined, stated, and illustrated. Part I.* (London, 1762; Sabin, ii. 6,209; Carter-Brown, iii. 1,314) was never completed, and was mostly occupied with irrelevant matter. Its author was William Bollan, who was dismissed as the Massachusetts agent during that same year, and John Adams (x. 355) says he scarce ever knew a book so utterly despised. Otis (Tudor, p. 114) expressed his contempt for it (Sabin, ii. p. 265–6).

[2] *Reasons why the Brit. Colonies in America should not be charged with internal taxes*, etc. (New Haven, 1764). It is reprinted in *Conn. Col. Records*, vol. xii. Cf. Pitkin's *United States*, i. 165, and Ingersoll's *Letters*, p. 2.

[3] Carter-Brown, iii. no. 1,427. *John Adams's Works*, iv. 129; x. 292. Palfrey, iv. 349. Thacher died in 1765, aged 45 years.

[4] Mayhew had early sounded the alarm, and Thornton begins his *Pulpit of the Revolution* with a reprint of Mayhew's sermon in 1750 on *Unlimited submission and non-resistance to the higher powers* (Boston, 1750; again, 1818; Brinley, no. 1,529). The controversy with Apthorpe, who was settled over Christ Church in Cambridge, as representative of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, began with his *Considerations on the institution and conduct of the Society*, etc. (Boston, 1763), to which Mayhew responded in his *Observations on the charter and conduct of the Society*, etc., *designed to show their non-conformity to each other* (Boston, 1763; London, 1763; Stevens's *Hist. Coll.*, i. no. 383; Haven, p. 564). Dr. Caner, of King's Chapel, Boston, replied in *A Candid Examination of Dr. Mayhew's Observations*, etc. (Boston, 1763). Another *Answer* (London, 1764) was perhaps by Apthorpe. Mayhew published *A Defence of his Observations* (Boston, 1763), and a second defence, called *Remarks*, etc. (Boston, 1764: London, 1765), which was followed by a *Review* by Apthorpe (London, 1765). These and other tracts of the

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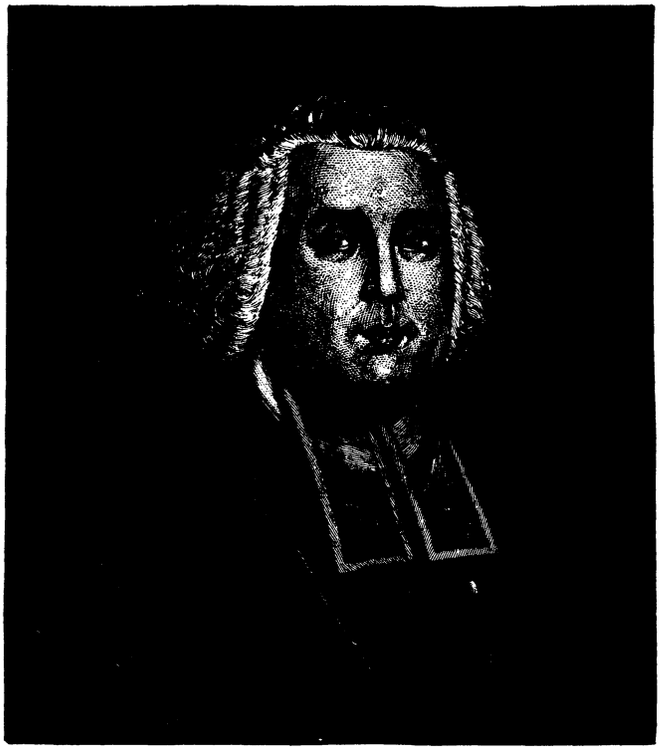
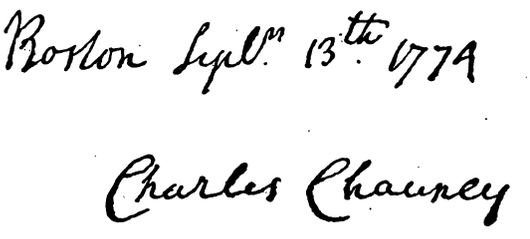


JONATHAN MAYHEW.[1]

of its coming,[2] when the British Parliament passed the Grenville Act in 1764, and in the next year what is known as the Stamp Act, a tax on business papers, increasing their cost at dif-

controversy are recorded in Stevens's *Hist. Coll.*, i. nos. 378–391; in Carter-Brown, iii. nos. 1,433, 1,465; in Haven's list, pp. 562, 564, 565. A later controversy, between Thomas Bradbury Chandler and Charles Chauncy, produced other tracts printed in New York, Philad., and Boston (1767–68). Cf. Brinley, iv. nos. 6,127–31, and Haven's list; and for these religious controversies, Thornton's *Pulpit*, p. 109; Lecky, iii. 435; Palfrey's *New England* (Compend. ed., iv. 324); E. H. Gillett in *Hist. Mag.*, Oct., 1870; Perry's *Amer. Episc. Church*, i. 395; Gambrall's *Church life in Colonial Maryland* (1885); O. S. Straus's *Origin of Repub. form of gov't in the U. S.* (1885), ch. 3 and 7; *Doc. Hist. N. Y.*, iv. 198, 202.



[1] Copied from a mezzotint engraving in the American Antiquarian Society's possession, marked "Richard Jennys, jun., pinxt et fecit."

A portrait by Smibert, and engraved by J. B. Cipriani, is in Hollis's *Memoirs* (1780), p. 371; and a reëngraving has been made by H. W. Smith. Cf. Bradford's *Life of Mayhew;* Thornton's *Pulpit of the Rev.; Mem. Hist. of Boston*, ii. 245, with a note on his portraits.

The principal source of detailed information about Mayhew is Alden Bradford's *Memoir of the life and writings of Jonathan Mayhew* (Boston, 1838). Cf. Tudor's *Otis* (ch. 10); Thomas Hollis's *Memoirs;* Tyler's *Amer. Lit.* (ii. p. 199); touches in *John Adams's Works* (iv. 29; x. 207, 301); and on his death, Dr. Benjamin Church's *Elegy*, Dr. Chauncy's discourse, both in 1766, and the *Life of Josiah Quincy, Jr.*, p. 384.

[2] Cf. Bancroft (original ed., ii. 353; vi. 9); *Adams's Works* (x. 236); Dawson's *Sons of Liberty in N. Y.* (p. 42); Barry's *Mass.* (ii. 252–255); Scott's *Development of Constitutional Liberty* (pp. 189–214). In 1764 courts of vice-admiralty for British America had been established (*Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, xvii. 291),

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ferent rates, but sometimes manyfold.[1] The question of the authorship of the bill is one about which there has been some controversy,[2] and, contrary to the general impression, the truth seems to be that the consideration of the bill caused little attention in and out of Parliament, and the debates on it were languid.[3]

In May a knowledge of the passage of the Stamp Act reached Boston,[4] and it was to go into effect Nov. 1st. In June the Massachusetts legislature determined to invite a congress of all the colonies in October. In August it was known that Jared Ingersoll for Connecticut and Andrew Oliver for Boston had agreed to become distributors of the stamps. The mob hanged an effigy of Oliver on the tree afterwards known as Liberty Tree,[5] and other outrages followed. The governor did not dare to leave the castle. Dr. Mayhew delivered a sermon, vigorous and perhaps incendiary, as Hutchinson averred when he traced to it the passions of the mob which destroyed his own house in North Square on the evening of August 26th.[6] The town contented itself with passing a unanimous

and the sugar act passed, placing a duty on molasses, etc., — a modification of the act of 1733. "I know not," wrote John Adams in 1818, "why we should blush to confess that molasses was an essential ingredient in American independence." *John Adams's Works*, x. 345.

[1] *Ames's Almanac* for 1766 has this notice: "Price before the Stamp Act takes place, half-a-dollar per dozen, and six coppers single; after the act takes place, more than double that price." The act was called, *Anno regni Georgii III. regis Magnæ Britanniæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ, quinto. 1765. An act for granting and applying certain stamp duties, and other duties in the British colonies and plantations in America, towards defraying the expences of defending, protecting, and securing the same* [etc.]. It was reprinted at once in Boston, New London, New York, and Philadelphia, and will be found in the official records and in various modern books like Spencer's *Hist. U. S.* (i. 274), etc. The stamps are found in various cabinets (*Catal. Mass. Hist. Soc. Cab.*, pp. 104, 118, 123, 125), and cuts of the stamp are found in *Mem. Hist. Boston* (iii. 12), Thornton's *Pulpit of the Rev.*, etc.

[2] Cf. Bancroft, orig. ed., v. 151. There was a proposition for a colonial stamp act in a tract published in London in 1755, called *A Miscellaneous Essay concerning the courses pursued by Great Britain in the affairs of the Colonies* (London, 1755).

[3] Lecky, *England in the Eighteenth Cent.* (iii. 324). Mahon (v. 86) quotes Burke's speech of 1774 as proving the small interest in the debate of 1765, and thinks that Walpole's failure to mention the debate in his letters proves the truth of Burke's recollections. Adolphus had earlier relied on Burke. Mahon even intimates that Barré's famous speech was an interpolation in the later accounts; but the *Letters* printed by Jared Ingersoll show that it was delivered. (Cf. Palfrey's *Review of Mahon.*) The *Parliamentary History* says that Barré's speech was in reply to Grenville; but Ingersoll says Charles Townshend was the speaker who provoked it. Cf. Frothingham's *Rise of the Republic* (p. 175); Ryerson's *Loyalists* (i. 294); H. F. Elliot on "Barré and his Times" in *Macmillan's Mag.*, xxxv. 109 (Dec., 1876); and *Hist. MSS. Com. Report*, viii. pp. 189, 190.

It was in the speech of Feb. 6, 1765, that Barré applied the words "Sons of Liberty" to the patriots in America, which they readily adopted (Bancroft, v. 240; Thornton's *Pulpit*, 131). Dr. J. H. Trumbull, in a paper, "Sons of Liberty in 1755," published in the *New Englander*, vol. xxxv. (1876), showed that the term had ten years earlier been applied in Connecticut to organizations to advance theological liberty. It is also sometimes said that the popular party at the time of the Zenger trial had adopted the name. The new organization embraced the young and ardent rather than the older and more prudent patriots, and at a later period they became the prime abettors of the non-importation movements. For their correspondence in New England, see *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.* (x. 324) and the Belknap Papers (MSS., iii. p. 110, etc.) in the Mass. Hist. Soc. cabinet. A list of those dining together in 1769 at Dorchester is given in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, Aug., 1869. The correspondence of those in Boston with John Wilkes, 1768–69, is noted in the *Brit. Mus. Catal.*, Add. MSS. 30,870, ff. 45, 46, 75, 135, 222. H. B. Dawson's *Sons of Liberty in N. Y.* was privately printed in N. Y., 1859.

[4] A letter of Aug. 11, 1764, from Halifax had forewarned the colonial governors of the intention (*N. Y. Col. Docs.*, vii. 646; *N. J. Archives*, ix. 448).

[5] Thomas's *Hist. of Printing*, Am. Antiq. Soc. ed., ii. 223; Sargent's *Dealings with the Dead*, i. 140, 144; Lossing's *Field-Book*, i. 466; *Mem. Hist. Boston*, iii. 159; Thomas Paine's "Liberty Tree Ballad" in the *Penna. Mag.*, July, 1775; and Moore's *Songs and Ballads of the Rev.*, p. 18. The selecting of a large tree and its dedication to the cause became general. Cf. Silas Downer's *Discourse, July 25, 1768, at dedication of a tree of liberty in Providence* (Providence, 1768), and the *Providence Gazette*, July 30, 1768 (Sabin, v. 20,767; J. R. Bartlett's *Bibliog. of R. I.*, p. 112; Carter-Brown, iii. no. 1,622).

[6] Hutchinson had expressed disapproval of the Stamp Act; but doubting its expediency did not affect his judgment of the necessity of enforcing it (P. O. Hutchinson, i. 577; ii. 58). On the destruction of his house, see his own statement in P. O. Hutchinson's *Governor Hutchinson*, i. 70, 72, and his letter, dated Aug. 30, 1765, in the *Mass. Archives*, xxvi. 146, printed in the *Mass. Senate Docs.* (1870, no. 187, p. 3). He says: "The lieutenant-governor, with his children, lodged the next night at the Castle, but after that in his house at

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vote of condemnation the next day.[1] On Sept. 25th Bernard addressed the legislature in a tone that induced them to reply (Oct. 25th), and to fortify their position by resolves (Oct. 29th).[2] Finally, in December, Andrew Oliver,[3] the stamp distributor, was forced to resign, and on the 17th to sign an oath that he would in no way lend countenance to the tax.[4]

The spirit in Boston was but an index of the feelings throughout all the colonies.[5] The histories of the several States and the lives of their revolutionary actors make this clear.[6]

Milton, though not without apprehension of Danger." Quincy's diary (*Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, iv. 47) preserves Hutchinson's speech, when a few days later he took his seat on the bench, clad with such clothing as was left to him. Cf. the accounts in *Boston Newsletter*, Sept. 3, 1765; *Parliamentary History*, iv. 316; *Conduct of a late Administration*, 102; *Memorial Hist. Boston*, iii. 14, etc.; *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, Jan., 1862, p. 364.

1 *Boston Town Records, 1758–1769*, p. 152 (*Rec. Com. Rept.*, xvi.).

2 These papers are given in Hutchinson's *Mass. Bay* (iii. 467, 471, 476). Samuel Dexter was the head of the committee to draft the reply of the assembly, but it is thought Sam. Adams wrote the paper (Bancroft, v. 347). Cf. *Speeches of the Governors of Mass., 1765–1775, and the answers of the House of Representatives, with other public papers relating to the dispute between this Country and Great Britain* (Boston, 1818). This collection was edited by Alden Bradford, and is sometimes cited by historians as "Bradford's Collection," "Mass. State Papers," etc.

There is a portrait of Dexter (b. 1726; d. 1810) by Copley, and a photograph of it in Daniel Goodwin, Jr.'s *Provincial Pictures* (Chicago, 1886).

3 There is a likeness of Andrew Oliver, by Copley, in the possession of Dr. F. E. Oliver; and a photograph of it is in the cabinet of the Mass. Hist. Society (Perkins's *Copley*, p. 90), and in P. O. Hutchinson's *Governor Hutchinson* (vol. ii. 17); and a wood-cut in *Mem. Hist. Boston* (iii. 43). Another portrait, by N. Emmons (1728), is given in a photograph in P. O. Hutchinson's *Governor Hutchinson* (i. 129).

4 This paper is preserved, and a fac-simile is given in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, June, 1872, and in the *Mem. Hist. Boston* (iii. 15). Cf. Bancroft, orig. ed., v. 375, etc.

For other accounts of the feelings and proceedings in Boston and Massachusetts, see a letter of Joshua Henshaw, in *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.* (1878, p. 268), and the histories of Boston by Snow and Drake; Tudor's *Otis; John Adams's Works* (iii. 465; x. 192, 197); *Adams-Warren Correspondence*, p. 341; Frothingham's *Warren;* Loring's *Hundred Boston Orators*, p. 50; the instructions of Lexington, in Hudson's *Lexington*, p. 88; the instructions of Braintree, in *John Adams's Works*, iii. 465, and many other similar documents; beside Dr. Benjamin Church's poem, *The Times* (Boston Pub. Library, H. 95, 117, no. 3).

5 Bancroft, orig. ed., v. ch. 14; *Boston Rec. Com. Rept.*, xvi. p. 155.

6 For details, see —

For New Hampshire, a letter from Portsmouth, Jan. 13, 1766, to the New Hampshire agent in London, in the Belknap MSS. (Mass. Hist. Soc., 61, C. p. 108).

For Connecticut, Stuart's *Governor Trumbull;* Jared Ingersoll's *Letters relating to the Stamp Act* (New Haven, 1766); and some tracts by Governor Fitch (*Brinley Catal.*, nos. 2,116–2,118).

For New York, the *Journal of the N. Y. Assembly;* histories of the City and State of New York; *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, vii. 770; *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, 1876; Lossing's *Schuyler*, i. 203; Leake's *Lamb*, ch. 2–4; a long and interesting letter from Wm. Smith to Geo. Whitefield in *Hist. MSS. Com. Rept.*, ii. (Dartmouth Papers); a letter of R. R. Livingston to General Monckton, in *Aspinwall Papers*, ii. 554; *Penna. Mag. of Hist.*, ii. 296; J. A. Stevens in *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, June, 1777 (i. 337), and on "Old Coffee-Houses" in *Harper's Monthly*, lxiv. p. 493 (see view of Burns's Coffee-house, the headquarters of the Sons of Liberty, in Valentine's *Manual of N. Y. City*, 1858, p. 588; 1864, pp. 513, 514; and in Gay's *Pop. Hist. U. S.*, iii. 456); and Dawson's *Sons of Liberty in N. Y.*

For New Jersey, letter of Governor Franklin to Lords of Trade, in *N. J. Archives*, ix. 499, with other papers.

For Pennsylvania, Sparks's *Franklin*, vii. 297, 303, 307, 308, 310–13, 317–19, 328; the account in the *Penna. Gazette*, no. 1,239, Supplement, reprinted in Hazard's *Reg. of Penna.*, ii. 243; Watson's *Annals of Philad.*, vol. ii.; Muhlenberg's journal in *Penna. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, vol. i. 78; Wallace's *Col. Bradford*, p. 95.

For Delaware, *Life of Geo. Read*, p. 30.

For Maryland, the Gilmor Papers in the Maryland Hist. Soc. library, vol. iii., division 2; and references in vol. xi. of the Stevens-Peabody index of Maryland MSS.

For Virginia, the Resolves (May 29th) of the Assembly (to which Patrick Henry made his bold speech), given in Hutchinson's *Mass.*, iii., App. p. 466; Geo. Tucker's *United States*, i., App., and cf. *Franklin's Works*, vii. 298; C. R. Hildeburn in *Penna. Mag. of Hist.*, ii. 296; *Huguenot Family*, p. 424; Ryerson's *Loyalists*, i. 286; and Randall's *Jefferson*, i. ch. 2.

For North Carolina, J. H. Wheeler's *Reminiscences and Memoir of No. Carolina* (1884).

For South Carolina, R. W. Gibbs's *Doc. Hist. of the Amer. Rev.*, p. 1; Niles's *Principles and Acts* (1876), p. 319; *Charleston Year-Book*, 1885, p. 331, with a fac-simile of broadside of schedule of stamps; Ramsay's *South Carolina;* Flanders's *Rutledge*, p. 456.

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In October, 1765, what is known as the Stamp Act Congress assembled in New York, in the old City Hall.[1] Its proceedings are in print, and its deliberations are followed in the general histories and in the lives of its members.[2]

Franklin had, with considerable opposition, been appointed the London agent of Pennsylvania in 1764, and, being in that city, was accused by James Biddle of promoting the passage of the Stamp Act, but his letters show how he seems only to have yielded when he could not prevail in opposing.[3]

In July, 1765, the Rockingham administration came in, followed by the parliamentary sparring of Grenville and Pitt. In February, 1766, Dr. Franklin was examined before the House of Commons as to the temper of the colonies respecting the Stamp Act. He gave them some good advice,[4] and a full report of the questions and answers is preserved.[5] Parliament having passed the so-called Declaratory Act (March 7th) in vindication of its prerogatives, Pitt and Conway effected the repeal of the Stamp Act (March 18th), and vessels immediately sailed to carry the news to the colonies.[6] The whole question of taxation, thus brought squarely to an

There are in the *Sparks MSS.* (xliii. vol. iv.) various official letters of the governors of the different colonies to the home government. Gage's reminiscent letter to Chalmers is in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.* (xxxiv. 367, etc.); and other letters are in the *Hist. Mag.* (May, 1862, vol. vi. 137).

[1] Gay's *Pop. Hist. U. S.* (iii. 341), for a view of the hall.

[2] *Authentic Account of the proceedings of the Congress held in New York in 1765 on the subject of the American Stamp Act* (Philad., 1767; Lond., 1767; Philad., 1813; in Almon's *Tracts*, 1773; in Niles's *Principles and Acts*, 1876, p. 155, — see Sabin, xiii. nos. 53,537, etc.); *Journal of the first Congress of the American Colonies, N. Y., Oct. 7, 1775, ed. by Lewis Cruger* (Sabin, iv. 15,541). They passed a declaration of rights, an address to the king, a memorial to the lords, and a petition to the commons. (Cf. Hutchinson's *Mass.*, vol. iii., App. pp. 479, 481, 483, 485; *N. H. Prov. Papers*, vii. 87, 89; H. W. Preston's *Docs. illus. Amer. Hist.* (1886). John Adams and McKean at a later day exchanged memories of the Congress (*John Adams's Works*, x. 60, 63). Beardsley, in his *W. S. Johnson* (p. 32), explains the position of that member for Connecticut. Cf., among the general writers, Bancroft, v. ch. 18; N. C. Towle, *Hist. and Analysis of the Constitution*, 307; Frothingham's *Rise of the Republic*, 185; Palfrey's *New England*, iv. 399; Barry's *Mass.*, ii. 304; Dunlap's *New York*, i. 416; Greene's *Hist. View of the Amer. Rev.*, 72; Lossing in *Harper's Monthly*, xxvi. 34, and Mahon's *England*, v. 126.

Timothy Ruggles (b. 1711), who later joined the Tories, was chosen president by a single vote. Cf. sketch in *Worcester Mag.* (1826), vol. ii., p. 54, and Sabine's *Amer. Loyalists.*

[3] *Works relating to Franklin in Boston Pub. Lib.*, p. 20; Bancroft, orig. ed., v. 306; *Penna. Mag. of Hist.*, viii. 426, and x. 220; Sparks's *Franklin*, i. 290; iv. 156, 161, 206; vii. 281; x. 429–32; Parton's *Franklin*, i. 436. The grounds of the accusation against Franklin are discussed in a correspondence of Franklin with Dean Tucker (Sparks's *Franklin*, iv. 518; Bigelow's *Franklin*, i. 460–466), and Tucker so far admitted his error as to omit the passage.

[4] Smyth's *Lectures*, ii. 383.

[5] *The Examination of Franklin* [before the House of Commons] *relative to the repeal of the American Stamp Act in 1766* (Williamsburg, n. d.; London, 1766; Philad.? 1766?; n. p. and n. d.; London, 1767 — the titles vary in some of these editions). The report is also in Almon's *Prior Documents* (London, 1777, pp. 64–81); Sparks's *Franklin* (iv. p. 161; cf. vii. 311, 328); Bigelow's *Franklin* (i. 467); Bancroft, v. 428; Ryerson, i. 308.

[6] In recording the debates in Parliament, Bancroft (orig. ed., v. 383, 415) used the accounts in the *Political Debates*, in Walpole's *Letters*, the *précis* in the French archives, the report set down by Moffat of Rhode Island, and the copious extracts made by Garth, a member, who sent his notes to South Carolina. William Strahan's account is given in the *Penna. Mag. of Hist.*, April, 1886, p. 95. It is said in P. O. Hutchinson's *Governor Hutchinson* (i. 288) that Pitt was in doubt at first which side to take. Cf. lives of Pitt and editions of his speeches, and the comment in Mahon, v. 133, 138, and Ryerson, i. 302. Smyth (ii. 365) considers the protest of the lords against the repeal (*Protests of the Lords*, ed. by J. E. T. Rogers, ii. 77) the best exposition of the government view of taxation. For a Paris edition of this *Protests*, with Franklin's marginal notes, see *Brinley Catal.*, no. 3,219. See also, for English comment, Fitzmaurice's *Shelburne* (i. ch. 7), and Lecky, (iii. 344); and for American, Bancroft, v. 421, 450; *Mem. Hist. of Boston*, iii. 19; and in *Franklin's Works* (iv. 156; vii. 308, 317).

There were rumors of the coming repeal in Boston as early as April 1st (Thornton's *Pulpit*, 120), but the confirmation came May 16th, when public rejoicing soon followed, and on a Thanksgiving, July 24, Charles Chauncy delivered a *Discourse* in Boston (Boston, 1766; reprinted by Thornton, p. 105). The *Boon Catalogue* (no. 2,949) and others show numerous sermons in commemoration of the repeal; and the public prints give the occasional ballads (F. Moore's *Songs and Ballads*, p. 22).

The town of Boston ordered portraits of Conway and Barré to be painted, and the pictures hung in Faneuil Hall till the British made way with them during the siege (*Mem. Hist. Boston*, iii. 181). There is a head of Conway in the *European Mag.* (i. 159), and another in the *London Mag.*, April, 1782.

The Mass. Assembly, June 20th, thanked Pitt. Cf. *Mass. State Papers*, by Bradford, pp. 10, 92.

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issue by the controversy over the Stamp Act, induced frequent rehearsals of argument in debates and pamphlet, and the later historians have summarized the opposing views.[1]

Josiah Tucker, the Dean of Gloucester, began in 1766 a series of tracts, which he continued for ten years, in which he advanced sentiments respecting the colonies, not very flattering, while at the same time he held to arguments which few at the time admitted the force of, when he advocated the peaceful separation of America from the crown.[2]

The most important presentation of the Tory insistence in defence of the Stamp Act policy came directly — or, at least, through his secretary, Charles Lloyd — from Grenville himself, in

For the general scope of the whole period of the Stamp Act turmoil, see, on the American side, beside the contemporary newspapers, Tudor's *Otis*, ch. 14; Bancroft, v. ch. 11, etc.; Gay, iii. 338; Palfrey, iv. 375; Barry, ii. ch. 10; E. G. Scott's *Constitutional Liberty*, p. 253; Irving's *Washington*, i. ch. 28; Parton's *Franklin*, i. 459–483; Bigelow's *Franklin*, i. 457; Thornton's *Pulpit*, etc., 133; Lossing's *Field-Book*, i. 463; ii. 877. Sparks made sketches and notes for a history of the Stamp Act, which are in the *Sparks MSS.*, no. xliv. On the English side, beside the acts themselves and the current press, the *Annual Register*, *Gentleman's Mag.*, etc., see Le Marchant's *George the Third by Walpole*, ii. 217, 236, 260, 277; the *Pictorial Hist. England;* Mahon; Massey; C. D. Yonge's *Constitutional Hist. England*, ch. 3; Sir Thomas Erskine May's *Const. Hist. England*, ii. 550–562; *Rockingham and his Contemporaries*, i. 250; Fitzmaurice's *Shelburne*, i. 319; Macknight's *Burke*, i. ch. 10, 11; J. C. Earle's *English Premiers* (London, 1871), vol. i. ch. 5; Smyth's *Lectures*, ii. 379, 423; Lecky, iii. 314, 340 ("Every farthing which it was intended to raise in America, it was intended also to spend there"), and Ryerson's *Loyalists*, i. ch. 10.

[1] There was a *History of Amer. Taxation from 1763*, published in a third ed. at Dublin in 1775 (Sabin, vii. 32,125). Franklin contended that at this time taxation of the colonies was a popular idea in England (*Works*, vii. 350), while Smyth found that at a later day (*Lectures*, ii. 371) he could get sympathy in speaking of "the miserable, mortifying, melancholy facts of our dispute with America." See synopsis of the arguments *pro et con* in *Life of George Read*, 76; Palfrey, iv. 327; Smyth's *Lectures*, ii. 471; Greene's *Hist. View*, 55; Gardiner and Mullinger's *Eng. Hist. for Students* (N. Y., 1881), p. 183. Cf. also Bigelow's *Franklin*, i. 515; Foster's *Stephen Hopkins*, ii. 244.

A few of the most indicative tracts on the subject may be mentioned:—

Soame Jenyns's *Objections to the Taxation of our American Colonies briefly considered* (London, 1765; also in his *Works*, 1790, vol. ii. p. 189), which was answered in James Otis's *Considerations on behalf of the British Colonies*, dated Boston, Sept. 4, 1765 (Boston and London, 1765).

George Grenville is credited with the authorship of *The Regulations lately made concerning the Colonies and the taxes imposed upon them considered* (London, 1765, — Carter-Brown, iii. no. 1,472; *Sparks Catal.*, p. 83).

William Knox, the agent of Georgia, printed *The Claim of the Colonies to exemption from internal taxes imposed by authority of Parliament examined* (Lond., 1765). The *Brinley Catal.*, no. 3,218, shows Franklin's copy, with his annotations.

Daniel Dulaney's *Considerations on the propriety of imposing taxes in the British Colonies for the purpose of raising a revenue by Act of Parliament* (North America, 1765; Annapolis, 1765; New York, 1765; London, 1766) is in most copies without the author's name. (Cf. Sabin, v. no. 21,170; Carter-Brown, iii. nos. 1,438–39, 1,503; Brinley, i. no. 188; also Frothingham's *Rise of the Repub.*, p. 194, and *Chatham Correspondence*, iii. 192.)

The late regulations respecting the British colonies in America considered in a letter from a gentleman in Philadelphia to his friend in London (Philad., 1765; Lond., 1765) is usually said to have been by John Dickinson. It is included in his *Political Writings*, vol. i. A brief tract of two pages, *A denunciation of the Stamp Act* (Philad., 1765), is also said to be Dickinson's.

The right of Parliament is sustained, but the Stamp Act as a measure condemned, in *A letter to a member of Parliament wherein the power of the British legislature and the case of the colonists are briefly and impartially considered* (London, 1765, — Sabin, x. 40,406; Carter-Brown, iii. 1,462).

Objections to the taxation of our American Colonies briefly considered (Lond., 1765).

See also Charles Thomson's letter to Cook, Laurence & Co., Nov. 9, 1765, in *N. Y. Hist. Society Coll.* (1878, p. 7).

[2] The first is a *Letter from a merchant in London to his nephew in No. America relative to the present posture of affairs in the Colonies* (Lond., 1766), and the last *A series of answers to certain popular objections against separating from the rebellious colonies and discarding them entirely: being the concluding tract of the Dean of Glocester on the subject of American affairs* (Gloucester, 1776). The dean's plan of separation is best unfolded, however, in his *Humble Address and Ernest appeal* (London, 1775; 3d ed., corrected, 1776). The views of Tucker are given synoptically by Smyth (*Lectures*, ii. 392), Lecky (iii. 421), Hildreth (iii. 58). If Haven's list is correct, only two of Tucker's tracts were reprinted in the colonies. Cf. *Menzies Catal.*, no. 1,997. The letters of Franklin and Wm. S. Johnson reflect opinions in England at this time.

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GEORGE THE THIRD.[1]

his attack on the Rockingham party, in the *Conduct of the late Administration examined, with Documents*.[2]

The movements for organization to suppress importation, which had begun in 1765, taking shape particularly in Philadelphia in Oct. and Nov.,[3] were brought into definite prominence by the votes of Boston, Oct. 28, 1767,[4] copies of which were circulated in broadside, as shown in the annexed fac-simile.[5] The influence of these had more marked effect in England than had followed any previous manifestations of that kind.[6]

[1] Reproduction of a print in Entick's *General Hist. of the Late War* (3d ed., 1770), iv. frontispiece. A profile likeness, showing the king in armor, is in Murray's *Impartial History of the present War in America*, (London, 1778).

[2] Published in London in 1767, two editions; Boston, 1767; also in Almon's *Tracts*, vol. iii. Cf. Sabin, iv. nos. 15,202–3; Brinley, iii. p. 185; Carter-Brown, iii., no. 1,498. It is sometimes attributed to C. Jenkinson. The published tracts of 1766 are enumerated in Carter-Brown and Haven under 1766; in Cooke, 1,336, 1,929, 1,934; in Brinley, i. p. 21; ii. p. 154; and in Sabin, under the authors' names.

During 1767 also there was something of a flurry in the religious part of the community induced by a sermon (London, 1767) which the Bishop of Landaff had preached before the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, in Feb., in which he had styled the Americans "infidels and barbarians." William Livingston, of New York, addressed a *Letter to the Bishop* (London, 1768), and Charles Chauncy, of Boston, published a *Letter to a friend* (Boston, 1767), in which the bishop was taken to task, while an anonymous friend undertook a *Vindication of the Bishop* (New York, 1768). Cf. Carter-Brown, iii. nos. 1,585, 1,629, 1,630.

The other tracts of 1767 are not numerous. Cf. Carter-Brown, and Haven under 1767.

[3] Sabin, xiv. 61,646.

[4] *Rec. Com. Rept.*, xvi. p. 22.

[5] Following a copy in the Mass. Hist. Soc. library.

[6] Franklin (Sparks), vii. 371, 373, 376, 378, 387; (Bigelow), i. 551, 556. The resolutions were printed in the public prints, in *Ames's Almanac* (1768), etc.

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At a Meeting of the Freeholders and other Inhabitants of the Town of *Boſton*, legally aſſembled at *Faneuil*-Hall, on Wednesday the 28th of *October*, 1767.

THE Town then took into Conſideration the Petition of a Number of Inhabitants, "That ſome effectual Meaſures might be "agreed upon to promote Induſtry, Oe- "conomy, and Manufactures; thereby "to prevent the unneceſſary Importation of Euro- "pean Commodities, which threaten the Country "with Poverty and Ruin:" Whereupon in a very large and full Meeting, the following Votes and Reſolutions were paſſed Unanimouſly.

Whereas the exceſſive Uſe of foreign Superfluities is the chief Cauſe of the preſent diſtreſſed State of this Town, as it is thereby drained of its Money; which Misfortune is likely to be increaſed by Means of the late additional Burthens and Impoſitions on the Trade of the Province, which threaten the Country with Poverty and Ruin:

Therefore, *VOTED*, That this Town will take all prudent and legal Meaſures to encourage the Produce and Manufactures of this Province, and to leſſen the Uſe of Superfluities, & particularly the following enumerated Articles imported from Abroad, viz. *Loaf Sugar, Cordage, Anchors, Coaches, Chaiſes and Carriages of all Sorts, Horſe Furniture, Men and Womens Hatts, Mens and Womens Apparel ready made, Houſhold Furniture, Gloves, Mens and Womens Shoes, Sole-Leather, Sheathing and Deck Nails, Gold and Silver and Thread Lace of all Sorts, Gold and Silver Buttons, Wrought Plate of all Sorts, Diamond, Stone and Paſte Ware, Snuff, Muſtard, Clocks and Watches, Silverſmiths and Jewellers Ware, Broad Cloths that coſt above 10s. per Yard, Muffs Furrs and Tippets, and all Sorts of Millenary Ware, Starch, Womens and Childrens Stays, Fire Engines, China Ware, Silk and Cotton Velvets, Gauze, Pewterers hollow Ware, Linſeed Oyl, Glue, Lawns, Cambricks, Silks of all Kinds for Garments, Malt Liquors and Cheeſe.*—And that a Subſcription for this End be and hereby is recommended to the ſeveral Inhabitants and Houſholders of the Town; and that *John Rowe*, Eſq; Mr. *William Greenleaſe*, *Melatiah Bourne*, Eſq; Mr. *Samuel Auſtin*, Mr. *Edward Payne*, Mr. *Edmund Quincy*, Tertius, *John Ruddock*, Eſq; *Jonathan Williams*, Eſq; *Joſhua Henſhaw*, Eſq; Mr. *Henderſon Inches*, Mr. *Solomon Davis*, *Joſhua Winſlow*, Eſq; and *Thomas Cuſhing*, Eſq; be a Committee to prepare a Form for Subſcription, to report the ſame as ſoon as poſſible; and alſo to procure Subſcriptions to the ſame.

And whereas it is the Opinion of this Town, that divers new Manufactures may be ſet up in America, to its great Advantage, and ſome others carried to a greater Extent, particularly thoſe of Glaſs & Paper

Therefore, *Voted*, That this Town will by all prudent Ways and Means, encourage the Uſe and Conſumption of Glaſs and Paper, made in any of the Britiſh American Colonies; and more eſpecially in this Province.

[*Then the Meeting adjourn'd till* 3 *o'Clock Afternoon.*]

III o'Clock, *P. M.*

THE Committee appointed in the Forenoon, to prepare a Form for Subſcription, reported as follows.

WHEREAS this Province labours under a heavy Debt, incurred in the Courſe of the late War; and the Inhabitants by this Means muſt be for ſome Time ſubject to very burthenſome Taxes.—And as our Trade has for ſome Years been on the decline, and is now particularly under great Embarraſments, and burthened with heavy Impoſitions, our Medium very ſcarce, and the Balance of Trade greatly againſt this Country.

WE therefore the Subſcribers, being ſenſible that it is abſolutely neceſſary, in Order to extricate us out of theſe embarraſſed and diſtreſſed Circumſtances, to promote Induſtry, Oeconomy and Manufactures among ourſelves, and by this Means prevent the unneceſſary Importation of European Commodities, the exceſſive Uſe of which threatens the Country with Poverty and Ruin—DO promiſe and engage, to and with each other, that we will encourage the Uſe and Conſumption of all Articles manufactured in any of the Britiſh American Colonies, and more eſpecially in this Province; and that we will not, from and after the 31ſt of *December* next enſuing, purchaſe any of the following Articles, imported from Abroad, viz. *Loaf Sugar*, and all the other Articles enumerated above.—

And we further agree ſtrictly to adhere to the late Regulation reſpecting Funerals, and will not uſe any Gloves but what are Manufactured here, nor procure any new Garments upon ſuch an Occaſion, but what ſhall be abſolutely neceſſary.

The above Report having been conſidered, the Queſtion was put, Whether the ſame ſhall be accepted? *Voted unanimouſly in the Affirmative.*—And that ſaid Committee be deſired to uſe their beſt Endeavours to get the Subſcription Papers filled up as ſoon as may be. Alſo, *Voted unanimouſly*, That the foregoing Vote and Form of a Subſcription relative to the enumerated Articles, be immediately Publiſhed; and that the Seleſtmen be directed to diſtribute a proper Number of them among the Freeholders of this Town; and to forward a Copy of the ſame to the Seleſt-Men of every Town in the Province; as alſo to the principal City or Town Officers of the chief Towns in the ſeveral Colonies on the Continent, as they may think proper.

Atteſt,

William Cooper, *Town-Clerk.*

Then the Meeting was Adjourn'd to the 20th Day of November next.

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The true Sons of Liberty

And Supporters of the Non-Importation Agreement,

ARE determined to rëſent any the leaſt Inſult or Menace offer'd to any one or more of the ſeveral Committees appointed by the Body at Faneuil-Hall, and chaſtiſe any one or more of them as they deſerve; and will alſo ſupport the Printers in any Thing the Committees ſhall deſire them to print.

☞AS a Warning to any one that ſhall affront as aforeſaid, upon ſure Information given, one of theſe Advertiſements will be poſted up at the Door or Dwelling-Houſe of the Offender.

HANDBILL.[1]

Some other fac-similes are also given indicative of the prevailing coercive measures, which soon became popular. The next year (1768) committees were appointed in New York to consider the expediency of entering into measures to encourage industry and frugality and to employ the poor, and by 1769 the movement looking to independence of the British manufacturers became general through the colonies.[2]

In February, 1768, the Massachusetts House

[1] Copy of a broadside in the library of the Mass. Hist. Society.

[2] For the movements in Boston, see Frothingham's "Sam. Adams's Regiments" in the *Atlantic Monthly*, June and Aug., 1862, and Nov., 1863. The letter of the town to Dennis Deberdt, the London agent, sets forth their side of the case (*Mem. Hist. Boston*, iii. 29). John Mein, the Boston printer, one of the proscribed, published his *State of the importation of Great Britain with the port of Boston from Jan. to Aug., 1768*, to

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A LIST of the Names of *thoſe* who AUDACIOUSLY continue to counteract the UNITED SENTIMENTS of the BODY of Merchants thro'out NORTH-AMERICA; by importing Britiſh Goods contrary to the Agreement.

John Bernard,
(In King-Street, almoſt oppoſite Vernon's Head.

James McMaſters,
(On Treat's Wharf.

Patrick McMaſters,
(Oppoſite the Sign of the Lamb.

John Mein,
(Oppoſite the White-Horſe, and in King-Street.

Nathaniel Rogers,
(Oppoſite Mr. Henderſon Inches. Store lower End King-Street.

William Jackſon,
At the Brazen Head, Cornhill, near the Town-Houſe.

Theophilus Lillie,
(Near Mr. Pemberton's Meeting-Houſe, North-End.

John Taylor,
(Nearly oppoſite the Heart and Crown in Cornhill.

Ame & Elizabeth Cummings,
(Oppoſite the Old Brick Meeting-Houſe, all of Boſton.

Iſrael Williams, Eſq; & Son,
(Traders in the Town of Hatfield.

And, *Henry Barnes*,
(Trader in the Town of M ›oro'.

FROM EDES AND GILL'S NORTH AMERICAN ALMANACK, 1770.

of Representatives, by a circular letter addressed to the other colonies, invited them to consultation.[1] It drew from Hillsborough a circular letter of warning to the continent,[2] and in May Virginia issued a letter inviting a conference.[3] On June 10, 1768, the seizure of the sloop "Lib-

show that his assailants were also importers (Stevens's *Hist. Coll.*, i. no. 393; Quaritch, 1885, no. 29,618). There is one of the agreements among the Boston merchants, Aug. 14, 1769, in *Misc. MSS.*, 1632–1795, in Mass. Hist. Soc. cabinet. Samuel Cooper tells Franklin how the agreements are adhered to (Sparks's *Franklin*, vii. 448). Moore, *Songs and Ballads of the Rev.*, p. 48, gives some verses from the *Boston Newsletter*, urging the "daughters of liberty" to lend their influence in this direction. In the early part of 1770 the movement seemed to be vigorous (*Mem. Hist. Boston*, iii. 150; cf. papers of Cushing, Hancock, and others, in *Letters and Papers*, 1761–1776, in Mass. Hist. Soc. cabinet). Late in the year Hutchinson could write: "The confederacy in all the governments against importing seemed in the latter end of the summer to be breaking to pieces" (P. O. Hutchinson, i. 24). For such matters in Philadelphia, see Scharf and Westcott's *Philadelphia;* Franklin (Sparks), vii. 445; (Bigelow), ii. 39. In Delaware, see *Life of George Read*, 82. In Charlestown (S. C.) there was a controversy over the non-importation association, in which Christopher Gadsden and John Mackenzie supported the movement, and W. H. Drayton and William Wragg opposed it. These letters, which appeared in Timothy's *S. C. Gazette*, June–Dec., 1769, were issued together in *The letters of Freeman*, etc. ([London], 1771, — Brinley, no. 3,976).

1 Thornton, *Pulpit of the Rev.*, 150. It is printed in the *Penna. Archives*, 1st ser., iv. 286, and *N. Jersey Archives*, x. 14.

2 *New Jersey Archives*, x. 14.

3 *New Jersey Archives*, x. 21. Cf. William E. Foster on the development of colonial coöperation, 1754–1774, — a chapter in his *Stephen Hopkins*, vol. ii. A symbol, common at this time, of a disjointed snake, the

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WILLIAM JACKSON,

an *IMPORTER*; at the

BRAZEN HEAD,

North Side of the TOWN-HOUSE,

and *Oppoſite the Town-Pump, in*

Corn-hill, BOSTON.

It is deſired that the SONS and DAUGHTERS of *LIBERTY*, would not buy any one thing of him, for in ſo doing they will bring Diſgrace upon *themſelves*, and their *Poſterity*, for *ever* and *ever*, AMEN

PROSCRIBING AN IMPORTER.[1]

erty" brought further riotous proceedings in its train.[2]

What is known as the "War of the Regulators," or "Regulation," a series of riotous disturbances in North Carolina, 1768–1771, has usually been held to be one of the preliminary uprisings against British oppression. A. W. Waddell, in a paper in the *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.* (1871, p. 81), contends that it was

head representing New England, and the other fragments standing for the remaining colonies, and accompanied by the motto "Join or Die," seems to have first appeared in *The Constitutional Courant*, no. 1, Sept. 21, 1765, and was used later by the *Boston Evening Post*. Cf. *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, Nov., 1882, p. 768; 1883, p. 213; and Preble's *Hist. of the Amer. Flag*.

1 After an original handbill in the Mass. Hist. Soc. library.

2 Hutchinson's side of the story is in his *History*, iii. 189. At a large town meeting, over which Otis presided, and at which no direct reference was made to the riots, the people recapitulated grievances, and petitioned (*Rec. Com. Rept.*, xvi. 254) the governor to order the "Romney" away from the harbor. Hutchinson (iii. App. J and K) prints the address and the instructions which were given to their representatives. (Cf. *John Adams's Works*, iii. 501.) The examination of Robert Hallowell, controller of the port, is in the *Lee MSS.* (H. C. library), i. no. 40). Johnson (*Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, xlix. 301) speaks of the effect in England. See the general historians, and also special reports in *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, 1868, p. 402; 1869, p. 452; and also 1883, p. 404, for Hancock's spirit of challenge in naming a sloop, the next year, the "Rising Liberty."

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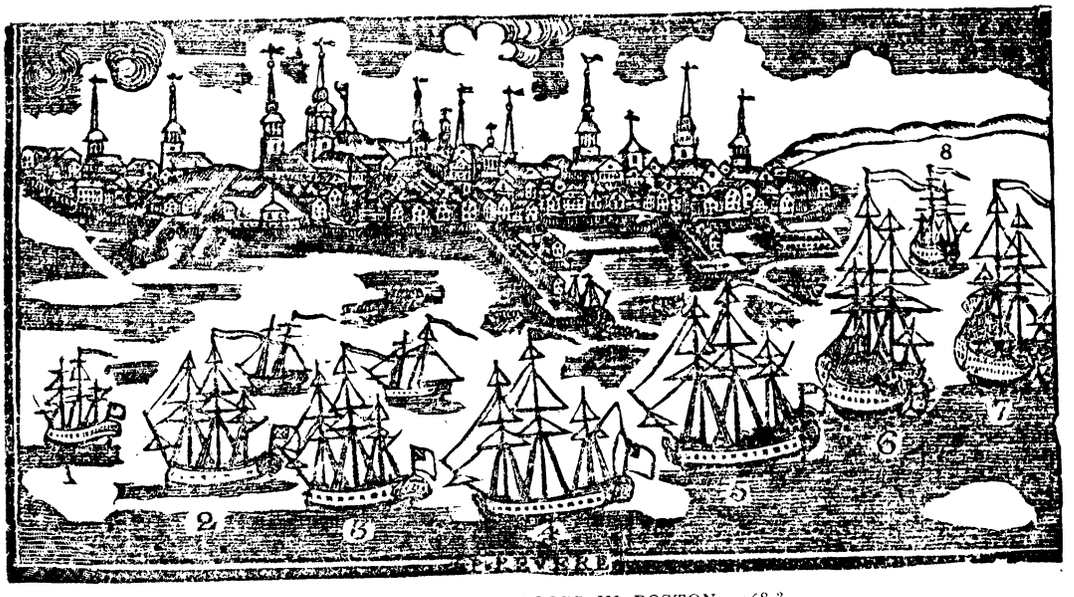
nothing but a lawless outburst, and advances evidence to prove that the participants were but a small majority of the people, with no great principle in view; that they were ignorant, never republicans, became Tories, and were opposed by the prominent Whig leaders. He considers that Caruthers and other local historians[1] are responsible for the common misconception arising from their attempt to reflect credit on North Carolina for what is claimed to be an early patriotic fervor. A contemporary vindication of the movement, and of Herman Husband, the leader, bringing the history of the commotions down to 1769 only, evidently based on material furnished by Husband, was printed in Boston in 1771.[2] Husband himself seems, during the preceding year, to have printed anonymously, giving no place of publication, a narrative of his own, for-



LANDING OF THE TROOPS IN BOSTON, 1768.[3]

[1] Caruthers's *Life of Dr. Caldwell;* Foote's *Sketches of No. Carolina;* Martin's *Hist. of No. Carolina;* a paper by Francis L. Hawks in *Revolutionary Hist. of No. Carolina*, ed. by W. D. Cooke (Raleigh and New York, 1853), which has a sketch of the "Battle of Alamance;" papers by David L. Swain in the *University Magazine* (Chapel Hill, N. C.); J. H. Wheeler's *Reminiscences and Memoirs of No. Carolina* (1884); *Southern Literary Messenger*, xi. 144, 231. Cf. also Lossing's *Field-Book of the Rev.*, ii. 577, and Jones's *New York during the Rev.*, ii. 5; and a paper on James Few, "the first American anarchist," in *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, Nov., 1886.

[2] *A Fan for Fanning and a Touchstone for Tryon, containing an impartial account of the rise and progress of the so much talked of Regulation in North Carolina, by Regulus* (Brinley, ii. no. 3,866). They had organized for the purpose of "regulating public grievances." Such, at least, was their profession.

[3] Fac-simile of an engraving by Paul Revere, which appeared in *Edes and Gill's North American Almanack*, Boston, 1770. It is reëngraved in S. G. Drake's *Boston*, p. 747, and in S. A. Drake's *Old Landmarks of Boston*, p. 119. KEY: 1, The "Beaver," 14 guns; 2, "Senegal," 14; 3, "Martin," 10; 4, "Glasgow," 20; 5, "Mermaid," 28; 6, "Romney," 50; 7, "Launaston," 40; 8, "Bonetta," 10.

Revere also engraved a large copper-plate of the same event, which is given in heliotype fac-simile, on different scales, in the *Boston Evacuation Memorial* (p. 18) and *Mem. Hist. of Boston* (ii. 532). Cf. also Gay's *Pop. Hist. U. S.*, iii. 356; Dearborn's *Boston Notions*, 126, etc. The same view of the town was again used by Revere, but extended farther south, in a cut in the *Royal American Mag.* (1774), which is given in fac-simile in the *Mem. Hist. of Boston*, ii. 441. There is also a water-color mentioned in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, 2d ser., ii. 156. On Revere as an engraver, see W. S. Baker's *American Engravers*, Philad., 1875, and the list in *N. E. Hist. and Gen. Reg.*, 1886, p. 204.

In Sept. (dated 14th) the selectmen of Boston sent a circular to the other towns, calling a convention (*Boston Rec. Com. Rept.*, xvi. 263) to consider the declaration of Bernard "that one or more regiments may soon be expected in this province" (original broadside in Mass. Hist. Soc., *Misc. MSS.*, 1632–1795). It is printed and explained in that society's *Proceedings*, iv. 387. The convention sat from Sept. 22d to 29th. On the 30th,

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John Dickinson
June 20-1774

tified by the letters of Tryon and others, with the remonstrances and counter-statements.[2]

The most conspicuous presentation of the American side in 1768 were the famous *Far-*

in the early morning, the British fleet took soundings along the water-front, and in the afternoon a number of war-ships came up from the lower harbor and anchored with springs on their cables. On Oct. 1st the landing took place. The news spread through the land, and the irritation was increased. (Cf. *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, xx. 9; Barry, *Mass.*, ii. 370; Loring, *Boston Orators*, 75; *Franklin's Works*, vii. 418.)

The question of the expense of quartering troops had been raised by Massachusetts and New York in 1767 (Hutchinson, iii. 168), and a letter of Gage on the subject is in the Shelburne Papers, vol. li. (*Hist. MSS. Com. Rept.*, v. 219). Cf. Hillsborough to Governor Franklin in *N. J. Archives*, x. p. 12. The message of the Assembly to Bernard, praying for their removal (May 31, 1769), is in Hutchinson (iii. App. 497).

[1] This cut from Nathaniel Ames's *Astronomical diary or Almanack*, 1772, Boston, is inscribed "The Patriotic American Farmer, J–N D–K–NS–N, Esq., Barrister-at-Law, who with Attic Eloquence and Roman spirit hath asserted the liberties of the British Colonies in America." Cf. Scharf and Westcott's *Philadelphia*, i. 276.

C. W. Peale's portrait of Dickinson (1770) was engraved by I. B. Forrest. Cf. *Catal. of Gallery of Penna. Hist. Soc.* (1872), no. 161; Lossing's *Field-Book*, i. 476.

On Dickinson's influence, see "The great American essayist" in the *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, Feb., 1882, p. 117; Sept., 1883, p. 223; Read's *Life of George Read*, 49, 79; Wells's *Adams*, ii. 38; Quincy's *Josiah Quincy, Jr.*, 104; Greene's *Hist. View*, 370; Lossing's *Field-Book*, i. 476. Cf. letters of Dickinson in *Mem. Hist. Boston*, iii. 22; Lee's *Life of A. Lee*, ii. 293, 296, etc.

[2] *An impartial relation of the first rise and cause of the recent differences in public affairs in North Carolina, and of the past tumults and riots that lately happened in that province. . . . Printed for the Compiler*, 1770 (Carter-Brown, iii. no. 1,744).

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mer's Letters, as they were usually called, of John Dickinson.[1]

Some of the most important of the documents of the Boston patriots were printed in London under the supervision of Thomas Hollis, long a devoted friend of the colonists.[2]

During 1768 and 1769 we find record of the workings of political sentiments in the colonies in abundant publications.[3]

The most important development in 1769 came from some letters which had been addressed by Governor Bernard and General Gage to the ministry, and to which, in the exercise of his rights as a member of Parliament, Alderman Beckford had obtained access and taken copies, subsequently delivered by him to Bollan, who transmitted them to Boston, where they were at once printed. From these letters the public learned of the urgency which the governor had used with the government to induce it to in-

[1] *Letters from a Farmer in Pennsylvania to the inhabitants of the British Colonies* (Philad., Boston, New York, 1768). They originally appeared in twelve numbers in the *Penna. Chronicle and Universal Advertiser*, between Dec. 2, 1767, and Feb. 15, 1768. When reprinted in London (1768) Franklin added a preface, and they were again printed there in 1774. (Cf. Sparks's *Franklin*, i. 316; iv. 256; vii. 391; x. 433; Bigelow's *Franklin*, i. 566; Sabin, v. nos. 20,044–20,052; Haven, p. 594; Carter-Brown, iii. 1,620, 1,621.) They are included in Dickinson's *Political Writings* (Wilmington, 1801, vol. ii.). Lecky (iii. 419) calls these letters "one of the ablest statements of the American case." Cf. Frothingham's *Rise of the Republic*, p. 208, and Shea's *Hamilton*, p. 255. For Boston's letter of gratitude to Dickinson, see *Record Com. Rept.*, xvi. p. 243. Lecky (iii. 320, 348) thinks the ablest presentation of the case against the colonies is *The Controversy between Great Britain and her Colonies* (London, 1769; Boston, 1769), written to offset the *Farmer's Letters*. Bancroft says that Grenville himself wrote the constitutional argument in it, and the Board of Trade furnished the material. The pamphlet itself is usually ascribed to William Knox, the Under-Secretary of State, though the names of Whately, Israel Mauduit, and John Mein have been sometimes preferred. (Cf. Carter-Brown, iii. no. 1,666; Sabin, x. p. 532.)

[2] *The True Sentiments of America contained in a Collection of Letters sent from the House of Representatives of the Province of Massachusetts Bay to several persons of high rank in this kingdom. Together with certain papers relating to a supposed Libel on the Governor of that Province and a Dissertation on the Canon and Feudal Law* (London, 1768). The volume includes the petition to the king of Jan. 20, 1768; the letter of Jan. 12, 1768, to Dennis Deberdt; letters to Shelburne, Conway, Camden, Chatham, and others, — most of these papers being written by Sam. Adams; Joseph Warren's attack on Bernard, from the *Boston Gazette* and the *Dissertation on the Canon and Feudal Law*, attributed here to Jeremy Gridley, but written in fact by John Adams (Sabin, viii. 32,551; Brinley, ii. 4,163; Menzies, 946; Carter-Brown, iii. 1,603. Cf. *John Adams's Works*, x. 367).

A Letter to the Right Honorable the Marquis of Rockingham from the Province of Massachusetts Bay, Jan. 12, 1768, signed by the Speaker, was circulated in broadside (copy in Mass. Hist. Soc. library). Warren was writing in the public prints at this time (Loring's *Hundred Boston Orators*, 53). Samuel Cooper was corresponding with William Livingston (Sedgwick's *Livingston*, pp. 136–138). Bernard was writing to Hillsborough, Nov. 30, 1768, that "Bowdoin had all along taken the lead in the Council in their late extraordinary proceedings" (*Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, viii. 86). The Boston merchants printed *Observations on several acts of parliament passed in the 4th, 6th, 7th years of* [*the*] *reign of* [*George III.*]: *also on the conduct of the officers of the customs since those acts were passed, and the board of commissioners appointed to reside in America* (Boston, 1769, — Sabin, xiii. 56,501; Carter-Brown, iii. 1,690. Cf. Hutchinson's character of Bowdoin (*Massachusetts*, iii. 293).

There is among the Chalmers Papers in the *Sparks MSS.* (no. x. vol. ii.) a paper dated June, 1768, without signature, which begins, "Being in the gallery a few days before the Assembly was dissolved, I heard Mr. Otis make a long speech, part of the substance of which was, as near as I can remember, couched in the following terms," etc.; and (*Ibid.*, vol. iii.) there is the affidavit of Richard Sylvester, a Boston innholder, sworn to before Hutchinson, and describing the speeches of the Boston leaders.

For the spirit of the hour, see the lives of the chief Boston patriots, like Sam. Adams, and a summary of the progress of opinion in Amory's *James Sullivan* (Boston, 1859). Admiral Hood was so far deceived that in 1769 he wrote from Boston that the spirit of sedition had fallen (*Grenville Papers*, iii.).

[3] Not to name the newspapers, see the address of Georgia to the king (*Sparks MSS.*, xlix. ii.); that of New Jersey (*N. J. Archives*, x. 18); that of Virginia, May 16, 1769 (Hutchinson's *Mass. Bay*, iii. App. p. 494). On these royal petitions, see Ryerson's *Loyalists*, i. ch. 14.

A collection of papers of which William Livingston, as is supposed, was one of the writers, and which were printed in the *New York Gazette* and in other newspapers, were published separately as *A Collection of Tracts from the late newspapers* (Frothingham's *Rise of the Republic*, 244; Carter-Brown, iii. no. 1,617; Brinley, iv. no. 6,135). The correspondence of the Philadelphia merchants is in the *Sparks MSS.*, lxii.

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stitute more stringent measures of repression.[1]

The publication of these letters led to the printing of *An appeal to the world; or a vindication of the town of Boston, from many false and malicious aspersions contain'd in certain letters and memorials, written by Governor Bernard, General Gage [etc.]. Published by order of the town* (Boston, 1769),[2] and induced also a letter to the Earl of Hillsborough.[3]

There are in the *Sparks MSS.* (no. xx.) copies of annotations which Franklin, then in London,

WILLIAM LIVINGSTON.[4]

[1] Hutchinson's view of the matter is in his vol. iii. p. 227. These and other letters and papers were included in several publications, published about the same time: —

Letters to the Earl of Hillsborough from Gov. Bernard, General Gage, and the Honorable his Majesty's Council for the province of Mass. Bay, with an appendix containing divers proceedings referred to in said letters (Boston, folio, 1769; Salem, quarto, 1769; London, n. d., — Sabin, ii. 4,924; Carter-Brown, iii. 1683).

Letters to the Ministry from Gov. Bernard, General Gage, and Commodore Hood; and also memorials to the lords of the treasury from the commissioners of the customs, with sundry letters and papers annexed to said memorials (Boston, 1769; London, n. d., — Sabin, ii. 4,923; Carter-Brown, iii. 1,684).

A third extraordinary Budget of Epistles and Memorials between Sir Francis Bernard, some natives of Boston, and the present ministry, against North America and the true interests of the British Empire and the rights of mankind (no imprint, — Sabin, ii. 4,927; Haven in Thomas, ii. p. 600).

Copies of letters from Sir Francis Bernard to the Earl of Hillsborough (two editions, without place, and one, Boston, 1769, — Sabin, ii. 4,921).

There had already been efforts made by the Boston authorities to get at the contents of these letters by a request to Bernard for a statement respecting his transmissions to England (*Mass. State Papers*, ed. Bradford, 115, 120; *Papers* pub. by the Seventy-Six Soc.; Lee MSS. in Harvard College library, i. nos. 42–45). Bernard ascribed all his tribulations to his enforcement of the laws of trade (Bernard Papers in *Sparks MSS.*, iii. 150). For Bernard's character, see *John Adams*, iv. 21, Mahon, v. 235, and Palfrey in his review of Mahon. Bernard left Boston Aug. 2, 1769.

[2] The general belief is that the author of this defence was Samuel Adams (Wells, i. 282; Bancroft, vi. 312), though it has been ascribed to William Cooper, to James Otis, and to Otis and Adams combined. Cf. Barry's *Mass.*, ii. 399; Franklin, viii. 459; *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, i. 485; *Mem. Hist. Boston*, iii. p. 28; Carter-Brown, iii. nos. 1,643, 1,644, 1,716. See Report as spread on the Town Records, in *Rec. Com. Rept.*, xvi. p. 303.

[3] *A letter to the right honourable the earl of Hillsborough, on the present situation of affairs in America. Also an appendix in answer to a pamphlet intitled, The constitutional right of Great-Britain to tax the colonies* (London, 1769; Boston, 1769, — Sabin, viii. p. 297; Carter-Brown, iii. 1,681).

This also has been attributed to S. Adams; but Hutchinson (iii. 228, 237) believed that James Bowdoin was the writer.

[4] Fac-simile of the engraving in Sedgwick's *Life of William Livingston*. Cf. Lossing's *Field-Book*, i. 330.

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made on the margins and fly-leaves of sundry pamphlets, which just at this time were engaging attention in London, and these comments show how the struggle was regarded by a mind of Franklin's astuteness, amid the influences of the British capital. Sparks printed parts of these annotations in his *Familiar letters and miscellaneous pieces by Dr. Franklin*, and again in his edition of *Franklin*, vol. iv.[1] Some letters which passed between Franklin and William Strahan in 1769 are also of great interest.[2]

The Boston Massacre of March, 1770, was the violent culmination of prevailing passions, and was in a measure induced by the sacrifice of life which resulted from the boarding by a press-gang from the "Rose" frigate of a ship belonging to Hooper, of Marblehead,[3] and by the riotous proceedings which, in Jan., 1770, brought about the death of the boy Snider.[4] Soon after the affray of March, the town of Boston published a *Short Narrative of the Horrid Massacre in Boston* (Boston, Edes and Gill, 1770),[5] which depicted the condition of the people at the time, and gave an appendix of depositions, including one of Jeremy Belknap.[6] Copies were sent to England at once,[7] but the rest of the edition was kept back till after the trial, when "Additional Observations" were appended.[8] The volume, thus completed, was reprinted in New York in 1849, with notes and illustrations by John Daggett, Jr.;

[1] The notes include comments on the *Protest of the Lords against the repeal of the Stamp Act* (*Franklin*, iv. 206); on *A letter from a merchant in London* (iv. 211); on *Good Humour, or a way with the Colonies* (iv. 215); on *An inquiry into the nature and causes of the present disputes* (iv. 281); on *The true constitutional means of putting an end to the disputes* (iv. 298). On Franklin in London at this time, see Sparks's *Franklin*, vii. 338, 350, 354, etc. The tracts above noted are said by Sparks to be in the Philadelphia Athenæum, but some of these titles appear, as having Franklin's notes, in the *Brinley Catal.*, ii. nos. 3,218–22. Israel Mauduit's *Short View of the Hist. of the Colony of Mass. Bay* (Lond., 1769) is noted in Brinley, and not by Sparks.

[2] Sparks's *Franklin*, iv. 258. Some letters of Strahan (1767–8, etc.) are in the *Penna. Mag. of Hist.*, x. 322. The letters of Wm. Samuel Johnson are also of importance (*Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, xlix.). He describes Barré and others in debate. Barré, in March, 1769, predicted the loss of the colonies (Smyth, *Lectures*, ii. 384), and in April Johnson is writing, "It seems pretty probable that we shall go on contending, and fretting each other, till we *become* separate and *independent* empires" (Beardsley's *Life of W. S. Johnson*, p. 65; also see pp. 38, 42).

A few of the other more significant pamphlets of 1769 may be mentioned: *The rights of the Colonies and the extent of the legislative authority of Great Britain* (London, 1769), by Phelps, the under-secretary to Lord Sandwich. Allan Ramsay's *Thoughts on the origin and nature of government* (London, 1769). Alexander Cluny's *American Traveller, or Observations on the British Colonies in America by an old and experienced trader* (London, 1769), said to have been instigated by Chatham. *The present state of liberty in Great Britain and her Colonies* (London, 1769). *The present state of the Nation* (London, 1768), by Robert Tickle, and the reply to it, called *Considerations on the dependencies of Great Britain* (London, 1769), and Burke's *Observations* on it in his *Works* (Boston, 1865, i. p. 269). *The Case of Great Britain and America, addressed to the King and both houses of parliament* (London, 1769; Philad., 1769). Richard Bland's *Enquiry into the rights of the British Colonies, intended as an answer to The Regulations lately made concerning the Colonies* (Williamsburg, 1769; London, 1769). Cf. Carter-Brown, iii. nos. 1,646, 1,652, 1,660, 1,661; Stevens's *Hist. Coll.*, i. 510; Sabin, xvi. nos. 61,401, 67,679.

[3] Hutchinson's *History*, vol. iii. *John Adams's Works*, ii. 224; ix. 317; x. 204.

[4] Barry's *Mass.*, ii. 407 and references.

[5] Reprinted in London in three editions the same year. Brinley, i. no. 1,655, etc.; Carter-Brown, iii. no. 1,719, etc.; Haven in Thomas, ii. p. 608.

[6] Not the historian, but his uncle. Cf. *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, xi. 240.

[7] The letter of the Boston committee, covering the copy sent to the Massachusetts agent in London, is among the Lee Papers in the Univ. of Virginia. There is a fac-simile of its signatures in the *Mem. Hist. Boston*, iii. 39. Some copies of the *Narrative* have a list of the persons in England to whom copies were sent.

The *Letter from the Town of Boston to C. Lucas, Esq., one of the Representatives of the City of Dublin, in Parliament, inclosing a Short Narrative*, etc., was printed in Dublin, 1770 (*Cooke Catal.*, iii. no. 256; Sabin, x. no. 40,348). The other contemporary American accounts are in the *Boston Gazette*, March 12th (bordered with black lines); Jos. Belknap's in *Belknap Papers* (MS., i. 69); letter of William Palfrey to John Wilkes, and one of Governor Hutchinson in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, vol. vi. 480 (March, 1863).

The accounts in Gordon (vol. i.) and Hutchinson (vol. iii. 270) are also those of contemporaries. Cf. documents in *Hist. Mag.*, June, 1861, and in Niles's *Principles and Acts of the Rev.* Dickinson, on March 31st, wrote of it to Arthur Lee, from Philadelphia. Lee's *Life of A. Lee*, ii. 299.

Crispus Attucks, one of the slain, usually called a mulatto, is held by J. B. Fisher, in the *Amer. Hist. Record* (i. 531), to have been a half-breed Indian. Cf. *Mem. Hist. Boston*, iii. 32; George Livermore's *Historical Research.*

[8] Separately, Boston, 1770 (Carter-Brown, iii. no. 1,721; Haven in Thomas, ii. p. 608).

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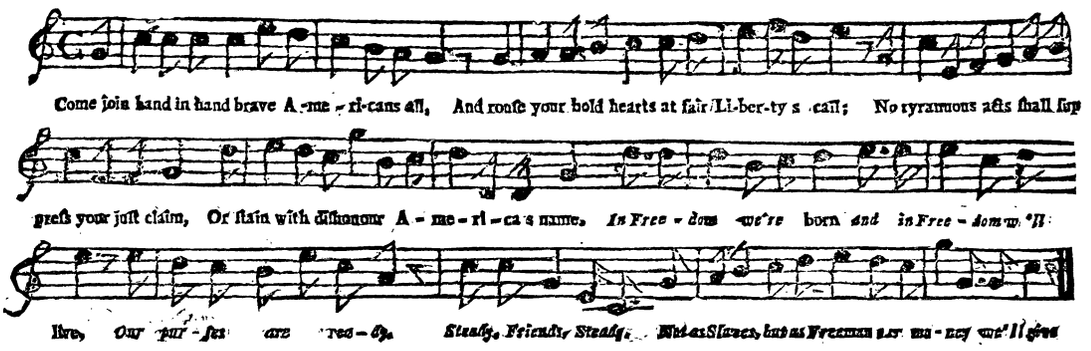
The LIBERTY SONG. *In Freedom we're born, &c.*

Come join hand in hand brave A - me - ri - cans all, And roufe your bold hearts at fair Li-ber-ty s call; No tyrannous acts fhall fup
preft your juft claim, Or ftain with dishonour A - me - ri - ca's name. In Free - dom we're born and in Free - dom we'll
live, Our pur - pofe are free - ly, Steady, Friends, Steady, Not as Slaves, but as Freemen our mo - ney we'll give

FROM BICKERSTAFF'S BOSTON ALMANAC, 1769.[1]

and again in Frederick Kidder's *History of the Boston Massacre* (Albany, 1870), which is the most considerable monograph on the subject.[2]

A stenographic report was made of the trial of Preston, and sent to England, but it has never been published.[3]

The trial of eight of the soldiers took place Nov. 27, 1770, and John Hodgson,[4] the stenographer of the earlier trial, made a Report, *The trial of William Wemms, . . . published by permission of the Court* (Boston, 1770),[5] which gives the evidence and pleas of counsel, and a report of the trial of Edward Manwaring and others, accused of firing on the crowd from the windows of the custom-house. They were acquitted.[6]

The principal statement on the government side was *A Fair Account of the late unhappy disturbance at Boston, extracted from the depositions that have been made concerning it by persons of all parties, with an appendix containing affidavits*

[1] This song was written by John Dickinson, with some assistance from Dr. Arthur Lee, and was sent (printed in the *Penna. Chronicle*, July 4, 1768) by Dickinson from Philadelphia to Otis, accompanied by a letter dated July 4, 1768. It was sung to the tune "Hearts of Oak," and was made conspicuous in Boston by being sung at Liberty Hall and the Greyhound Tavern in Aug., 1768. It had been reprinted in the *Boston Gazette*, July 18th. An amended copy, "the first being rather too bold," was given in the *Penna. Chronicle* July 11th. In September it appeared as a broadside, with the music. Edes and Gill's *Almanac*, in reprinting it in 1770, says it is "now much in vogue in North America." (Cf. Tudor's *Life of Otis*, pp. 322, 501; Moore's *Songs and Ballads of the Rev.*, p. 37; Drake's *Town of Roxbury*, p. 166; *Mem. Hist. of Boston*, iii. p. 131.)

A parody appeared in the *Boston Gazette*, Sept. 26, 1768 (Moore, p. 41). This parody gave rise to the "Massachusetts Song of Liberty," which is given in Edes and Gill's *Almanac* (1770), as well as in Bickerstaff, under the full title of *The Parody parodized, or the Massachusetts Liberty Song.* It has been ascribed to Mrs. Mercy Warren. (Cf. Moore, p. 44; Lossing, *Field-Book of the Rev.*, i. 487.) The *Almanac* (Edes and Gill) of 1770 also contains "A new Song composed by a Son of Liberty and sung by Mr. Flagg at Concert Hall, Boston, Feb. 13, 1770."

[2] There are other later accounts in J. S. Loring's *Hundred Boston Orators;* Frothingham's "Sam. Adams's Regiments" (*Atlantic Monthly*, June and Aug., 1862, and Nov., 1863), which is epitomized in his *Life of Warren* (ch. 6); Wells's *Samuel Adams;* Tudor's *Otis;* Bancroft's *United States* (orig. ed., vi. ch. 43, with references); histories of Boston by Snow and Drake, and the *Mem. History of Boston*, iii. 38, 135; Barry's *Mass.*, ii. 409; Gay's *Pop. Hist. U. S.*, iii. ch. 14.

[3] *John Adams's Works*, x. 201. The brief used by John Adams is in the Boston Public Library, and a facsimile of the opening paragraph is in the *Mem. Hist. Boston*, iii. 38. It is printed by Kidder (p. 10). A portrait of Lynde, the presiding judge, is given in the *Memorial Hist. of Boston* (ii. 558), and in the *Diaries of Benj. Lynde and Benj. Lynde, Jr.* (Boston, privately printed, 1880), where will be found all that remains of his charge. Sam. Adams's "Vindex" criticised the arguments for the defence in the *Mass. Gazette.* Cf. Buckingham's *Reminiscences*, i. 168.

[4] He was a Scotch bookbinder in Boston. Thomas's *Hist. of Printing* (1874), ii. 228.

[5] Brinley, i. 1659; Carter-Brown, iii. no. 1,722; Haven in Thomas, ii. p. 608.

[6] This volume was reprinted in Boston in 1807 and 1824, and in Kidder's monograph (1870). Other contemporary accounts of the trial are in Hutchinson (iii. 328); by S. Cooper in *Franklin's Works* (vii. 499); and reminiscences are in *John Adams's Works*, x. 162, 201, 249. Cf. *Life of Josiah Quincy, Jr.* (ch. 2), and P. W. Chandler's *American Criminal Trials* (vol. i.).

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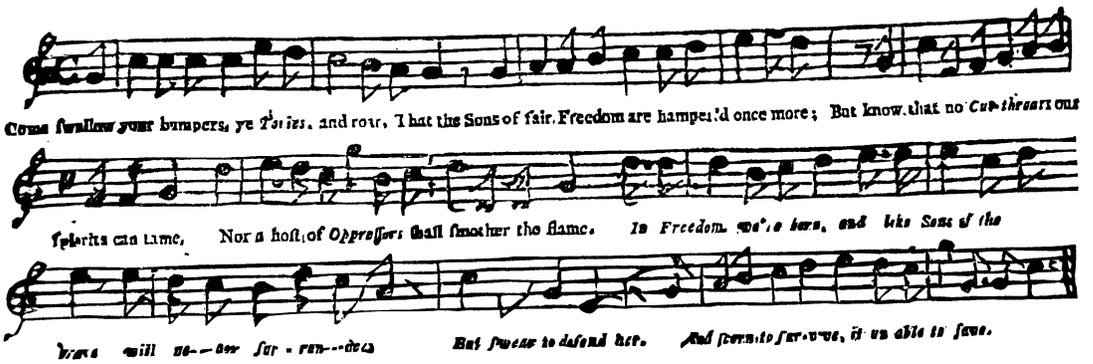
The *MASSACHUSETTS* Song of LIBERTY.


Come swallow your bumpers, ye Tories, and roar, That the Sons of fair Freedom are hamper'd once more; But know that no Cut-throat ous
spirits can tame, Nor a host of Oppressors shall smother the flame. In Freedom we're born, and like Sons of the
Wars will ne--ver sur-ren--der But swear to defend her. And scorn to survive, if we're unable to save.

FROM BICKERSTAFF'S BOSTON ALMANAC, 1770.

~~sovereign & commander thereof~~. We, therefore, enjoin you, at all hazards to support (as we ~~fully~~ rely ~~on~~ your own hearts will stimulate) like the faithfull representatives of a freeborn, awakened & determined people; — who, being impregnated, with the spirit of liberty in conceptions and nurtured in principles of freedom, from their infancy, are resolved to breath the same celestial ether, till summoned ~~by~~ to resign the heavenly flame ~~to~~ by that ~~Almighty~~ God ~~who~~ gave it.

By Order of the Committee
R. Dana

Test.
William Cooper Town Clerk

PART OF INSTRUCTIONS TO BOSTON REPRESENTATIVES, MAY 15, 1770.[1]

1 The original draft of these instructions, in the handwriting of Josiah Quincy, Jr., is among the Quincy MSS. in the cabinet of the Mass. Hist. Society. This is a reproduction of the last page, showing the signatures of Richard Dana and of Cooper, the town clerk.

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and evidences not mentioned in the narrative that has been published at Boston (London, 1770).[1] This *Fair Account* contained a deposition of Secretary Andrew Oliver, tending to show that the soldiers were justifiably defending themselves; and making public the doings of the governor's council thereupon. This "breach of a most essential privilege" excited animadversion, and the council censured Oliver.[2] The purport of the English presentations is to show that the soldiers did not fire till duly provoked by assaults, and the more candid American writers, like Ramsay, Abiel Holmes, Hildreth, and others, seem to allow this.[3]

Bancroft (orig. ed., vi. 347) has a long note on the evidence about the provocation and first assault. He gives ten reasons for thinking Preston gave orders to fire, and six reasons for thinking the provocation was not sufficient to justify the firing. The evidence in this form is omitted in the final revision of Bancroft.

The anniversary of the Massacre was observed in Boston till the struggle for Independence was passed, and a series of annual orations commemorates the continued and aroused feelings of the people.[4]

The appendix to the third volume of Hutchinson's *History* records the sparring of Hutchinson and the legislature during the next six months.[5]

The list of Haven in Thomas (ii. 606) gives the American tracts published in 1770; but the more significant ones of the year appeared in London.[6]

[1] Brinley, i. no. 1,658.

[2] Cf. *Proc. of his Majesty's Council, relative to the deposition of Andrew Oliver, Esq.* (Boston, 1770,—Carter-Brown, iii. no. 1,752).

[3] The principal later English accounts are in Stedman, Mahon (v. 268), Grahame (iv. 310), Ryerson's *Loyalists* (i. ch. 16). Lecky (*England in the Eighteenth Century*, iii. 369, 401) thinks Bancroft shows violent partisanship, and says that "few things contributed more to the American Revolution than this unfortunate affray. Skilful agitators perceived the advantage it gave them, and the most fantastic exaggerations were dexterously diffused."

[4] A fac-simile of the *Mass. Spy*, March 7, 1771, with its blackened columns, is given in the *Mem. Hist. of Boston* (iii. 135). On the same day Revere showed illuminated pictures of the scene from his house in North Square. The orations were gathered and published collectively by Peter Edes in 1785, and this book appeared in a second edition in 1807. The successive speakers were Thomas Young, James Lovell, Benjamin Church (third ed. was corrected by the author), John Hancock, Joseph Warren (two editions), Peter Thacher, Benj. Hichborn, Jonathan W. Austin, William Tudor, Jonathan Mason, Thomas Dawes, Geo. R. Minot, and Thomas Welsh. These orations were published separately, and Hancock's is said by Wells (ii. 138) to have been largely written by Samuel Adams. Hancock's was reprinted in New Haven. Some of them are in Niles's *Principles and Acts* (1876), p. 17; and Loring (*Hundred Boston Orators*) particularly commemorates them.

When Warren's oration in 1772 was published, a poem by James Allen (1739–1808) was to have accompanied it, but some of the committee, having doubts of Allen's sentiments, suppressed it, when the poet's friends later published it separately as *The poem which the town of Boston had voted unanimously to be published with the late oration; with observations relating thereto; together with some very pertinent extracts from an ingenious composition never yet published* [Anon.] (Boston, 1772). Cf. *Brinley Catal.*, iv. no. 6,771; J. C. Stockbridge's *Harris Coll. of Amer. Poetry* (Providence, 1886), p. 8.

The oration of Thacher, delivered at Watertown during the siege of Boston, is said to be rarest of all the separate issues (Cooke, no. 2,428).

A sermon on the massacre, by the Rev. John Lathrop, of the Second Church in Boston, "preached the lord's day following," was first printed in London, 1770, and reprinted in Boston, 1771 (Carter-Brown, iii. 1,792; Haven in Thomas, ii. p. 610).

[5] These documents are Hutchinson's address, Apr. 26th (p. 505); the instructions of Boston to its representatives, May 15th (p. 508; cf. *John Adams's Works*, ix. 616); and various other documents interchanged between them which largely concern Hutchinson's removing the Assembly to Cambridge (pp. 515–542).

In June, 1770, it would seem that Hutchinson's life was threatened because of the passions aroused by the massacre, and there is in the Mass. Hist. Soc. library (*Misc. MSS.*, 1632–1795) a brief note of his written on being advised to protect himself, dated June 22, 1770, at Milton. It is printed in the Society's *Proceedings*, Jan., 1862, p. 361.

[6] Arthur Lee's *Political detection* (London, 1770), being letters addressed to Hillsborough, Bernard, and others (Carter-Brown, iii. 1,760).

Edmund Burke's *Thoughts on the Cause of the present discontents* (3d ed., London, 1770,—in *Works*, Boston ed., 1865, i. p. 433).

Catharine Macaulay's *Observations on a pamphlet entitled Thoughts on the Cause of the present discontents* (London, 1770).

Extract of a letter from the House of Representatives of the Mass. Bay to their agent, Dennys de Berdt, with some remarks (London, 1770).

There is a portrait of De Berdt in the State House, Boston.

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The year 1771 was less eventful. In England, it seemed for a while as if the worst had passed. W. S. Johnson had written at the close of the preceding year (Dec. 29, 1770), "The general American controversy is at present looked upon here as very much at an end."[1] Franklin had been made the agent for Massachusetts;[2] he was still putting tersely to his correspondents the American view of the controversy,[3] and he had a conference with Hillsborough.[4]

Hutchinson in March had succeeded to the governor's chair, with reluctance, as he professed.[5] The American tracts may be gleaned in Haven's list.[6]

The events of 1772 are of more interest. The Boston patriots emphasized their arguments in their instructions to their representatives in May.[7] Later (July 14th) they passed a remonstrance against taxation and sent it to the king.[8]

There are diverse views as to the originator of the committees of correspondence. Gordon's opinion (i. 312) that James Warren was the instigator was adopted by Marshall, but is held by Bancroft (vi. 428) to be erroneous. John Adams gave the first movement to Samuel Adams.[9] One of the first-fruits of the committee, as a provincial measure, was the report drafted by Samuel Adams (Nov. 2, 1772), which was printed

1 Beardsley's *Life of W. S. Johnson*, p. 84.

2 Instructions of the House of Representatives to Franklin, in Mass. Hist. Soc. cabinet.

3 *Works*, vii. 486, 488, 493, 501.

4 *Ibid.*, vii. 508.

5 P. O. Hutchinson, ii. 79. Some interesting letters of Hutchinson (1771–1772) are in the English Public Record Office, and are printed in the *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, xix. 129–140.

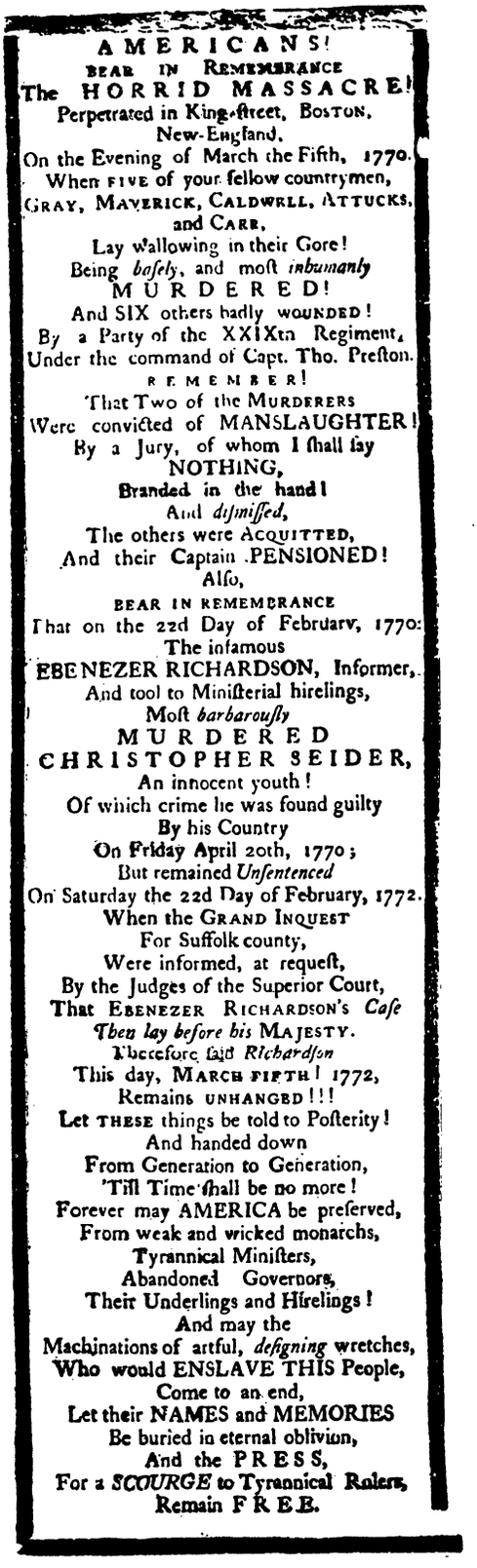
6 One of an indicative English stamp is Allan Ramsay's *Hist. Essay on the English Constitution, wherein the right of Parliament to tax our different provinces is explained and justified* (Sabin, xvi. 67,675).

7 *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, xii. 9.

8 A duplicate of the original document is in the Lee Papers in the University of Virginia library. Cf. Franklin's account of his conversation with Dartmouth, *Works*, viii. 25, 28; and of his presentation of the petition and one forwarded the next year (viii. 47). For duplicates of originals, see *Calendar of Lee Papers*, p. 5 (vol. ii. nos. 5–7).

9 *John Adams's Works*, iv. 34; Frothingham's *Warren*, 200; Wells's *Sam. Adams*, i. 509, ii. 62; Grahame's *United States*, iv. 328; Barry's *Mass.*, ii. 448; Goodell's *Provincial Laws*, v. index. Something of the sort seems to have been suggested in Rhode Island, Oct. 8, 1764, in a letter to Franklin (*Works*, vii. 264). Dawson (*Sons of Liberty in N. Y.*, 61–64) finds the earliest movement in the New York Assembly, Oct. 18, 1764. Thornton (*Pulpit of the Rev.*, 45, 191) notes the suggestion in a letter of Jonathan Mayhew, June 8, 1766, to James Otis, that there might be a communion of colonies, as there was a communion of churches.

NOTE. — The annexed cut is part of a handbill in the library of the Mass. Hist. Society.



AMERICANS!
BEAR IN REMEMBRANCE
The HORRID MASSACRE!
Perpetrated in King-ſtreet, BOSTON,
New-England,
On the Evening of March the Fifth, 1770.
When FIVE of your fellow countrymen,
GRAY, MAVERICK, CALDWELL, ATTUCKS,
and CARR,
Lay wallowing in their Gore!
Being *baſely*, and moſt *inhumanly*
MURDERED!
And SIX others badly WOUNDED!
By a Party of the XXIXth Regiment,
Under the command of Capt. Tho. Preſton.
REMEMBER!
That Two of the MURDERERS
Were convicted of MANSLAUGHTER!
By a Jury, of whom I ſhall ſay
NOTHING,
Branded in the hand!
And *diſmiſſed*,
The others were ACQUITTED,
And their Captain PENSIONED!
Alſo,
BEAR IN REMEMBRANCE
That on the 22d Day of Februarv, 1770:
The infamous
EBENEZER RICHARDSON, Informer,
And tool to Miniſterial hirelings,
Moſt *barbarouſly*
MURDERED
CHRISTOPHER SEIDER,
An innocent youth!
Of which crime he was found guilty
By his Country
On Friday April 20th, 1770;
But remained *Unſentenced*
On Saturday the 22d Day of February, 1772.
When the GRAND INQUEST
For Suffolk county,
Were informed, at requeſt,
By the Judges of the Superior Court,
That EBENEZER RICHARDSON'S *Caſe*
Then lay before his MAJESTY.
Therefore ſaid *Richardſon*
This day, MARCH FIFTH! 1772,
Remains UNHANGED!!!
Let THESE things be told to Poſterity!
And handed down
From Generation to Generation,
'Till Time ſhall be no more!
Forever may AMERICA be preſerved,
From weak and wicked monarchs,
Tyrannical Miniſters,
Abandoned Governors,
Their Underlings and Hirelings!
And may the
Machinations of artful, *deſigning* wretches,
Who would ENSLAVE THIS People,
Come to an end,
Let their NAMES and MEMORIES
Be buried in eternal oblivion,
And the PRESS,
For a *SCOURGE* to Tyrannical Rulers,
Remain FREE.

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as the *Rights of the Colonies*.[1] The vote passed by Virginia, March 12, 1773, was the immediate cause of intercolonial activity.[2]

The seizure and destruction of the revenue vessel Gaspee in Narragansett Bay, June 10, 1772, is considered by Rhode Island writers as the earliest aggressive conduct of the patriots. John Russell Bartlett,[3] in the *R. I. Colonial Records* (vol. vii. pp. 57–192), gathers all the documentary evidence, and this was in 1861 published separately as *A History of the Destruction of his Britannic Majesty's Schooner Gaspee . . . accompanied by the Correspondence connected therewith; the action of the General Assembly of Rhode Island thereon, and the official journal of the . . . Commission of Inquiry appointed by King George III.*[4]

Early in 1773 the patriots of Boston produced what is called "the most elaborate state paper of the Revolutionary contest in Massachusetts." This is the reply of the House of Representatives to the governor in the contest then waging with him.[5]

The act which included the duty on tea had passed Parliament June 29, 1767, and in March, 1770, it had been repealed, except, in order to maintain the theoretical right of Parliament to tax, the tax on tea had been retained in force. Pownall[6] had exerted his utmost to make the repeal include tea. The test was deferred till

[1] Prefiguring, as John Adams said, the Declaration of Rights in 1774, and the Declaration of Independence in 1776. Wells's *Adams*, i. 501, where it is printed; *John Adams's Works*, ii. 514; Haven in Thomas, ii. p. 622. Franklin's preface to the English edition of the *Rights* is in his *Works*, iv. 381. Cf. Francis Maseres's *Occasional Essays* (London, 1809). The proceedings of Boston, Oct. 28th and Nov. 20th, were also printed. The letters of John Andrew from Boston begin at this time (*Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, viii. 316–412).

[2] Wirt's *Patrick Henry*, 3d ed., p. 87; *Life of R. H. Lee*, i. 89; *No. Amer. Rev.*, March, 1818; Randall's *Jefferson*, i. 80; Tucker's *Jefferson*, i. 52; *Franklin's Works*, viii. 49. Frothingham (*Rise of the Republic*, 284, 312, 327) traces the growth of the committee, and determines the time of appointing such a committee by each colony. The correspondence of the Rhode Island Committee is in the *R. I. Col. Rec.*, vii. On the committee in New York, see Dawson's *Westchester County*, 10. Philadelphia appointed one May 20, 1774 (4 Force, i. 340). Sparks points out the distinction between the Committees of Correspondence, Inspection, and Safety (*Gouverneur Morris*, i. 31).

[3] Mr. Bartlett was born Oct. 23, 1805, and died in May, 1886. His life was so largely devoted to advancing the study of American history that this record needs to be made, and reference given to Professor William Gammell's *Life and Services of the Hon. John Russell Bartlett, a paper read before the Rhode Island Historical Society* (Providence, 1886), and the tribute by Charles Deane in the *Amer. Antiq. Soc. Proc.*, Oct., 1886.

[4] Mr. Wm. R. Staples had earlier published the *Documentary Hist. of the destruction of the Gaspee* (Providence, 1845). An account by Ephraim Bowen is given in S. G. Arnold's *Rhode Island* (vol. ii. ch. 19, 20). For local accounts, see *Providence Plantations* (Providence, 1886), pp. 58, 359; O. P. Fuller's *Warwick, R. I.* (p. 101); Foster's *Stephen Hopkins* (ii. 83, 245); E. M. Stone's *John Howland* (p. 35). For the political bearings to the country at large, see Frothingham's *Rise of the Republic* (p. 278); Parton's *Jefferson* (ch. 14, 15); *Life of R. H. Lee* (i. 85); Lossing's *Field-Book* (ii. 60). There are in the *Sparks MSS.* (xliii. vol. i. p. 140, etc.) the letters of the British Admiral Montague, and depositions copied from papers in the English Archives. G. C. Mason, in the *R. I. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, vii. 301, etc., traces the presence of different English war vessels in the bay between 1765 and 1776. Cf. *New Jersey Archives*, x. 375, 395.

[5] Sam. Adams seems to have drafted this reply, with aid on law-points from John Adams, the latter being almost the exclusive author of the reply of the House to the second speech of the governor. Wells thinks Hawley may have had a hand in these papers. Cf. Quincy's *Quincy*, p. 113; *Life, etc., of John Adams*, i. 118–133, ii. 310; Wells's *Sam. Adams*, ii. 29, 31, 41; Tudor's *Otis*, p. 410; Bradford's *Mass. State Papers*, 336, 399; Bancroft, orig. ed., vi. 446–453; Niles's *Principles* (1876 ed., pp. 79, 87); *Speeches of his Excellency, with the answers of his Majesty's Council and the House of Representatives* (Boston, 1773). A meeting of the town of Boston was held in Faneuil Hall, March 8, 1773, "to vindicate the town from the gross misrepresentations of his Excellency's message to both Houses," and its proceedings were circulated in broadside.

One of the most violent of the tracts of this year was *The American Alarm, or the Bostonian Plea, by a British Bostonian* (Boston, 1773, — Stevens's *Nuggets*, no. 3,257). Joseph Reed was writing to Dartmouth on the condition of affairs (Reed's *Reed*, i. ch. 2); and as respects the feelings farther south, see Gov. Wright's letters from Georgia to Dartmouth, in the *Georgia Hist. Soc. Coll.*, vol. iii.

[6] Pownall (b. 1722; d. 1805), who knew America well from residence and official station, proved a man of great forecast, and a prudent, conciliatory friend of both countries. We have his speech in Parliament in 1769 (Haven in Thomas, ii. 604, 649), and know how impatient Parliament was of his wisdom (Smyth, *Lectures on Mod. Hist.*, Bohn's ed., ii. 384–85). We see his admirable spirit in his correspondence (1772) with James Bowdoin (*Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, v. 238).

Pownall had first published his *Administration of the Colonies* (London, 1764) at the very outset of the dis-

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it was announced[1] that the East India Company was assisted by government in sending over a surplus of tea which they had. A series of impassioned gatherings in Boston, and demonstrations not so boisterous in the other colonies, led to the destruction of the tea in Boston harbor, and elsewhere resulted in the transshipment of the tea whence it came.[2]

pute, and it was enlarged in 1765. In an appendix to the edition of 1766 he made a strong statement of his views in opposition to the right of Parliament to tax America, and he reprinted this in a fourth ed. (1768), and also issued it separately. In the fifth edition (1774) he added a second part, giving his plan of pacification. The last edition was in 1777 (Sabin, xv. nos. 64,841, etc.; Carter-Brown, iii. nos. 1,425, 1,470, 1,537, 1,636). In 1780 Pownall published a tract that has acquired some fame, as a forecast of the future republic (Harper's *Cyclo. of U. S. Hist.*, ii. 1,151), entitled *A Memorial to the Sovereigns of Europe on the present state of affairs between the old and new world* (London, 1780). Somebody undertook what was rather fancifully called *A Translation* of this tract into plainer language (London, 1781, — *Brinley Catal.*, no. 4,109), but it did not meet with Pownall's approval. In 1783 he published a *Memorial addressed to the sovereigns of America* (Lond., 1783, — Sabin, xv. nos. 64,824, etc.). On his tracts, see Shea's *Hamilton*, p. 261. There is a portrait of Pownall at Earl Orford's in Norfolk (*Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, Nov., 1875), and an engraving of it published in 1777, of which there is a reproduction in the *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, Nov., 1886, with an account of the governor by Robert Ludlow Fowler. The painting in the gallery of the Mass. Hist. Soc. is said to have been painted from this engraving. Cf. *Mem. Hist. Boston*, ii. 63.

[1] First in a Philadelphia paper, Sept. 29, in a letter dated London, Aug. 4.

[2] We have full reports of the Boston meetings. The newspapers give us the accounts of the earlier irregular conferences, and the town printed the reports of the first regular town meetings in *The votes and proceedings of the freeholders and other inhabitants of the town of Boston, in town meeting assembled, according to law, the 5th and 18th days of Nov., 1773* (Boston, 1773). It was reprinted in London by Franklin, with a preface. The call of the committee for the later meetings exists in Mr. Bancroft's collection, in the handwriting of Joseph Warren (Frothingham's *Warren*, 255), and was circulated in broadside. The reports of the meetings of Nov. 29th and 30th exist in the original minutes in the handwriting of William Cooper among the papers in the Charity Building in Boston, and have been printed by Dr. Green in the *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.* (xx. 10, etc.). The prepared record was printed in a broadside dated Dec. 1, 1773, and a copy is preserved in the Boston Public Library. It represents the meeting as called "for consulting, advising, and determining upon the most proper and effectual method to prevent the unloading, receiving, or vending the detestable tea sent out by the East India Company, part of which has just arrived in this harbor." Hutchinson wrote from Milton, Nov. 30, to his son, one of the consignees of the tea, who had taken refuge in the Castle, that the proclamation, warning the meeting to dissolve, which he had just sent into Boston, might "possibly cause [him] to take [his] lodging at the Castle also" (P. O. Hutchinson, i. 94). The full report of these meetings was also printed in the Boston newspapers, and particularly in the *Boston Gazette* of Dec. 6th, whose report was reprinted in one of *Poole's Mass. Registers*, and in the *Boston Journal*, Dec. 15, 1849.

Of the meeting of Dec. 16, 1773, and the raid of the "Mohawks" upon the tea-ships, an account was printed in the *Boston Gazette* of Dec. 20th (Buckingham's *Reminiscences*, i. 169), and in the *Boston Evening Post* of Dec. 20th (*Bay State Monthly*, April, 1884, p. 261), and the spread of these accounts as they were copied through the country can be followed in the postscript of the *Penna. Gazette* of Dec. 24th. The speech of Josiah Quincy, Jr., at the meeting, as reported by himself and sent back to his wife after he had reached England, is the only harangue of this critical stage of the controversy in Boston of which we have any detailed account (*Life of Quincy*, 2d ed., 124; Frothingham's *Warren*, 39; *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, Dec. 16, 1873). The conclave which planned the raid was held in Court Street (Drake's *Old Landmarks of Boston*, 81; *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, Dec., 1871, for an account of the punch-bowl around which the conclave was held). There are a number of contemporary journals and statements respecting these riotous proceedings. The letter of the Mass. Ho. of Rep. to Franklin, Dec. 21, is preserved in the Lee MSS. (Harvard College library, vol. ii. no. 14), and is printed in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.* (xxxiv. 377). There are details in the Andrews letters (*Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, viii. 325), in Newell's diary (*Ibid.*, Oct., 1877), in the Jolley narrative (*Ibid.*, Feb., 1878, p. 69), in John Adams's diary (*Ibid.*, Dec., 1873, and his letter, Dec. 17, to James Warren, in *Works*, ix. 333). A copy of the testimony of Dr. Hugh Williamson before the Privy Council, Feb. 19, 1774, copied from his own draft, and relating the destruction of the tea, was transcribed from the original in 1827, while in the possession of Dr. Hosack, and is included in the *Sparks MSS.* (lii. vol. iii.). Cf. *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, xxxiv. 373, etc.

All this and other documentary evidence can be found in Force; in Niles's *Principles and Acts* (1876), p. 96; in the *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, Dec. 16, 1873; and in Francis S. Drake's *Tea Leaves: being a collection of letters and documents relating to the shipment of tea to the American colonies in the year 1773, by the East India tea company. Now first printed from the original manuscript. With an introduction, notes, and biographical notices of the Boston tea party* (Boston, 1884). The only considerable narrative of an actor in the "Mohawk" raid is G. R. T. Hewes's *Traits of the Tea Party* (N. Y., 1835), which was written out for him by B. B. Thacher. Cf. also *Retrospect of the Boston Tea Party, with a memoir of Hewes* (N. Y., 1834); Loring's *Hundred Boston Orators* (p. 554). The last survivor was Capt. Henry Purkitt, who died March 3, 1846. A picture of David Kinnison, also called the last survivor, is in Lossing's *Field-Book of the Revolution*

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BOSTON, December 2, 1773.

WHEREAS it has been reported that a Permit will be given by the Cuſtom-Houſe for Landing the Tea now on Board a Veſſel laying in this Harbour, commanded by Capt. HALL: THIS is to Remind the Publick, That it was ſolemnly voted by the Body of the People of this and the neighbouring Towns aſſembled at the Old-South Meeting-Houſe on Tueſday the 30th Day of *November*, that the ſaid Tea never ſhould be landed in this Province, or pay one Farthing of Duty: And as the aiding or aſſiſting in procuring or granting any ſuch Permit for landing the ſaid Tea or any other Tea ſo circumſtanced, or in offering any Permit when obtained to the Maſter or Commander of the ſaid Ship, or any other Ship in the ſame Situation, muſt betray an inhuman Thirſt for Blood, and will alſo in a great Meaſure accelerate Confuſion and Civil War: This is to aſſure ſuch public Enemies of this Country, that they will be conſidered and treated as Wretches unworthy to live, and will be made the firſt Victims of our juſt Reſentment.

The PEOPLE.

N. B. Captain *Bruce* is arrived laden with the ſame deteſtable Commodity: and 'tis peremptorily demanded of him, and all concerned, that they comply with the ſame Requiſitions.

A BOSTON WARNING.[1]

(i. 499). Of Samuel Phillips Savage, the moderator of the meeting of Dec. 16th, there is a portrait owned by Mr. G. H. Emery, engraved in Drake's *Tea-leaves*.

Hutchinson gives his view of the transactions in the third volume (pp. 422–441) of his *Massachusetts*. (Cf. Ryerson's *Loyalists*, i. 383.) There is among the Bernard Papers (vol. viii. p. 229), in the *Sparks MSS.*, a paper giving the story as those in authority transmitted it to the home government.

Among the later American sources, see Frothingham's *Warren* (ch. 9), his *Rise of the Republic* (ch. 8), and his paper in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.* (Dec. 16, 1873); Tudor's *Otis* (ch. 21); Wells's *Adams* (ii. ch. 28); Ramsay's *Amer. Rev.* (i. 373); Holmes's *Annals* (ii. 181); Palfrey's *New England* (iv. 427); Barry's *Mass.* (ii. ch. 15); Bancroft's *United States* (orig. ed., vi. ch. 50); Lossing's *Field-Book* (i. 496); and his paper in *Harper's Monthly* (iv. 1); Snow's *Boston*; the *Mem. Hist. of Boston* (iii. 46–51); *Essex Inst. Hist. Coll.* (xii. 197); *Niles's Register* (1827), from Flint's *Western Monthly Rev.* (July, 1827).

The first accounts of the destruction of the tea which reached London (Jan. 19, 1774) were printed in the London newspapers of Jan. 21st and in the *Gentleman's Mag.* (1774, p. 26), copied in Carlyle's *Frederick the Great* (vi. p. 524). Cf. Mahon (v. 319); May's *Const. Hist. Eng.* (ii. 521); Massey's *England* (ii. ch. 18); McKnight's *Burke* (ii. ch. 20); Fitzmaurice's *Shelburne* (ii. ch. 8). Lecky, in his *Eng. in the Eighteenth Century* (iii. p. 371), speaks of the speech of George Grenville, reported by Cavendish, as particularly worthy of attention. Cf. *Parliamentary History* and Force's *Amer. Archives* (4th ser., i. 133).

For the commotions in the other colonies, see, for New Hampshire, beside the histories, the *N. H. Prov. Papers*, vii. 408, 413, and the letter of July 26, 1774, in the Chas. Lowell Papers (Mass. Hist. Soc.). For Con-

[1] After an original in the Mass. Hist. Society.

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Monday Morning, December 27, 1773.

THE TEA-SHIP being arrived, every Inhabitant, who wiſhes to preſerve the Liberty of America, is deſired to meet at the STATE-HOUSE, This Morning, preciſely at TEN o'Clock, to adviſe what is beſt to be done on this alarming Criſis.

A PHILADELPHIA POSTER.[1]

Another significant event of 1773 was the episode of the Hutchinson letters. They had been written (1767–1769), from Boston, to Thomas Whately, and came, after the latter's death (June, 1772), by some unknown means, into Franklin's hands. When Cushing[2] and the patriots printed them, — for the rumor of their existence led the "people abroad" to compel their publication,[3] — Franklin made no complaint, and bore with reserve the defamation which was visited upon him in England, and which is still repeated by later English writers,[4] Franklin finally prepared a statement in vindication, but it was not published till Temple Franklin printed his edition of *Franklin's Works*.[5] The letters were printed without any indication of Franklin's connection with them; but when a duel grew out of the publication, in which a brother of Whately was wounded by Mr. Temple,[6] who had been accused of purloining the letters, Dr. Franklin, to prevent a further meeting, published a note in the *Public Advertiser*, acknowledging his agency.[7] Sparks appends a note in his edition,[8] in which he refutes the claim of Dr. Hosack (*Biographical Memoir of Dr. Hugh Williamson*, 1820) that Williamson had been the medium of transmitting the letters.[9]

Mr. R. C. Winthrop, in discussing the question,[10] introduces a paper of George Bancroft, "Whence came the papers sent by Franklin to

necticut, the general histories of the State, Peters's *Connecticut*, and McCormick's reprint, to be corrected by J. L. Kingsley's *Hist. Address* (1838), *New Englander* (1871, p. 248), and *Scribner's Mag.*, June, 1878. Cf. also J. H. Trumbull's *Blue Laws true and false.* Dawson (*Westchester County*, p. 7) claims that the refusal of the New York authorities to allow the tea ship Nancy to enter the harbor was more significant than the riot in Boston, and he cites various authorities. Cf. Lossing's *Schuyler* (i. ch. 16) and Leake's *Lamb* (ch. 6). For Pennsylvania, see the histories of Philadelphia; Niles's *Principles and Acts* (1876, p. 201); Reed's *Life of Joseph Reed* (i. ch. 2) for his letters to Dartmouth; Madison's *Works* (i. 10). For North Carolina, see *Hist. Mag.* (xv. 118).

[1] After an original in the library of the Pennsylvania Hist. Society.

[2] For a portrait of Cushing, see *Mem. Hist. of Boston*, iii. 34.

[3] *Journals of the House*, 1773; *Boston Gazette;* Alden Bradford's ed. of *Mass. State Papers; Gent. Mag.*, July, 1773. The letters were first published June 16, 1773 (*Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, Oct., 1877, p. 339).

Copy of letters sent to Great Britain by Thomas Hutchinson and Andrew Oliver, and several other persons born and educated among us; which original letters have been returned to America (Boston, 1773; reprinted in Salem, 1773). *The letters of Gov. Hutchinson and Lieut.-Gov. Oliver, 1st and 2d ed.* (edited by Israel Mauduit) (London, 1774). *The representations of Gov. Hutchinson and others contained in certain letters transmitted to England, and afterwards returned from thence* (Boston, 1773). These letters are reprinted in *Franklin before the Privy Council* (Philad., 1859). Cf. *Works relating to Franklin in the Boston Public Library*, pp. 21, 22; Sabin, vi. p. 344; Haven in Thomas, ii. 632, 633; Stevens's *Hist. Coll.*, i. p. 166.

[4] Mahon (v. 323) thinks it strange that any American of high standing should care to justify or palliate the conduct of Franklin. Goldwin Smith (*Study of History*, N. Y., 1866, p. 213) says: "Franklin alone, perhaps, of the leading Americans, by the dishonorable publication of an exasperating correspondence, which he had improperly obtained, shared with Grenville, Townshend, and Lord North the guilt of bringing this great disaster on the English race." Lecky (*England in the Eighteenth Century*, iii. 380, 416) alleges rather hastily that Hutchinson had once been concerned in using Franklin's letters with a certain disregard of rights. (Cf. Sparks's *Franklin*, iv. 450.) Some memoranda of Chalmers are in the *Sparks MSS.* (x. vol. iv.) Cf. Campbell's *Lives of the Chancellors* (vi. 105); Massey's *England* (vol. ii.); Adolphus's *England* (vol. ii. 34); Walpole's *Last Journals*, i. 255, 289.

[5] It is included in Sparks's edition, iv. 405, and embraces Franklin's letters to Cushing and his replies. Cf. also Sparks's *Franklin*, i. 356, viii. (his letters), 72, 79, 81, 85, 98, 100, 116, 117; Bigelow's *Life of Franklin*, ii. 130, 141, 158, 187, 206; Parton's *Franklin*, i. 560, 564, 582.

[6] *A faithful account of the transaction relating to a late affair of honour between J. Temple and W. Whateley, containing a particular history of that unhappy quarrel* (London, 1774). On Temple's connection with the Hutchinson letters, see the citations of the contemporary correspondence in Temple Prime's *Some account of the Temple Family* (N. Y., 1887), pp. 61–85.

[7] *Franklin's Works*, iv. 435.

[8] *Ibid.*, iv. 441.

[9] Cf. *Boston Daily Advertiser*, April 3 and 5, 1856.

[10] *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, xvi. 43; R. C. Winthrop's *Speeches*, 1878–1886, p. 1.

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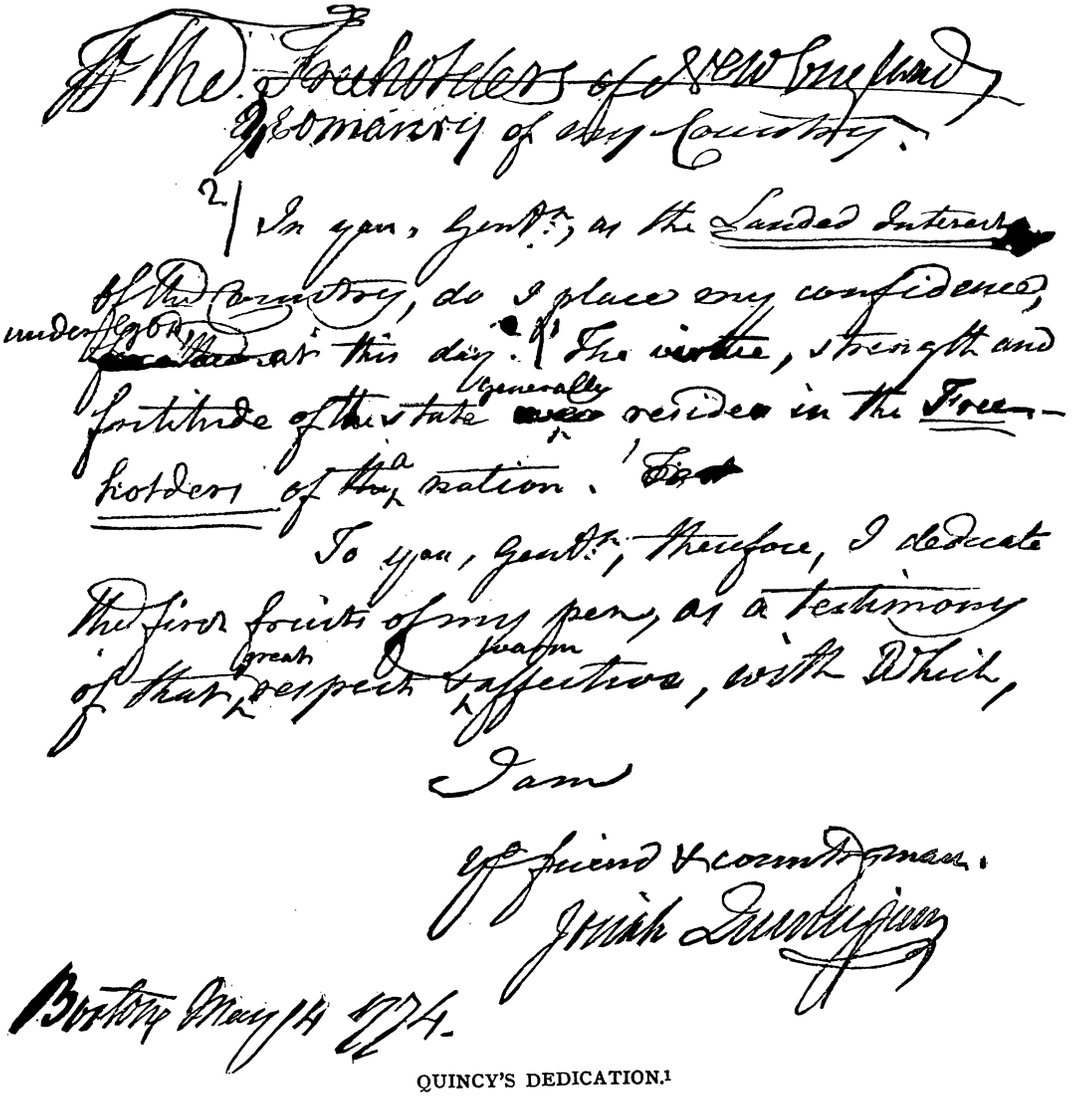

QUINCY'S DEDICATION.[1]

Cushing in his letter of Dec. 2, 1772?" Bancroft's conclusion is that Whately sent the letters to Grenville (who died Nov. 13, 1770), and they were found among his papers, and through some agency or consent of Temple passed into Franklin's hand.[2]

The letters, when laid before the Massachusetts Legislature, produced some resolutions

1 This is the original draft of the dedication to Quincy's tract on the Port Bill, the MS. of which is among the Quincy MSS. in the cabinet of the Mass. Hist. Society. Its full title is *Observations on the act of parliament commonly called the Boston port-bill; with thoughts on civil society and standing armies* (Boston, 1774; Philad., 1774; London, 1774). It is reprinted in the *Life of Josiah Quincy, Jr.* Cf. Sabin, xvi. 67,192, etc.

2 Cf. Bancroft's *United States*, orig. ed., vi. 435; Almon's *Biog., lit., and polit. anecdotes* (Lond., 1797); Wells's *Sam. Adams* (ii. 74); Barry's *Mass.*, ii. 462. Hutchinson's own account of the transactions is given in his third volume (pp. 400–418), which may be supplemented by sundry references in P. O. Hutchinson's *Governor Hutchinson* (pp. 82–93, 577; ii. 79), part of which refer to that editor's own views. C. F. Adams (*Adams's Works*, ii. 319) thinks the evidence nearly conclusive that John Temple was the person who gave the letters to Franklin. (Cf. P. O. Hutchinson, pp. 205, 210, 221, 222, 232, 353.) Cf. statement in *Mass. Archives*, "Miscellaneous," i. 386.

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(June 25, 1773),[1] followed by a petition to the king,[2] asking that Hutchinson and Oliver might be removed from office. This led to the presence of Franklin before the Privy Council, and the attack on Franklin's character by Wedderburn.[3]

The earliest significant movement in 1774 was the impeachment of Peter Oliver, chief justice, and younger brother of the late lieutenant-governor, for receiving his salary from the crown, — the controversy respecting the governor and other officers being thus made independent of the people, having been one which had been active for two years past.[4]

Gen. Gage had landed in Boston May 17th, to put in force, June 1st, what is known as the Boston Port Bill (approved March 31, 1774), or *An Act to discontinue, in such manner, and for such time as are therein mentioned, the landing and discharging, lading or shipping, of goods, wares, and merchandise, at the town, and within the harbour of Boston, in the province of Massachuset's Bay, in North America.*[5]

While Salem and Marblehead were thus made chief ports of entry, the commerce of Boston was suddenly checked, and the town was forced to a dependence for succor upon other towns and other colonies.[6]

[1] Sparks's *Franklin*, iv. 426; *Sparks MSS.*, xlviii.

[2] Sparks's *Franklin*, iv. 430. Cf. *Ibid.*, viii. 93, 103, 110. Cf. Bigelow's *Life of Franklin*, ii. 189.

[3] An account of it is given in Israel Mauduit's edition of *The letters of Gov. Hutchinson*, etc. (London, 1774), with an abstract of Wedderburn's speech. There is a description of this scene in Bowring's *Memoir of Jeremy Bentham* (p. 59; cf. *Monthly Mag.*, Nov. 10, 1802, and Sparks's *Franklin*, iv. 451). Gage wrote from London to Hutchinson, Feb. 2, 1774, that no man's conduct was ever so abused for so vile a transaction as Franklin's. There is a letter of Burke on the hearing (*Sparks MSS.*, xlix. ii.). There is a contemporary double-folio print, *Proceedings of his majesty's Privy Council on the address of the Assembly of Mass. Bay to remove the Governor and Lieutenant Governor, with the substance of Mr. Wedderburn's speech* (Mass. Hist. Soc.). The whole proceedings are given in *Franklin before the Privy Council in behalf of the Province of Mass. Bay, to advocate the removal of Hutchinson and Oliver* (Philad., privately printed, 1859). Arthur Lee has a word to say on the scene (*Life of A. Lee*, i. 240, 273). Franklin is said to have worn a suit of Manchester velvet during this castigation from Wedderburn, which he did not put on again till he signed the treaty of alliance with France in 1778 (Mahon, v. 328).

[4] In 1772 the town of Boston had sent a printed circular to the neighboring towns, asking their advice as to the course best to be pursued in consequence of the crown's assuming to regulate the judges' salaries. Hutchinson (*History*, iii. 545, 546) gives the report of the committee of the Assembly on the grant of the governor's salary from the crown, and the governor's answer (July, 1772). For John Adams's controversy with Brattle on this point, see *Adams's Works*, iii. 513. On Oliver's impeachment, see Hutchinson (iii. 443, 445), and P. O. Hutchinson (i. 133, 142), and papers in the MS. collection of *Letters and Papers*, 1761–1776, in Mass. Hist. Soc. cabinet.

A portrait of Chief Justice Peter Oliver, by Copley, painted in England in 1772 (Perkins, p. 89), belongs to Dr. F. E. Oliver of Boston. Cf. photograph in *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, July, 1886, with a memoir which was issued separately as *Peter Oliver, the last chief-justice of the Superior Court of Judicature of the Province of Mass. Bay. A sketch by Thomas Weston, Jr.* (Boston, 1886).

Something of the Boston spirit appears in various letters from her patriots which are printed in Leake's *Lamb*. The *Familiar Letters of John and Abigail Adams* begin at this time. Cf. summary in Sargent's *Andre*, ch. 4. Lecky finds (*Eighteenth Century*, iii. 379) in the talk of the hour the "exaggerated and declamatory rhetoric peculiarly popular at Boston." Isaac Royal's letter to Dartmouth, Jan. 18, 1774, is in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, Dec., 1873. There is a letter to the British officers at Boston attributed to General Prescott (Sabin, x. 40,316).

[5] The action of Parliament can be readily traced in Force, 4th ser., i. 35. The bill was immediately sent in print to this country, and it can be found in Force, in the *N. H. Prov. Papers*, vii. 402, and elsewhere.

[6] There are in the Boston Archives sundry record-books of this time: list of donations; records of Donation Committee; list of persons aided; cash-book of the Donation Committee. The House of Representatives at Salem, June 18, 1774, passed resolutions commending Boston to the aid of all, and sent these resolutions through the country in broadsides. The provincial congress at Cambridge, Dec. 6, 1774, recorded their vote and similarly scattered it. (Cf. *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, xiii. 182.) For the gifts which came to Boston, and the attendant records and correspondence, see *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, xix. 158, and vol. xxxiv.; Frothingham's *Rise of the Republic*, 382; Col. A. H. Hoyt's paper in the *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, July, 1876. For the help from Virginia, see *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, iii. 259.

For notes on the condition of Boston during the operation of the act, see the Andrews letters in the *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, July, 1865, p. 330; Timothy Newell's diary, *Ibid.*, Feb., 1859; Thomas Newell's, *Ibid.*, Oct., 1877, p. 335; *M. H. Soc. Coll.*, xxxi.; Bowdoin's letter to Franklin in *Franklin's Works*, viii. 127; letter of Ellis Gray in *M. H. Soc. Proc.*, xiv. 315; Charles Chauncy's *Letter to a friend . . . on the sufferings of the town of Boston* (Boston, 1774); *Review of the rise, progress, services, and sufferings of New England, humbly submitted to the consideration of both houses of Parliament* (London, 1774); *A very short and candid appeal to free born Britons, by an American*, i. e. Carolinian (London, 1774).

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THE QUINCY MANSION.[1]

The effect of the measures on the other colonies was instant and widespread.[2]

One of the immediate results in Massachusetts because of these oppressive acts was a retaliatory "Solemn League and Covenant" agreed upon in the provincial assembly, — a combination made more or less effectual by the active agency of Boston and Worcester in issuing

For a general treatment of the effect of the Port Bill, see, among modern writers, Bancroft; Frothingham's *Rise of the Republic*, 319, and *Life of Warren*, ch. 10; Tudor's *Otis;* Wells's *S. Adams* (ii. 170); Reed's *Joseph Reed* (i. ch. 3); lives of John Adams, Josiah Quincy, Jr.; A. C. Goodell's Address at Salem in *Essex Inst. Hist. Coll.*, xiii. p. 1; Pitkin's *United States* (i. App. 15); Grahame (iv. 358); Sargent's *Dealings with the Dead* (i. 152); and the histories of Boston. On the British side, see *Parliamentary History*, xvii. 1163; *Annual Register*, xvii. 1159; Donne's *Corresp. of Geo. III. and North*, i. 174; *Protests of the lords*, ed. by Rogers, ii. 141; Adolphus, ii. 59; Massey, ii.; *Pict. Hist. Eng. Geo. III.*, i. 159; Smyth's *Lectures;* Mahon (vi. 3); Ryerson's *Loyalists* (i. 358); Russell's *Life and Times of Fox*, ch. 5; *Life of Shelburne*, ii. 302; *Chatham Corresp.*, iv. 342; *Rockingham Memoirs*, ii. 238; Macknight's *Burke*, ii. 50. The London limners made several caricatures out of the hungry Bostonians.

[1] After a water-color painted by Miss Eliza Susan Quincy in 1822. The house was built in 1770, by the father of the patriot, Josiah Quincy, Jr. The original sketch is among the Quincy MSS. in the Mass. Hist. Soc. cabinet. Cf. cut in *Appleton's Journal*, xiv. 161. Of Josiah Quincy, Jr., there was an engraving made in his lifetime, which was held to be a good likeness, and from this, and with the family's assistance, Stuart, fifty years after Quincy's death, painted the picture which is engraved in the *Mem. Hist. Boston*, iii. 37.

[2] Cf. letter from Portsmouth, N. H., in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, 2d ser., ii. 481; Hollister's *Connecticut*, ii. ch. 6; lives of Jay by Jay and by Flanders, and documents in Force, for the effect in New York; *Minutes of the Prov. Congress of New Jersey*, p. 3; *New Jersey Archives*, x. 457, etc. A paper by Joseph Reed on the action in Pennsylvania (*N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, 1878, p. 269) was controverted by Thomson (*Ibid.*, p. 274), who held that Reed had no intimate knowledge in the matter. Cf. Chas. Thomson's letter to Wm. H. Drayton in the *Penna. Mag. of Hist.* (ii. 411), from the *Sparks MSS.*, and his letter in the *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Proc.* (1878, p. 218); Niles's *Principles and Acts* (1876), p. 203; Dickinson's *Polit. Works*, i. 285–416. The resolutions of Delaware are in the *Life of George Read*, pp. 88, 101. For the Maryland action, see Niles (p. 258) and McSherry's *Maryland*. For Virginia, see Rives's *Madison* (i. 60); Niles (p. 272); *Life of R. H. Lee* (i. 97); Randall's *Jefferson* (i. 85); Parton's *Jefferson* (p. 130). For North Carolina, McRee's *Iredell*.

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broadsides against the use of imported British goods.[1]

In July, 1774, close upon his arrival in London, Hutchinson held an interview with the king, and set forth his opinions of the condition of affairs in the colonies.[2]

In August, 1774, Gage received the two acts mentioned in the annexed fac-simile of a handbill.[3]

It is claimed by Dawson[4] that the movements of 1774 in New York were precipitated by the merchants and their adherents, "aristocratic smugglers," who formally organized themselves in May, 1774; and it was on the 6th of July that Alexander Hamilton made his stirring

HEADING OF A HANDBILL.[5]

The following extraordinary BILLS now pending in Parliament, arrived last Night in Capt. Williamson, in 36 Days from Briſtol.

BOSTON, June 3d, 1774.

A BILL, for the impartial Adminiſtration of Juſtice in the Caſes of Perſons queſtioned for any Acts done by them in the Execution of the Laws, or for the Suppreſſion of Riots and Tumults, in the Province of the Maſſachuſetts Bay *in* New-England.

WHEREAS in His Majeſty's Province of *Maſſachuſetts-Bay*, in *New-England*, an Attempt hath lately been made to throw off the Authority of the Parliament of *Great Britain* over the Chief Juſtice, and ſuch other Perſons as have uſually been Commiſſioners of Oyer and Terminer there; who muſt have Power to proceed upon the ſaid Indictment, as if the ſame had been found before them and the Trial ſhall thereupon proceed in like Manner, to all Intents and Purpoſes, as if the Offence had been committed in ſuch Place: And in caſe the Governor, or in his Abſence the Lieutenant Governor, ſhall direct the Trial to be had in *Great Britain*, he ſhall then tranſmit the Indictment, together with the Recognizances of the Witneſſes, under the Seal of the Great Seal of *Great Britain*:

Be it therefore Enacted by the KING's moſt Excellent Majeſty, by and with the Advice and Conſent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this preſent Parliament aſſembled, and by the Authority of the ſame, That from and after the

ſo much of the Charter granted by their Majeſties King *William* and Queen *Mary*, to the Inhabitants of the ſaid Province of the *Maſſachuſetts Bay*, in *New England*, and all and every Clauſe, Matter and Thing, therein contained, which relates to

[1] The covenant was printed in the *Mass. Gazette*, June 23, 1774, and is reprinted in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.* (xii. 45), where is also (*Ibid.*, xi. 392; also see xii. 46) the protest against the covenant, and the loyalist signers of the protest (given in *Mass. Gazette*, July 7, 1774). This drew out a proclamation from Gage, pointing out the error of illegal combinations (*Mass. Gazette*, June 30, 1774, and *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, xii. 47). It was turned into verse in ridicule (Moore's *Songs and Ballads of the Rev.*, p. 65). Dr. Belknap gave his reasons for not entering such a combination (*Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, 2d ser., ii. 484). Cf. Frothingham's *Rise of the Republic*, 336. Timothy Ruggles soon organized a counter-association of loyalists.

[2] An account of this interview by Hutchinson himself was first published at length in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, xv. p. 326, Oct., 1877. Cf. *Ibid.*, April, 1884, p. 164; P. O. Hutchinson, i. 158, and ii. preface; Donne's *Corresp. of Geo. III. and North*, i. 194.

[3] There are in the Mass. Hist. Soc. cabinet two early, apparently official copies of the act for regulating the government. Cf. Ramsay's *Revolution in South Carolina* (i. 204); Frothingham's *Rise of the Republic*, p. 347, where are various references. Hutchinson wrote from London that he was opposed to these acts (*Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, Jan., 1862, p. 301). A letter from Jos. Wood, in London, April 18, 1774, makes note of the efforts of the Americans in London to prevent Parliament committing itself so hastily to the Regulating Act (*Penna. Mag. of Hist.*, x. 265). Something of the spirit of these protests can be seen in Bishop Shipley's *Speech intended to have been spoken on the bill for altering the charters of the colony of Massachusetts Bay* (London, 1774). Cf. in reply *A speech never intended to be spoken in answer to a speech intended*, etc. (London, 1774). Cf., on Shipley, *Franklin's Works*, viii. 40. The bishop's views are also expressed in his *Sermon before the Soc. for the propagation of the Gospel in foreign parts* (London, 1773; Norwich, Conn., 1773). There is a portrait of Shipley in the *European Mag.*, April, 1788.

For the debate in Parliament, see Force, 4th series, i. 65; Niles's *Principles*, etc. (1876 ed.), pp. 414, 419.

[4] *Westchester County, N. Y., during the Amer. Rev.* (Morrisania, 1886), pp. 84, 87.

[5] Fac-simile of the top portion of an original broadside in Mass. Hist. Society's library. The bills were that for the impartial administration of justice, and that for better regulating the government of the province of Massachusetts Bay.

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The following is a Copy of a Letter, ſaid to be wrote by Gen. Brattle, to the Commander in Chief, viz.

Cambridge, Auguſt 29, 1774.

MR. Brattle preſents his Duty to his Excellency Gov. Gage, he apprehends it his Duty to acquaint his Excellency from Time to Time with every Thing he hears and knows to be true and is of Importance in theſe troubleſome Times, which is the Apology Mr. Brattle makes for troubling the General with this Letter. Capt. Minot of Concord, a very worthy Man, this Minute informed Mr. Brattle that there had been repeatedly made preſſing Applications to him to warn his Company to meet at one Minute's Warning, equipt with Arms and Ammunition, according to Law, he had conſtantly denied them, adding, if he did not gratify them he ſhould be conſtrained to quit his Farms and Town ; Mr. Brattle told him he had better do that than loſe his Life and be hanged for a Rebel, he obſerved that many Captains had done it, though not in the Regiment to which he belonged, which was and is under Col. Eliſha Jones, but in a neighbouring Regiment.

Mr. Brattle begs Leave humbly to quere, Whether it would not be beſt that there ſhould not be one Commiſſion Officer of the Militia in the Province.

This Morning the Select-Men of Medford, came and received their Town Stock of Powder, which was in the Arſenal on Quarry-Hill, ſo that there is now therein, the King's Powder only, which ſhall remain there as a ſacred Depoſitum till ordered out by the Capt. General.

To his Excellency General Gage, &c. &c. &c.

HANDBILL.[1]

appeal at "the great meeting in the fields."[2] Further south a similar spirit prevailed.[3]

The question of originating the Congress of 1774 is one upon which there has been some controversy. It seems evident that the first proposal for a congress for general purposes was in a vote of Providence, R. I., May 17, 1774.[4] Cushing of Massachusetts and Dr. Franklin ap-

[1] Fac-simile of an original in the library of the Mass. Hist. Society, where is another, dated Sept. 2, 1774, quoting this, and including an address by Gen. Brattle to the public, deprecating the current belief that his action in writing that letter was inimical to the cause. Cf. H. Stevens's *Catal.* (1870), no. 261. See on this matter John Andrews's diary in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, viii. 351, 354.

[2] J. C. Hamilton's *Repub. of the U. S.*, i. 55 ; Shea's *Hamilton*, ch. 7 ; Lossing's *Schuyler*, vol. i. ; *Life of Peter Van Schaack ;* Jones's *N. Y. during the Rev.*, i. 477, 490, etc. John Adams (*Works*, ix. 407, 411) believed that New York held back. Dawson (*Westchester*, 9) thinks that ignorance or neglect is at the bottom of the usual view of the New York sluggishness, held to by writers, but he admits that Gouverneur Morris was doubtful for a while (p. 12 ; cf. Sparks's *Life of Morris*) ; he sets forth the great ability of the Tory organ, *Rivington's Gazetteer* (p. 127) ; he gives a fuller account than Hinman or Beardsley of the arrest of Samuel Seabury, the "Westchester Farmer," by Isaac Sears (pp. 127, 136 ; and on Sears, Jones, ii. 337, 622). Much can be gleaned from Tryon and Colden's letters to Dartmouth in *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, viii.

[3] Beside the general histories, see, for Pennsylvania, the resolutions of Northampton County in *Hist. Mag.*, ix. 49 (also see *Penna. Archives*, iii. 543) ; for Virginia, Jefferson's resolutions, a *Summary view of the rights of British America* (Williamsburg, London, and Philadelphia, 1774) ; the Fairfax County resolutions (Sparks's *Washington*, ii. 488), and Irving's *Washington* (vol. i. ch. 1) ; for North Carolina, E. F. Rockwell on Rowan County, in *Hist. Mag.* (xv. 118), and letters in *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.* (xiii. 329) ; for South Carolina, *Hist. Mag.*, ix. 341, and xxii. 90 ; and *Southern Quarterly*, xi. 468 ; xiv. 37. In a more general way, for movements in the South, see, for South Carolina, Ramsay, Moultrie, Drayton, R. W. Gibbs ; for North Carolina, Cooke, Jones, Foote, Martin, Caruthers's *Caldwell ;* for Virginia, C. Campbell's *Bland Papers*, Wirt's *P. Henry*, Randall's *Jefferson*, Parton's *Jefferson*, Rives's *Madison ;* and for Maryland, Purviance's *Baltimore.* For Southern sentiment of a Tory cast, see Jonathan Boucher's *Views of the Amer. Revolution*

[4] Force's *Amer. Archives*, 4th ser., i. 333 ; Dawson's *Westchester County*, 18 ; Arnold's *Rhode Island*, ii. 334 ; W. E. Foster's *Stephen Hopkins*, ii. p. 232.

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pear to have exchanged views on the subject in 1773.[1] Hancock seems to have suggested a congress in March, 1774.[2] In May the Sons of Liberty in New York formally proposed a

Congress.[3] A resolution of the Massachusetts House of Representatives, June 17th, looked towards one, and similar action took place in the House of Burgesses in Virginia.[4]

The Congress opened with a concession of the New England members, when Samuel Adams proposed the Episcopalian Duché for chaplain.[5] John Adams tells how the scheme of the Congress struck him,[6] and we learn from him something of the appearance and bearing of an assembly, where the "Tories were neither few nor feeble," and the political feelings were far from being in unison. "One third Whigs, another Tories, the rest mongrel," he says.[7] Franklin thought that only unanimity and firmness could conduce to any good effect from it.[8]

For the local feeling in Philadelphia and among the members assembled there at the

[1] Sparks's *Franklin*, i. 350. It is claimed that Sam. Adams was earlier. Cf. Wells, ii. p. 84.

[2] Bancroft, orig. ed., vi. 508.

[3] Bancroft, orig. ed., vii. 40. To New York the precedence is also given by Gordon, Ramsay, Hildreth, and Dawson (*Westchester County*, p. 19).

[4] Dawson, pp. 18, 19.

[5] Wells's *Sam. Adams*, ii. 221. Silas Deane's letters home are in *Conn. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, ii.

[6] *Works*, ix. 339. Cf. E. D. Neill in *Penna. Mag. of Hist.*, ii. 58; Scharf and Westcott's *Philadelphia*, i. 291.

[7] *John Adams's Works*, ix. 617, x. 78, 173; *Life of Geo. Read*, 93. The Congress met in Carpenter's Hall. (Cf. Scharf and Westcott's *Philadelphia*, i. 290; Egle's *Penna.*, 141; Lossing's *Field-Book*, ii. 262.)

[8] *Works*, viii. 131, 142. The Congress had been variously constituted. New York and Pennsylvania had acted outside their legislatures. John Adams, in going through those States on his way to Philadelphia, had remarked "that some in them wanted a little animation." The spirit in New York is shown on the loyal side in Jones's *New York during the Rev.*, i. 449. Cf. J. A. Stevens on "New York in the Continental Congress" in *The Galaxy*, xxii. 149. The credentials of the Delaware members are in the *Life of Geo. Read*, 91. The Virginia delegates were at variance. Patrick Henry was eager for a fight. R. H. Lee thought Great Britain would revoke her obnoxious legislature. Washington was undecided. The instructions of the Virginia delegates are in *Jefferson's Writings*, i. 122. Gadsden was for forcing the conflict by attacking Gage in Boston; and a rumor reaching Philadelphia that Boston was undergoing bombardment fanned the flame, and Samuel Adams wrote home that America would stand by the devoted town. In Georgia the royal governor had prevented the choice of delegates, and that province was not represented. The opposing feelings, North and South, can be gathered from some of the tracts which the Congress elicited: —

A few remarks upon some of the resolutions and votes of the Continental Congress at Philad. in Sept., and the Provincial Congress at Cambridge in November, by a friend to Peace and Good order (Boston, 1775; same, no date, — Sabin, iv. 15,529). *The two Congresses cut up* (Boston and New York, — Sabin, iv. 15,597). Thomas Jefferson's *Summary View of the rights of British America, set forth in some resolutions, intended for the inspection of the delegates now in convention* (Williamsburg, 1774; Philad., 1774). *A letter from a Virginian to the members of the Congress to be held at Philadelphia, Sept., 1774* (without place, 1774; Boston, 1774, in three editions; London, 1774), — in opposition to the non-importation combination. *Address to the deputies in General Congress* (Aug. 10, 1774, Charlestown, S. C., — Sabin, v. 15,511). *Letter from a freeman of South Carolina to the deputies of North America, assembled in High Court of Congress at Philadelphia* (Charlestown, S. C., 1774, — Sabin, x. 40,277).

The relations of the colonies to the Congress appear in the lives of the leading members. For New England, of which there was not a little jealousy, and whose members refused to attend Sunday sessions (Wells's *Sam. Adams*, ii. 237; *Life of George Read*, 97), see C. F. Adams's *John Adams;* Wells's *Sam. Adams*, vol. ii. 218; Frothingham's *Joseph Warren*, ch. 12; Quincy's *Josiah Quincy;* Austin's *Elbridge Gerry*, ch. 5. For the Middle States, see Sedgwick's *William Livingston;* Lossing's *Schuyler*, i. ch. 17; Shea's (p. 234) and other lives of *Hamilton;* Read's *Geo. Read*, 93; Jay's *John Jay*, and the life of Jay in Flanders's *Chief Justices*. For Virginia, the lives of *Washington* (Marshall; Sparks, ii. 505; Irving, i. 365); Rives's *Madison*, i. 51; Lee's lives of Arthur and R. H. Lee; Wirt's *Patrick Henry*, 105; lives of Jefferson (Tucker, i. ch. 3; Parton, ch. 17). For South Carolina, the life of Rutledge in Flanders.

The legal aspects are particularly touched in Towle's *Constitution*, 311; Cocke's *Constitutional Hist.*, i. 29; Scott's *Development of Constitutional Liberty*, 166; Oscar S. Strauss's *Origin of Republican Form of Government*, (N. Y.) 1885. Cf. Daniel Webster's *Address before the N. Y. Hist. Society*, Feb. 23, 1852, pp. 36, 40; and H. A. Brown's *Oration on the Centennial of the Congress*, 1874.

The general works to be consulted are Grahame, iv. 373; Bancroft, orig. ed., vii. 127; Hildreth, vol. iii.; Pitkin, i. ch. 8; Frothingham's *Rise of the Republic*, 335, 359; Greene's *Hist. View of the Amer. Rev.*, 79;

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time, see John Adams's diary, Ward's diary,[1] and Christopher Marshall's diary.

The original edition of the *Journal of the Proceedings of the Congress held in Philadelphia, Sept. 5, 1774* (Philad., 1774), bore the earliest device of the colonies, twelve hands grasping a column based on Magna Charta, surmounted by a liberty cap with the motto *Hanc tuemur*.[2]

What we know of the debates, apart from the proceedings, is chiefly derived from some brief notes by John Adams.[3]

The Congress put forth a Declaration of Rights, and a draft of it is preserved in a hand thought to be that of Major Sullivan, of New Hampshire. Wells (*Sam. Adams*, ii. 234) thinks that Samuel Adams had a hand in it, as it resembles the pamphlet issued by the Boston Committee of Correspondence in 1772. The original draft of it, with the final form, is given in the *Works of John Adams*,[4] who claimed the authorship of article iv.

The petition of Congress to the king was drafted by John Dickinson.[5] It was signed in duplicate, and both copies were successively sent to Franklin, one of which is in the Public Record Office, and the other, retained by Franklin, is among the Franklin MSS. in the library of the Department of State at Washington.[6]

The petition to the king was first printed in London by Becket in *Authentic Papers from America, submitted to the dispassionate consideration of the public* (London, 1775). This produced a card (Jan. 17, 1775) from Bollan, Franklin, and Arthur Lee, calling the copy of the petition "surreptitious as well as materially and grossly erroneous" (*Sparks Catal.*, p. 84).

It is sometimes said that R. H. Lee, and sometimes that John Jay, wrote the "Address to the People of Great Britain" which the Congress adopted.[7] They also passed a "Memorial to the inhabitants of the colonies."[8]

On the 9th of September the people of Boston and the neighborhood met outside the limits of the town, and passed a paper, drawn up by Joseph Warren, more extreme and less dignified than was demanded, known as the "Suffolk Resolves,"[9] and this was transmitted to the Congress, where, when the Resolves were

Dunlap's *New York*, i. ch. 29, 31, and Jones's *N. Y. during the Rev.*, i. 468; Gordon's *Pennsylvania*, ch. 20; Mulford's *New Jersey*, 389.

[1] *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, i. 438.

[2] Sabin, iv. 15,542. A MS. copy of the journal, attested by C. Thomson, and evidently brought home by Thos. Cushing, a Massachusetts member, is in the library of the Mass. Hist. Soc. (*Proc.*, i. 271). Later editions are *The whole proceedings of the American Continental Congress held at Philadelphia* (New York, 1775, — Sabin, iv. 15,598); *Extracts from the journal and from the votes and proceedings of Congress, published in Philad., reprinted in Boston and London* (*Ibid.*, iv. 15,526–28; Brinley, ii. 3,990; Stevens, *Nuggets*, no. 3,264). There were other editions in Providence, Newport, New London, Hartford. There were two editions published in London by Almon in 1775 (Sabin, iv. 15,544; Brinley, ii. 3,989). The journal appears also in the several authenticated series of the *Journals of Congress*, 1777, 1801, 1823, etc.

The correspondence of Congress with Gage (Oct. 10th and 20th) is contained in the *Journal*, i. 18, 46.

The documents of the Congress are given by Force.

[3] *Works*, i. 150, ii. 340, 366, 370, 382, 387, 393, ix. 339, 343; his correspondence with Mercy Warren is in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, xliv. 348.

[4] Vol. ii. p. 535. It was printed separately at the time in Philad., Watertown (Mass.), and Newport. It will also be found in the *Journals of Congress*, i. p. 19; in Ryerson's *Loyalists*, i. p. 411; in Marshall's *Hist. of the Colonies*, App. ix. p. 481. Cf. Story's *Constitution*, i. 179; Curtis's *Constitution*, i. 22; Pitkin's *United States*, i. 283; Hildreth's *United States*, iii. 43; Gay's *Pop. Hist. U. S.*, iii. 341; Frothingham's *Rise of the Republic*, p. 371; Greene's *Hist. View*, p. 83; Ramsay's *South Carolina*, i. p. 233.

[5] Cf. note on the authorship of it, in *N. Jersey Archives*, x. 529.

[6] It is printed from this copy, with fac-similes of the signatures, in the *Mag. of Amer. Hist.* (May, 1883, p. 377), together with the letter transmitting it (Stevens's *Hist. Coll.*, i. 167; *Bibl. Hist.*, 1870, no. 1,026). Franklin printed it at once in Almon's edition of the *Journal of the Congress* (*Works relating to Franklin in the Bost. Pub. Lib.*, p. 24; *U. S. 47th Cong., 1st Sess. Misc. Doc.*, no. 21, p. 20). It is also in the Philad. ed. of the *Journal*, i. 46; and was separately printed at Boston in 1774 and 1775, and at New York in 1776, with other documents (Sabin, iv. nos. 15,581–83; Haven in Thomas, ii. pp. 642–43). It has since been given in Force, 4th ser., i. 934; *N. H. Prov. Papers*, vii. 437–41; *N. Jersey Archives*, x. 522; Spencer's *United States*, i. 348, 381; Griffeth's *Historical Notes*, 136. Cf. Ramsay's *So. Carolina*, i. 242; *John Adams's Works*, i. 159, x. 273; Frothingham's *Rise of the Republic*, 377; *Amer. Quart. Review*, i. 413.

[7] Cf. *Journals of Congress*, i. 26; Pitkin's *United States*, i. App. 17; Spencer's *United States*, i. 338; Lee's *Life of R. H. Lee*, i. 119; Jay's *Life of John Jay*, i. App.; Ramsay's *South Carolina*, 263. There was published in London *A letter to the people of Great Britain in answer to that published by the American Congress* (London, 1775, — Sabin, x. no. 40,509).

[8] Given in Ramsay's *Rev. in So. Carolina*, i. 279; *N. H. Prov. Papers*, vii. 426, etc.

[9] Given in the Appendix of Frothingham's *Joseph Warren*, and in *Journal Cont. Cong.*, i. p. 9. Cf. *Mem. Hist. Boston*, iii. 59; *Life of George Read*, 95.

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read, as John Adams says, there were tears in the Quaker eyes. Jones[1] says that the loyalists had joined the Congress to help in claiming redress for grievances, but that the approval of these Resolves rendered their continuance with the Congress in its measures impossible. Hutchinson[2] says that when the Resolves were known in England, they were more alarming than anything which had yet been done.[3]

On Sept. 28th Joseph Galloway introduced his plan of adjustment, calling for a grand council to act in conjunction with Parliament in regulating the affairs of the colonies. The scheme was finally rejected by a vote of six colonies to five, after having allured many of the leading men to its support.[4]

The Congress, Oct. 20th, adopted the Articles of Association, pledging in due time the country to non-importation, non-exportation, and non-consumption, so as to sever completely all commercial relations with England.[5]

In the summer of 1774 the British Parliament had, after some opposition, passed what is known as the "Quebec Bill," restoring the old French law in the civil courts of Quebec, securing rights to the Catholic inhabitants, and extending the limits of that province south of Lake Erie as far as the Ohio.[6] The de-

[1] *New York during the Rev.*, i. 34, 36.

[2] P. O. Hutchinson's *Governor Hutchinson*, i. 272.

[3] Cf. a letter of A. Lee on the effect of the Congress on the ministry, in *Life of A. Lee*, i. 213.

[4] The plan was published in Philadelphia at the time, and was included the next year in Galloway's *Candid examination of the mutual claims of Great Britain and the colonies, with a plan of accommodation on Constitutional principles* (New York, 1775, and again in 1780). This drew out *An Address to the Author of a pamphlet entitled*, etc., to which Galloway responded in *A Reply* (N. Y., 1775). It was later included in Galloway's *Historical and political Reflections on the Rise and Progress of the Amer. Rebellion* (London, 1780). Cf. Force, 4th ser., i. p. 1; Sparks's *Franklin*, vii. 276, viii. 145; Bigelow's *Franklin*, ii. 249; Gordon, i. 409; *John Adams's Works*, ii. 387, iv. 141; Jones's *N. Y. during the Rev.*, ii. 109, 430; Bancroft, *United States*, orig. ed., vii. 140; Pitkin's *United States*, i. 299; Hildreth's *United States*, iii. 46; Frothingham's *Rise of the Republic*, 367, 399; Wells's *Sam. Adams*, ii. 218; Dawson's *Westchester County*, 34; Graydon's *Memoirs*, 117; lives of Washington by Marshall and Sparks; lives of John Jay by Jay and by Flanders; and of Patrick Henry by Wirt.

Jones, in his *New York during the Rev.*, i. ch. 2, with notes on pp. 438, 449, 477, 490, explains the relations of the loyalists to this Congress. Governor Franklin sent the Galloway plan to Dartmouth with comments (*N. J. Archives*, x. 503).

Galloway explains his relations to this Congress, and divulged more than the agreement of secrecy was held to warrant, in his *Examination before the House of Commons in a committee on the American Papers* (London, 1779; 2d ed., with explanatory notes, 1780; ed. by Thomas Balch, Philad., for the Seventy-Six Society, 1855). There is a Dutch version, 1781 (Muller, 1877, no. 1,200). Respecting this examination, Lecky (ii. pp. 443, 481, etc.) says: "As a loyalist, Galloway's mind was no doubt biased; but he was a very able and honest man, and he had much more than common means of forming a correct judgment."

It has been supposed that Galloway conveyed to Governor Franklin the information which through that official reached Dartmouth (*N. Jersey Archives*, x. 473). Galloway is said also to have prepared the pamphlet *Arguments on both sides in the dispute*, etc., which is also reprinted in the *N. J. Archives*, x. 478. On Galloway, see Sabine's *Loyalists*, i. 453.

Haven ascribes to Thomas B. Chandler, and Sabin (no. 16,591) to Dr. Myles Cooper, a tract, *What think ye of Congress now? Or an Enquiry how far the Americans are bound to abide by and execute the decisions of the late Continental Congress, with a plan by Samuel* [sic] *Galloway, Esq., for a proposed union between Great Britain and her Colonies* (N. Y., 1775; Lond., 1775). This pamphlet accuses the New England republicans of urging the Congress beyond the purpose for which its members were elected.

[5] The articles were printed in all newspapers, and in those of Boston, Nov. 7th. They are also in the *Journals of Congress*, i. 23; in Ramsay's *Rev. in South Carolina*, i. 252; in H. W. Preston's *Docs. illus. Amer. Hist.* (N. Y., 1886), p. 199; in Force, 4th ser., i. 915, with fac-simile of signatures; in the *Charleston Year Book* (1883), p. 216, with fac-similes; in Jos. Johnson's *Traditions and Reminiscences of the Amer. Rev.* (Charleston, 1851), p. 51, with fac-similes. The signatures, somewhat reduced, are given herewith from Smith's *Hist. and Lit. Curiosities*, 2d ser., p. liii. Maryland's copy of the original printed broadside, with written signatures, is in the Penna. Hist. Soc. library. Frothingham gives the best account of the genesis of the document and the effect it had (*Rise of the Republic*, 373, 396). In Massachusetts, a broadside Resolution of the Provincial Congress, signed by Hancock, Dec. 6th, was sent to all the ministers, urging them to give their influence to secure a general compliance (in Boston Pub. Lib., H. 90 *a*, 3). This plan of association was opposed by Galloway, Duane, and all the South Carolina delegates except Gadsden. Jones (*N. Y. during the Rev.*, i. 438) gives the loyalist view. *The association of the delegates, etc., by Bob Jinger*, is a burlesque on the association (*Harris Collection of Amer. Poetry*, p. 13).

[6] Bancroft, orig. ed., vii. 161.

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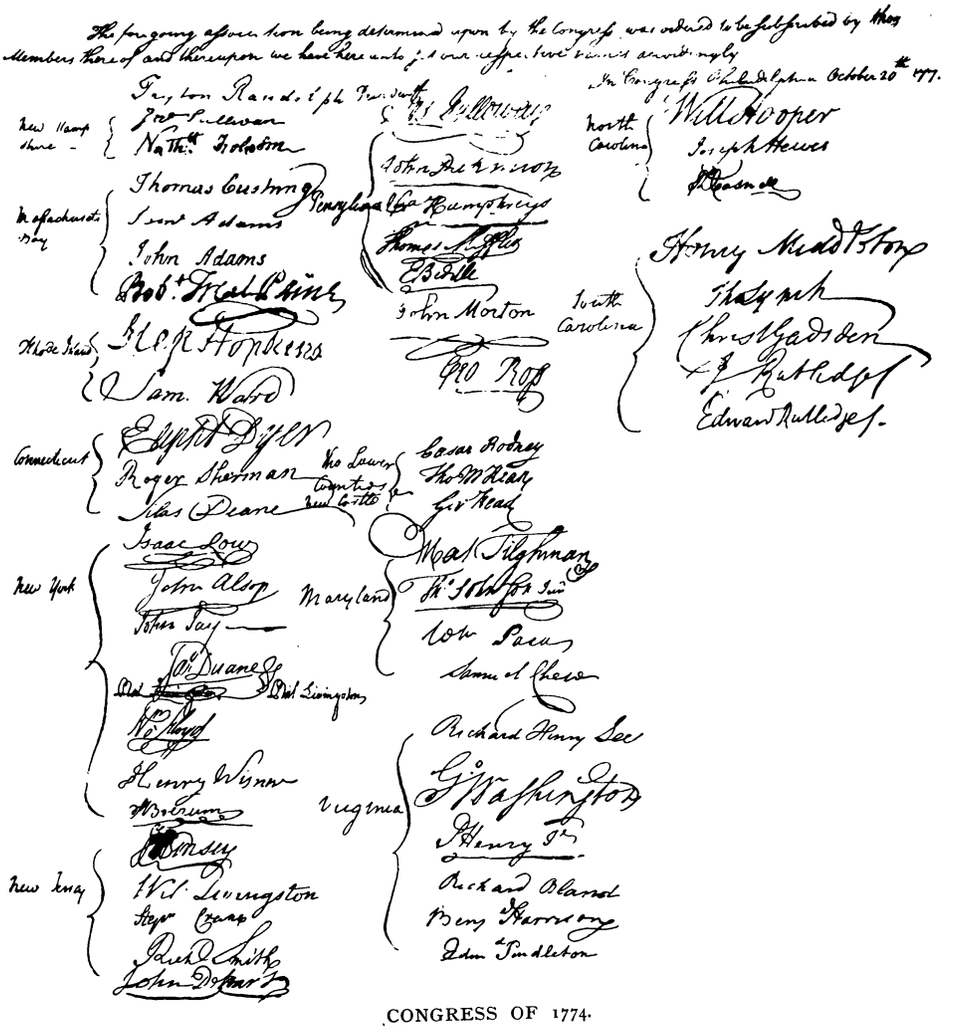

CONGRESS OF 1774.

bates[1] in Parliament caused much diversity of opinion, and gave rise to a number of pamphlets.[2] The Congress of 1774 sought to counteract this action by an address to the inhabitants of

1 *Cavendish Debates*, ed. by Wright, viz., *Debates of the House of Commons in 1774 on the bill for making more effectual provision for the government of the Province of Quebec, with Mitchell's map of Canada* (Lond., 1839). See also the proceedings and the bill in *Amer. Archives*, 4th ser., i. 170–219, 1823–1838. The bill is also in the Regents of the University of New York's *Report on the boundaries of the State of N. Y.*, i. 90. Cf. Burke's letter on the Quebec Bill and the bounds of New York in *N. Y. Hist. Coll.*, 2d ser., ii. 215, 219; Mill's *Boundaries of Ontario*, p. 50; Gordon's Sermon in Thornton's *Pulpit of the Rev.*, 217; Shea's *Hamilton*, 324; and *Works of Alex. Hamilton*.

The satirical print "Virtual Representation," given herewith, follows an original print in a volume of *Proclamations* in the library of the Mass. Hist. Society. Cf. Lossing's *Field-Book of the Rev.*, i. 158.

2 Cf. Lecky, *England in the Eighteenth Century*, iii. 400, 433, on the effect of the act. Cf. also *The Singular and Diverting Behaviour of Doctor Marriot, His Majesty's Advocate-General; Who was Examined concerning the Religion and Laws of Quebec; And found means from his incomparable Wit and Subtility To defeat the Purposes for which he was brought to the Bar of Parliament On the 3d of June, 1774* (Phila., 1774). Samuel Johnson's *Hypocrisy unmasked, or a short inquiry into the religious Complaints of our Amer. Colonies* (Lond., 1776, 3 editions), defends the bill, and says it extends no more rights to Catholics than some of the colonies do (Sabin, ix. no. 36,297). *A Letter to Lord Chatham on the Quebec Bill* reached

VIRTUAL REPRESENTATION. 1775.

April 1 1775

1.... One String Jack.... Deliver your Property.
2.... Bigot Tuck &c en France } Accomplices
3.... Te Deum }
4.... I Give you this minit money for my use

5.... I will not be Robbed
6.... I shall be wounded with you
7.... I am Blinded
8.... I'll Remain Catholick Sworn of Quebeck
9.... The English Protestant Sons of Boston

Price 6d.

Quebec, which was distributed both in English and French.[1]

Pownall in London told Hutchinson that every step of the Congress was known to the ministry.[2] We know that Dartmouth, probably through Galloway, received accounts of the temper of the delegates,[3] and that Joseph Reed was in communication with Dartmouth at the time.[4]

The revolutionary measures advocated by the Congress were far from receiving general acceptance,[5] and in New York they elicited some sharp and vigorous controversial pamphlets.[6] It was the general opinion at the time that Samuel Seabury was the author of two of the ablest of these tracts, though the claims for their authorship are now divided between Seabury and Isaac Wilkins, while each may have assisted the other in a joint production[7] which rendered at this time the name of a "Westchester Farmer" famous.[8]

five editions (London, 1774; reprinted, Boston, 1774), and was corrected in the second edition. Sabin (x. 40,468) says it was attributed to Lord Lyttelton, and more probably to Sir William Meredith. The New York reprint (1774) gave it as *A letter from Lord Thomas Lyttelton to Wm. Pitt, Earl of Chatham* (Stevens, *Hist. Coll.*, ii. no. 433). Wilkie published *The justice and policy of the late Act of Parliament, for making more effectual provision for the government of Quebec, asserted and proved; and the conduct of the administration respecting that province stated and vindicated* (London, 1774, two editions), which is attributed to William Knox. Francis Masères published *An account of the proceedings of the British and other Protestants, inhabitants of the province of Quebec*, with *Additional papers concerning the province of Quebec* (Lond., 1776), and *The Canadian Freeholder . . . shewing the sentiments of the bulk of the freeholders of Canada, concerning the late Quebeck act* (Lond., 1777, in three vols.). *An Appeal to the public, stating and considering the objections to the Quebec bill* (London, 1774), was dedicated to the patriotic society of the Bill of Rights.

[1] *A letter to the inhabitants of the Province of Quebec* (Philad., 1774). *Lettre addressée aux habitans de la Province de Quebec* (Philad., 1774). *A clear idea of the genuine and uncorrupted British Constitution: in an address to the inhabitants of the province of Quebec from the forty-nine delegates in the Continental Congress at Philadelphia, Sept. 5–Oct. 10, 1774* (London, 1774). Cf. Sabin, iv. 15,516, ix. p. 293, x. 40,664; *Journals of Congress*, i. 39.

[2] P. O. Hutchinson's *Governor Hutchinson*, i. 296.

[3] *Aspinwall Papers* (*Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*), ii. 706.

[4] Cf. Reed's *Life of Reed*, i. 76, 78, 82, and George Bancroft's *Jos. Reed*, p. 10. Governor Franklin's letters to Dartmouth are in the *New Jersey Archives* (x. 473, 503), where the anxiety of the king is disclosed (*Ibid.* x. 496, 534–5). Chatham's opinion is cited in Quincy's *Life of Josiah Quincy, Jr.*, 268. Later English views are given in Mahon, vi. 13, and Lecky, iii. 408, 443.

[5] Dawson's *Westchester County*, pp. 36, 37.

[6] On the Tory side were Doctors Cooper, Inglis, Seabury, and Chandler; on the Whig side, William Livingston, John Jay, and Alex. Hamilton. Cf. Lossing's *Schuyler*, i. ch. 17.

[7] Dawson, *Westchester County*, p. 137 (see also *Hist. Mag.*, 1868, p. 9), contends for Wilkins, and doubts what is put forward as Seabury's own evidence in the *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, Feb., 1882, p. 117. Cf. *Amer. Quart. Church Rev.*, April, 1881; Shea's *Hamilton*, ch. 7; *Manual of N. Y. City*, 1868, p. 813.

[8] The Seabury-Wilkins tracts are:

Free thoughts on the proceedings of the Continental congress, held at Philadelphia, Sept. 5, 1774: wherein their errors are exhibited, their reasonings confuted and the fatal tendency of their non-importation, non-exportation, and non-consumption measures, are laid open to the plainest understanding [*etc.*]*; in a letter to the farmers, and other inhabitants of North America in general, and to those of the province of New York in particular. By a farmer.* [*Signed A. W. farmer.*] (Without place, 1774.)

The congress canvassed: or, an examination into the conduct of the delegates, at their grand convention, held in Philadelphia, Sept. 1, 1774. Addressed to the merchants of New York. By A. W., Farmer (Philad., 1774).

There was a reply to the Farmer in *Holt's New York Journal*, Dec. 22, 1774 (Dawson, p. 40); but the most extraordinary rejoinder was that of the youthful Alexander Hamilton, then eighteen years old, in *A full vindication of the measures of the congress, from the calumnies of their enemies; in answer to a letter, under the signature of A. W., Farmer. Whereby his sophistry is exposed* [*etc.*]*; in a general address to the inhabitants of America, and a particular address to the farmers of the province of New York.* [*Signed, A friend to America.*] (New York, 1774.) Cf. P. L. Ford's *Bibliotheca Hamiltoniana* (N. Y., 1886), no. 1.

The "Farmer" replied in *A view of the controversy between Great Britain and her colonies. In a letter to the author of A full vindication of the measures of congress, from the calumnies of their enemies. By A. W., Farmer?* (New York, 1774.)

Hamilton's final rejoinder is *The farmer refuted; or, a more comprehensive and impartial view of the disputes between Great Britain and the colonies. Intended as a further Vindication of the congress, in answer to a Letter from a Westchester farmer, entitled a View of the controversy between Great Britain and her colonies. By a sincere friend to America* (1775). Cf. Ford, no. 3.

These productions of the young Whig are contained in the various editions of *Hamilton's Works*. Cf. J. Hamilton's *Repub. of the U. S.*, i. 65; Shea's *Hamilton*, p. 330.

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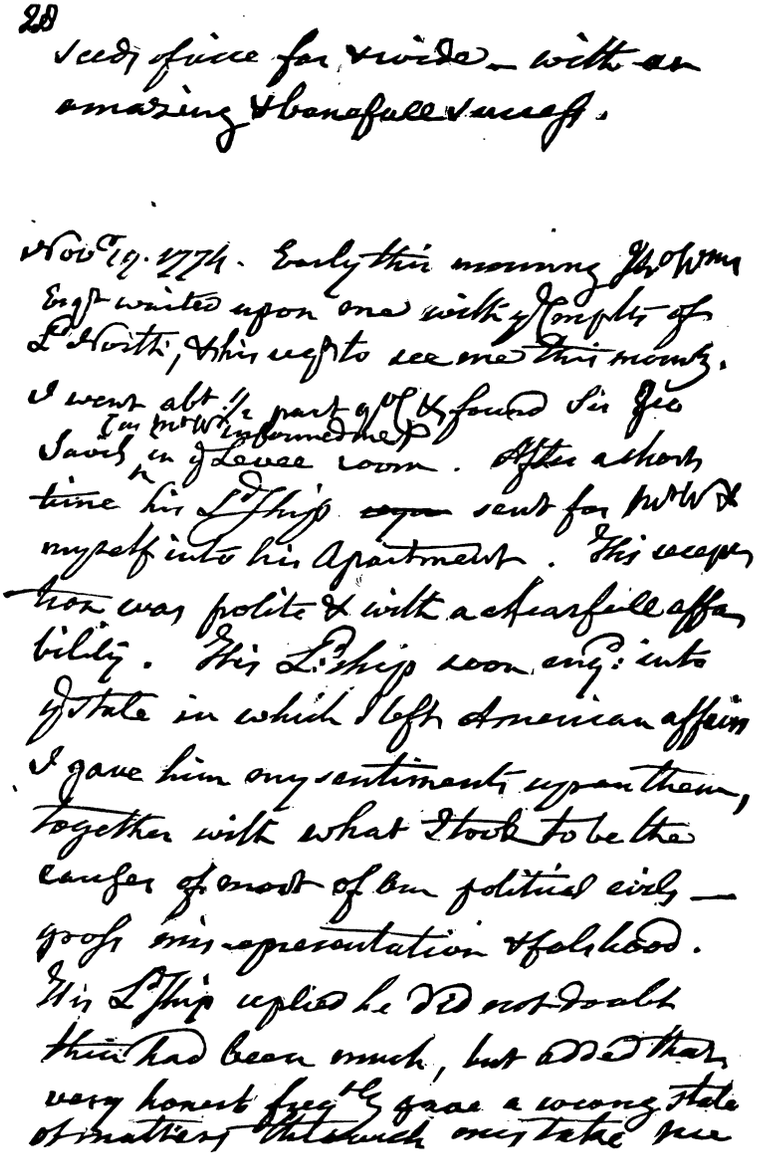

JOSIAH QUINCY'S DIARY.[1]

1 This is reproduced from a page of the diary of Josiah Quincy, Jr., which was kept while he was in London in 1774. It is the beginning of his description of an interview with Lord North. The original diary is among the Quincy MSS. in the cabinet of the Mass. Hist. Society. Quincy had sailed from Salem Sept. 28, 1774, and was not averse to having the Tories think that he was going for his health; but Gage seemed to have had a suspicion that about this time somebody was going over with bad designs (P. O. Hutchinson, 296). We learn from the same source (p. 301) that North thought his interviewer was "a bad, insidious man, designing to be artful without abilities to conceal his design," — a view that Hutchinson no doubt had helped the minister to form. With Quincy's spirit, we can imagine how North's warning that there must be submission before reconciliation would be taken. There was some suspicion also that Quincy was making observations upon Franklin to discern how far that busy genius could be trusted. Franklin seems to have satisfied him, and on his homeward voyage Quincy dictated to a sailor the report to the patriots that he had every reason to

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Another leading Tory writer at this time was Dr. Myles Cooper, the president of King's College, who was as sharply assailed for his *Friendly Address*[1] as the "Westchester Farmer" was.

Something of an official character belongs to *A true state of the proceedings in the Parliament of Great Britain, and in . . . Massachusetts Bay, relative to the giving and granting the money of the people of that province, and of all America, in the House of Commons, in which they are not represented* (London, 1774), for Franklin is said to have furnished the material for it, and Arthur Lee to have drafted it.[2]

One of the most significant of the American tracts of 1774 was John Dickinson's *Essay on the constitutional power of Great Britain over the colonies in America*.[3]

The journals of the provincial congress of Massachusetts (1774–1775) are in the *Mass. Archives* (vol. cxl.), and have been printed as *Journal of each Provincial Congress of Mass. 1774–75, and of the Com. of Safety, with an Appendix* (Boston, 1838). The proceedings of the session of Nov. 10, 1774, were circulated in a broadside.

In England we have the debates of Parliament, such correspondence as is preserved, and the records of passing feeling, to help us understand the condition of public opinion.[4]

The Assembly of New York met in January, 1775. Dawson contends that the usual view of the loyal element controlling its action is not sustained by the facts, and that in reality neither patriot nor Tory was satisfied with its action.[5]

The feeling in Virginia is depicted in Gira-

fear he would not live to deliver in person, as indeed he did not. It is preserved, and printed in his *Life*, where will be found his journal kept in London. Joseph Reed's letters to him, while in London, are in *The Life of Joseph Reed*, i. 85, etc. Quincy made out lists in London of the friends and foes of America among the merchants. Cf. letter of William Lee, April 6, 1775, in *Sparks MSS.*, xlix. vol. ii.

[1] *A friendly address to all reasonable Americans on our political confusions* (New York, 1774; America, 1774; Lond., 1774; Dublin, 1775; abridged, New York, 1774. Sabin, iv. 16,587–8). A copy with the author's MS. corrections was sold at Bangs's, N. Y., Feb., 1854, no. 178. The resulting tracts are: *The other side of the question, or a defence of the liberties of No. America, in answer to a late Friendly Address* (N. Y., 1774; Boston, 1775). By Philip Livingston. *Strictures on a pamphlet entitled a Friendly Address* (N. Y., 1774; Philad., 1774; Boston, 1775). This is by Charles Lee, and is reprinted in the Charles Lee Papers, in *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, 1871, p. 151. *The strictures on the Friendly Address examined and a refutation of its principles attempted* (Philad., 1775, two editions). This is sometimes ascribed to Thomas B. Chandler, and sometimes to Lieut. Henry Barry. Cooper also printed *The American guerist, or some questions proposed relative to the present disputes between Great Britain and her American colonies* (N. Y., 1774; Boston, 1774; London, 1775, — Sabin, iv. 16,586).

[2] It is printed in Almon's *Prior Documents* (1777), with Franklin's name, and Sparks includes it in his edition of Franklin (iv. 466). Lee is also said to have had a main hand, aided by Franklin, in *An appeal to the justice and interests of the people of Great Britain in the present dispute with America* (London, 1774). Cf. Sparks's *Franklin*, iv. 409. Another tract ascribed at the time to Franklin was really written by James Wilson, namely, *Considerations on the nature and extent of the legislative authority of the British parliament* (Philad., 1774). Cf. Sparks's *Franklin*, iv. 409.

[3] Philad. and London, 1774; included in *Political Writings of Dickinson* (Wilmington, 1801, vol. i.), and in *Penna. Archives*, 2d ser., iii. 560. Cf. *Hist. Mag.*, x. 288. Governor Bernard briefly set forth his view of *The Causes of the present distractions in America* (1774), and also gathered certain letters written from Boston in 1763–68, and published them as *Select letters on the trade and government of America* (London, 1774, — Sabin, ii. 4,920, 4,925). The government printed a *Report of the Lords' Committee, appointed to inquire into the several proceedings in the colony of Mass. Bay, in opposition to the sovereignty of his Majesty* (London, 1774). Granville Sharp's *Declaration of the people's natural right to a share in the legislature*, issued in London (1774), was reprinted in Boston, New York, and Philadelphia (Haven in Thomas, ii. p. 650).

[4] Cf., for instance, the letters of the king to Dartmouth, in the Dartmouth Papers (*Hist. MSS. Com. Rept.*, ii.); proceedings in Parliament given in Force, 4th ser., i. 5, and in Niles's *Principles*, etc.: Hutchinson's diary, including his interview with the king (P. O. Hutchinson, i. p. 157) and talks with Pownall (p. 251); the picture of Fox and Barré in debates in Smyth's *Lectures* (ii. 386), and such more general accounts as those in Frothingham's *Rise*, etc. (p. 344), Bancroft's *United States* (vii. 173, 186, 194), Parton's *Franklin* (ii. 5), and papers by T. H. Pattison in the *New Englander* (xl. 571), and Winthrop Sargent in the *No. Amer. Rev.*, lxxx. p. 236. The letters of Franklin (*Works*, iv.) add much, and the influence and speeches of Chatham bring him into prominence.

[5] Dawson's *Westchester*, 48, 50, 60, where the authorities of the diverse views are cited. Its sessions closed April 3d, and it was the last Assembly under the royal order. Its proceedings are in Jones's *New York during the Rev.*, i. 506. Within a month a general association was signed (April 29th) in New York of the opposers of government (Jones, i. 505). The proceedings of the New York and Elizabethtown committee of observation, relating to infractions of the non-importation agreements, are in the *N. Jersey Archives*, x. 561. The records of the provincial congress (which followed) are at Albany, and are partly printed in Force. The *Sparks MSS.* (no. xxxvii.) show extracts, 1775–78. (Cf. Dawson, 91. Cf. Hamilton's *Repub. of the U. S.*,

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LORD NORTH.[1]

din's continuation of Burk's *Virginia* (which was written under the cognizance of Jefferson), in Rives's *Madison*, and in Wirt's *Patrick Henry*.[2]

The Congress of 1775 met in Philadelphia, May 10th. Quebec had been invited to send delegates.[3] Lieut.-Gov. Colden kept the majority of the New York Assembly from sending delegates.[4] John Hancock was chosen president, May 24th.[5]

The proceedings are given in the *Journals of Congress*.[6]

i. ch. 3; Reed's *Jos. Reed*, i. 93.) As soon as Governor Tryon discovered the temper of the Continental Congress he sought safety on board a man-of-war in the harbor (*Ibid.*, 118), and later in the year (Dec. 4th) he addressed a letter to the people of the province, urging the adoption of plans of reconciliation (*Ibid.*, 141).

[1] From Murray's *Impartial History of the Present War*, i. 96. Cf. *London Mag.* (1779, p. 435) for another contemporary engraving.

[2] Henry was a character of which, as time goes on, there is an appreciating estimate. His grandson, William Wirt Henry, is preparing an extended memoir, having already sketched his career in the *Hist. Mag.*, xii. 90, 368, xxii. 272, 346; *Penna. Mag. of Hist.*, i. p. 78. Professor Moses Coit Tyler has embodied new material in his *Patrick Henry* of the "American Statesmen Series." Cf. Frothingham's *Rise*, etc., 179; Mahon, v. 89; and references in *Poole's Index*. For contemporary judgments, see *John Adams's Works*, i. 208, x. 277; and Jefferson's letter in *Hist. Mag.*, Aug., 1867, and comments in *Ibid.*, Dec., 1867. Alexander Johnston, in his *Representative American Orations* (vol. i.), selects Henry's speech in the House of Delegates, March 28, 1775, as the leading specimen of Revolutionary oratory. The usual portrait of Patrick Henry is the one by Sully, representing him with his spectacles raised upon his forehead. It was engraved by W. S. Leney in 1817. There is a wood-cut in Lossing's *Field-Book*, ii. 439. His is one of the portraits in Independence Hall. On the class rank of the leading agitators in Virginia, compare Rives's *Madison*, i. 71; Grigsby on *The Virginia Convention of 1776;* and John Tyler's *Address at Jamestown, May, 1857*.

[3] *Journals of Congress*, i. 40.

[4] Cf. verses "Loyal York" from *Rivington's Gazetteer*, in Moore's *Songs and Ballads*, 74.

[5] Sparks's *Washington*, iii. 37. For Hancock's character, see Wells's *Sam. Adams*, an unfavorable view. Cf. also Sanderson's *Signers of the Decl. of Ind.;* Loring's *Hundred Boston Orators;* C. W. Upham's speech in the Mass. Legislature, March 17, 1859, on the bill for preserving the Hancock House. Hancock's correspondence as president of Congress is in Force, 4th ser., v.; 5th ser., i., ii., iii.

[6] Cf. ed. in 13 vols. Also see *List of delegates, with journal of their proceedings from May 10 to July 31, 1775* (Philad., 1775,—Sabin, x. 41,447). Extracts from the votes, etc., were printed in New York; and their *Journal* in Philad. and New York (Haven in Thomas, ii. 656). There are notes on the debates in *John Adams's Works*, ii. 445. Cf. *Elliot's Debates*, i. 45. A fac-simile of the minutes for Dec. 26, 1775, signed by Chas. Thomson, is given in J. J. Smith's *Hist. and Lit. Curios.*, 2d ser., p. xiii. The several publications of

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Perhaps the best expression of argumentative force on both sides was reached in the controversy waged by John Adams against Jonathan Sewall, as he always supposed, but in reality

the Congress (included also in their *Journals*) are as follows: — *Declaration by the representatives of the United Colonies . . . setting forth the causes and necessity of taking up arms* (Philad., Watertown, Newport, 1775; London, 1775, — Sabin, iv. 15,522). Cf. L. H. Porter's *Outlines of the Const. Hist. of the U. S.*, p. 38.

The twelve United Colonies by their delegates in Congress to the inhabitants of Great Britain, July 8 1775 (Philad., 1775; Newport, 1775, — Sabin, iv. 15,596). It was drafted by R. H. Lee. Cf. his *Life*, i. 143. Cf. Ramsay's *Rev. in S. Carolina*, p. 362.

Address of the twelve United Colonies . . . to the people of Ireland (Philad. and New York, 1775, — Sabin, iv. 15,512).

Address from the delegates of the twelve United Colonies to the people of New England (Newport, 1775; reprinted in the *R. I. Hist. Mag.*, 1885).

A petition to the king was adopted July 8th. It is said to have been moulded, in part at least, upon an appeal of Richard Stockton, of New Jersey, dated Dec. 12, 1774 (*Orderly-book of Sir John Johnson*, p. 176–78). Cf. Force, 4th ser., iv. 607; Ramsay, i. 355; Sparks's *Franklin*, i. 372, x. 435; Bancroft, vii. 186; Barry's *Mass.*, ii. 60, 61, with references; Lee's *Arthur Lee*, i. 47; ii. 312. The London agents were instructed to print and circulate it (*Journals*, i. 112). Mahon (vol. vi.) says that the king was influenced by a mere punctilio in not replying to it, and Dartmouth writes to Carleton that it found no favor in or out of Parliament.

On the choice by Congress of Washington as commander-in-chief, see *John Adams's Works*, ii. 417; Bancroft, orig. ed., vii. ch. 37; Hildreth's *United States;* Hamilton's *Hamilton*, i. 110; Frothingham's *Rise of the Repub.*, 430, and his paper in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, March, 1876, and C. F. Adams in *Ibid.*, June, 1858.

On the proposed articles of confederation (May 10th) and the debate thereon, see Sparks's *Franklin*, v. 91; *N. Jersey Archives*, x. 692; *Secret Journals of Congress* (July and Aug., 1775); and a contemporary draft of the articles in *Letters and Papers, 1761–1776* (MSS. in Mass. Hist. Soc. library).

In June, 1775, the Congress was called upon to approve the form of autonomy into which the progress of events had forced the people of Massachusetts Bay. Mr. A. C. Goodell, Jr., has traced the legal bearings of successive steps in a paper in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, May, 1884, p. 192. The word "province" was renounced, as the dependence upon the royal governor had ceased; and the word "colony" accepted, as indicating the modified dependence which still held applicable to the relations of the people to the throne. Up to April, 1776, the regnal year was used in acts, but upon the Declaration of Independence being received, all legislative acts run in the name of the "State." For the change of government in New Hampshire, see Belknap's *Hist. of N. Hampshire*, and papers in the Belknap MSS. (*Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, x. 324). An *Historical Sketch of the Hillsborough County Congresses held at Amherst, N. H., 1774 and 1775, with other Revolutionary Records*, by Edw. D. Boylston, was published at Amherst in 1884.

On May 10th Congress adopted *Rules and articles for the better government of the troops raised and to be raised by the twelve United English Colonies* (Philad., Watertown, Mass., New York, 1775). Also in Force, 4th ser., ii., 1855; *N. H. Prov. Papers*, vii. 538; *R. I. Col. Rec.*, vii. 340; *N. J. Prov. Cong.*, etc. (1879), p. 264. The Massachusetts articles of war were much the same. The *Rules* arranged by Timothy Pickering were published in 1775, and a presentation copy from Pickering to Gen. John Thomas, with a letter annexed, belongs to W. A. Thomas, of Kingston, Mass.

The plan of Congress for organizing the militia is given in their *Journals*, i. 118. They also caused to be printed W. Sewall's *Method of making saltpetre* (Philad., 1775). A paper by C. C. Smith on the making of gunpowder during the Revolution is in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, March, 1876. As to the manufacture of other munitions of war, see Bishop's *Hist. Amer. Manuf.*, i. ch. 17 and 18, and index, under cannon and firearms; and J. F. Tuttle on the Hibernia furnace, in the *N. J. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, 2d ser., vi. 148.

An agreement of the members (Nov. 9th) to keep the proceedings secret is given in fac-simile in Force, 4th ser., iii. 1,918. A Committee of Secret Correspondence, for preserving relations with sympathizers in Europe, was established Nov. 29th. (Cf. C. W. F. Dumas's letters in *Diplom. Corresp.*, ix.; and Force, 5th ser., ii. and iii.)

For the Congress in general, see the histories of Gordon, Pitkin (i. ch. 9), Bancroft (vii. 353, viii. 25, 51), Grahame (iv. 407), Hildreth (iii. ch. 31); Greene's *Hist. View*, 89; Frothingham's *Rise*, etc., 419; Thaddeus Allen's *Origination of the Amer. Union;* Lecky (iii. 465); Ryerson (i. ch. 23); and the histories of the original States. Also, see lives of the members, etc., — Franklin (by Sparks, Bigelow, Parton), Washington (by Marshall, Sparks, Irving), Sam. Adams (by Wells, ii. ch. 37), John Adams (by Adams, i. 212, ii. 408, x. 163, 171, 396, and his *Familiar Letters*, 83), R. H. Lee (i. 140), Schuyler (by Lossing, i. 316), Jefferson (by Randall, i. ch. 4, by Parton, ch. 19), Jay (by Jay), Madison (by Rives, i. 105), Geo. Read (by Read, 110), Gouverneur Morris (by Sparks, i. 46), Rutledge (by Flanders, ch. 8); lives of John Alsop and Philip Livingston (*Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, i. 226, 303); Silas Deane's letters in *Conn. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, ii.; diary of Christopher Marshall; *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, by John Ward, ii. 193; *Poole's Index*, p. 295. A memorial of the inhabitants of Newport to the Congress is in the *R. I. Hist. Mag.*, July, 1855.

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CHATHAM.[1]

Sam. Adams wrote, Nov. 16th, from Philadelphia to Bowdoin: "The petition of Congress has been treated with evident contempt. I cannot conceive that there is any room to hope for the virtuous efforts of the people of Britain" (*Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, xii., 227). Walpole (*Last Journal*, i. 439) describes the effects of the action of this Congress in England.

The most significant controversial reply in England to the action of Congress came from a man of whom William S. Johnson (Beardsley, p. 71) was reporting to his American friends that he "was not much above an idiot" in appearance, but could repay one for his unfavorable appearance when he spoke, — Dr. Samuel Johnson, who published in 1775 his *Taxation no tyranny, an answer to the resolutions and address of the American Congress*, passing through four editions in that year. Macaulay says of it: "The arguments were such as boys use in debating societies. The pleasantry was as awkward as the gambols of a hippopotamus." Cf. Johnson's works, all editions; Boswell's *Johnson;* Bancroft, orig. ed., vii. 257–8; Smyth's *Lectures*, ii. 399; Fonblanque's *Burgoyne*, 110; Sabin, ix. 36,303, where (36,304–9) are various tracts which appeared in answer. Cf. *Cooke Catal.*, no. 1,315. One of the most prominent of these replies was an anonymous *Defence of the resolutions and address of the American congress, in reply to Taxation no tyranny. By the author of Regulus. To which are added, general remarks on the leading principles of that work, as published in the London Evening Post of the 2d and 4th of May; and a short chain of deductions from one clear position of common sense and experience* (London, 1775, — Sabin, iv. 15,523). The next year the same writer published *A letter to the Rev. Dr.* [Richard] *Price.* Moore's *Sheridan* (ch. 3) gives an outline of an intended answer to Johnson.

A sort of semi-official response to the Declaration, made on the part of the government, appeared in the *Rights of Great Britain asserted against the claims of America*, which is usually ascribed to Sir John Dalrymple, though by some to James Macpherson. It appeared in seven or eight editions at London in 1776, and also the same year at Edinburgh and Philadelphia, and was translated into French (Sabin, v. 18,347). Dalrymple is said also to have been the writer of an *Address of the people of Great Britain to the inhabitants of America*, published anonymously by Cadell, at London, in 1775. This was a conciliatory effort at coöperation with certain placating measures, which the government sought to promote, and copies of the tract in large numbers are said to have been sent to America for distribution (Sabin, v. 18,346; *Sparks Catal.*, no. 709; Stevens, *Nuggets*, no. 3,106).

A Portuguese Jew, Isaac Pinto, living in Holland, took up the line of argument used in the *Rights of Great Britain*, and "employed a venal pen," as Franklin expressed it, "in the most insolent manner, against the Americans" (*Sparks Catal.*, no. 2,075; *Diplom. Corresp. of the Rev.*, ix. 265). Pinto's tracts were addressed to Samuel Barretts of Jamaica, and were called *Lettre . . . au sujet des troubles qui agitent actuellement toute l'Amérique Septentrionale*, and a *Seconde Lettre* (both La Haye, 1776, — Sabin, xv. 62,988–89). The English translation, *Letters on the American Troubles*, appeared the same year in London (Sabin, xv. 62,990). Pinto was answered in *Nouvelles observations*, and a *Réponse* followed, also La Haye, 1776 (Sabin, xiii. 56,095, xv. 62,991).

Almon published in 1775 an *Appeal to the justice and interests of the people on the measures respecting America*, and the same year a *Second appeal;* and later, by the same author, *A speech intended to have been delivered in the House of the Commons in support of the petition from the general Congress at Philad.* There has been much difference of opinion as to the writers of these tracts, the names of Arthur Lee, C. Glover, Lord Chatham, and Franklin having been mentioned. (Cf. *Cooke Catal.*, iii. no. 1,033; R. H. Lee's *Life of A. Lee*, i. 19.)

[1] From the title of *Bickerstaff's Boston Almanac* for 1772, — the common popular picture of him. Cf. the head in *Gentleman's Mag.*, March, 1770.

In 1768, Edmund Jennings of Virginia, being in London, and seeking, probably unsuccessfully, to get a por-

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against Daniel Leonard, of Taunton, as it has since been made evident.[1]

One of the most powerful pleas for conciliation was made in Richard Price's *Observations on the nature of civil liberty . . . and the justice and policy of the war with America* (London, 1776, in six editions, at least; Boston, 1776, etc.).[2]

trait of Camden for some "gentlemen of Westmoreland County" who had subscribed for that purpose, contented himself with commissioning young "Peele, of Maryland," then in London, to make a picture of Chatham, following "an admirable bust by Wilton, much like him, though different from the common prints." Jennings presented it to R. H. Lee in a letter dated Nov. 15, 1768, and the *Virginia Gazette* of April 20, 1769, says it had just arrived. The picture was placed in Stratford Hall, Lee's house, but was transferred to the Court-House of Westmoreland in 1825, or thereabouts. In 1847 it was transferred to the State of Virginia, and placed in the chamber of the House of Delegates in Richmond, where it now is. It represents Chatham "in consular habit, speaking in defence of American liberty." Cf. *Va. Hist. Reg.*, i. p. 68; *Richmond Despatch*, Sept. 26, 1886. There is an engraving of Hoare's portrait of Chatham, representing him sitting and holding a paper, given in fac-simile in *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, Feb., 1887. On the statue of Pitt at Charleston, S. C., see *Mag. of Amer. History*, viii. 214. For medals, see account by W. S. Appleton in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, xi. 299. D'Auberteuil, in his *Essais*, ii. 93, gives a curious picture of Pitt in Parliament on crutches, with more gout in his features than in his legs. Cf. Doyle's *Official Baronage*, i. 359.

[1] "Massachusettensis," a Tory writer, brought out his first letter in the *Mass. Gazette*, Dec. 12, 1774, and continued them at intervals till April 3, 1775. The evidence that their writer was Leonard is presented in Bancroft, orig. ed., vii. 231; by Lucius Manlius Sargent in the *N. E. Hist. and Gen. Reg.*, July, Oct., 1864, or vol. xviii. 291, 353 (from the *Boston Transcript*). The letters were separately published in New York, 1775, as *The present political state of the province of Mass. Bay in general and the town of Boston in particular*, and again as *The origin of the Amer. Contest with Great Britain, or the present political state*, etc., — both giving the writer as "a native of New England" (Haven in Thomas, ii. p. 660). What is called a second and third edition (London, 1776) purports to follow a Boston imprint, and is called *Massachusettensis, or a series of letters containing a faithful state of many facts, which laid the foundation of the present troubles, . . . by a person of honor upon the spot.* (Cf. Sabin, x. p. 219.) There was also an edition in Dublin, 1776 (*Hist. Mag.*, i. 249). Lecky (iii. 419) speaks of these letters as showing "remarkable eloquence and touching and manifest earnestness." Trumbull, in the first canto of his *M'Fingal*, had early assumed that Leonard was the author. See, on Leonard, Sabine's *Amer. Loyalists* and Ellis Ames in the *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, xiii. 52.

John Adams, on the patriot side, began Jan. 23, 1775, a series of letters in the *Boston Gazette*, to counteract the effect of those of "Massachusettensis," and used the signature "Novanglus." The fight at Lexington broke off further publication for either disputant. Almon printed an abridgment of these papers in the *Remembrancer*, and they were later (London, 1783, 1784) published as *A history of the Dispute with America*, and were included finally in C. F. Adams's ed. of *John Adams's Works* (vol. iv., — see also ii. 405, x. 178–79).

Both series were reprinted together in Boston in 1819, with a preface by Adams, who then still considered Sewall his adversary. Cf. Edmund Quincy's *Life of Quincy*, p. 381; Frothingham's *Rise of the Repub.*, 393.

Of the Boston newspapers, *Fleet's Evening Post* was used indiscriminately as the organ of the patriots and their opponents, and expired April 24, 1775; the *Boston Newsletter* passed under governmental control, and alone continued to be published during the siege of Boston; the *Massachusetts Gazette* was the chief organ of the government; the *Boston Gazette*, devoted to the patriots, and more temperate than the *Massachusetts Spy*, which was later removed to Worcester. The most important Massachusetts journal outside of Boston was the *Essex Gazette*. (Cf. B. F. Thomas's *Memoir of Isaiah Thomas*, prefixed to the Amer. Antiq. Society's ed. of Thomas's *Hist. of Printing* [also see ii. 294]; J. T. Buckingham's *Specimens of newspaper literature;* F. Hudson's *American Journalism; Mem. Hist. Boston*, iii. 130.)

Rivington published in New York the principal paper in the Tory interests, known as the *Gazetteer*, 1773–1775, and later as the *Loyal* and then *Royal Gazette*. The foot-notes in Moore's *Diary of the American Revolution* and Thomas's *Hist. of Printing* will show the newspapers of the other colonies.

The tracts of 1775–76 are too numerous to enumerate. Grahame characterizes the chief writers (*United States*, iv. 320). The monthly lists of the *Gent. Mag.* and *Monthly Rev.* will show most of their titles for England. Cf. Adolphus's *England*, ii. 331; Morgann's *Life of Richard Price;* Fitzmaurice's *Shelburne*, iii. 95. Haven's list for America ends with 1775; but the Brinley, Sparks, and other catalogues give many of them, and they can be found in Sabin by their authors' names. Many of these tracts embody plans of reconciliation.

[2] Sabin, xv. nos. 65,444, etc.; P. O. Hutchinson, ii. 38. John Wilkes, who had been Lord Mayor of London since 1774, brought the influence of its government against the ministry, and Price was offered the freedom of the city. Wilkes's speech of Feb. 6, 1775, is in Niles (ed. 1776, p. 425). In April, 1775, Wilkes and the aldermen had appealed to the king against the ministry (Bancroft, orig. ed., vii. 282), and there is a broadside copy of an appeal, July 5, 1775, by the city to the king, in the Mass. Hist. Soc. library. In Aug., 1775, when the king issued his proclamation for the suppression of the rebellion, Wilkes paid it studied affront.

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DR. PRICE.[1]

For the mutations and progress of opinion in England at this time we may follow Bancroft

(orig. ed., vol. viii.) and Smyth (*Lectures*, nos. 31–33), and the latter compares the expressions of this progress as recorded in Ramsay and the *Annual Register*.[2]

For the aspects of political leadership in Parliament during 1775–76, and the struggles in

[1] From the *London Magazine*, May, 1776 (p. 227). "Published by R. Baldwin, June 1, 1776."

[2] Varying views of the current of British feeling will be found in Frothingham's *Rise of the Repub.*, p. 412, etc.; in Bancroft, orig. ed., vii. 219, 241, 257, etc., and in the final revision, iv. ch. 22 and 23. Lecky (iii. 573) thinks the majority of the people were with the king, and Hutchinson reported like views (*Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, xvi. 255). Galloway was still communicating to the ministry secret intelligence through Gov. Franklin, of New Jersey (*N. J. Archives*, x. 570), and was causing it to be known that the people in the colonies who were for war were the violent ones, while the Quakers and the Dutch, the Baptists, Mennonists, and Dumplers, were for moderation (*Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, xiv. 340). A letter of John Wesley, June 14, 1775, to the Earl of Dartmouth, protesting against the war, is among the Dartmouth Papers, noted in the *Hist. MSS. Com. Rept.*, ii., and is printed in *Macmillan's Mag.*, Dec., 1870. Dartmouth, July 5th, wrote to Governor Franklin, of N. Jersey, that the king was determined to crush the revolt (*N. J. Archives*, x. 513, 645), and the king issued his proclamation "for suppressing rebellion and sedition" Aug. 23, 1775. It was sent over in broadside (*Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, xii. 186), and is printed in Force's *Amer. Archives*. In September Arthur Lee was writing of the violent temper of the ministry (*Calendar of A. Lee Papers*, p. 7, no. 62). The *Diary* of Governor Hutchinson helps us much, and throws light on the talk of compromise (ii. 25, 27), the tempo-

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debates, see the *Parliamentary History* and the *Amer. Archives*,[1] and we may offset among the general histories the Tory sympathies of Adolphus (*England*, ii. ch. 24) with the liberal tendencies of Massey (*Hist. of England*), but the lives of the principal leaders bring us a little nearer to the spirits of the hour.[2]

During 1775 Franklin in London was maintaining his correspondence with his American friends,[3] and conferring with Chatham upon plans of conciliation,[4] and discussing the ways of compromise with Lord and Lady Howe.[5]

rary forgetfulness of the American question in the trial of the Duchess of Kingston (ii. 34), and Pownall's talk (ii. 127). The military resources of the colonies were not overlooked, and *A letter to Lord Geo. Germain* (London, 1776) warned that minister of what this meant, while the decision to pardon criminals in order to enlist them in the service of suppressing the rebellion did not a little to widen the breach (Lecky, iii. 585).

Abstracts of various papers in the Public Record Office for 1775 are given in the *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, xiv. 340, etc.

[1] Cf. the indexes under the names of the leading debaters.

[2] The subject gets some enlivenment in the Toryism of Walpole's *George the Third*, edited by Le Marchant, and his *Last Journals*, edited by Dr. Doran.

Edmund Burke's conspicuousness makes his character and the record of it of first importance, and we need for successive estimates of his influence to consult the lives of him by Bisset, Prior, P. Burke, and Macknight. For his bearing as a speaker, see Wraxall's *Hist. Memoirs* (ii. 35). For an estimate of his arguments, see Smyth's *Lectures* (Bohn's ed., ii. 403, 408). His speeches on American Taxation (April 19, 1774) and conciliation (March 22, 1775) are in the various collected editions of his *Works*, — among the best of such being the Boston edition (1865, etc., Little, Brown & Co.) and the edition published by Nimmo (1885), — all of them following in the main Rivington's first octavo edition in 16 vols., London, 1801–27. Henry Morley has edited, with an introduction, Burke's *Two speeches on Conciliation with America* (London, 1886). His speech of March 22, 1775, is in Niles's *Principles*, etc. (1876 ed., p. 429). Lecky (iii. 426) sketches his policy. For conversations of Burke and North, see *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, Nov., 1881, p. 358.

The lives and speeches of Chatham are quite as necessary. Franklin was introduced into the Lords in Jan., 1775, by Chatham himself, when Chatham brought forward his motion for conciliation with America, and Franklin considered as much the best the notes which Josiah Quincy, Jr., made (Jan. 20, 1775) of the speeches of Chatham and Camden (*Life of J. Quincy, Jr.*, 226, 264, 272, 318, 335, 403, 418; Sparks's *Franklin*, v. 43). Among the Cathcart MSS. is a contemporary copy of Chatham's plan which the Lords rejected (*Hist. MSS. Com. Rept.*, ii. p. 28). The later speech of Dec. 20, 1775, for removing the troops from Boston, is also in Niles (1876 ed., p. 455). Cf. Gordon, i. 298; Force, 4th ser., i. 1,494; Smyth's *Lectures*, ii.; Parton's *Franklin*, ii. Mahon says that the whole spirit evaporates from the reports of Chatham's speeches in Almon. In March, 1775, Camden made a speech which Hutchinson (P. O. Hutchinson's *Governor Hutchinson*, 408, 410) describes and imagines Camden to have made in order that Franklin might take the speech to America. Hutchinson also in the same month describes Franklin in the Commons gallery, "staring with his spectacles," and listening to the speeches against America. Two speeches of Mansfield against America were criticised in *The Plea of the Colonies on the Charges brought against them by Lord M——d and others* (London, 1775, 1776; Philad., 1777, — Sabin, xv. 63,401–2).

Charles James Fox had been dismissed from the Tory government in 1774, and was now on the opposition side, a young and vehement debater of twenty-five (Lecky, iii. 571; Russell's *Mem. and Corresp. of Fox*, and his *Life and Times of Fox;* numerous references in *Poole's Index*, p. 472). On the relations of English parties to the American question, see Lecky (iii. 586); Campbell's *Life of Loughborough*, in his *Lord Chancellors; Rockingham and his Contemporaries;* Geo. W. Cooke's *Hist. of Party* (London, 1786–87; 1837, vol. iii., — Sabin, iv. 16,309).

[3] Cf. Franklin's letters in his *Works*, and the letters to him from Quincy, Winthrop, Cooper, and Warren in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, vii. 118, etc.

[4] Parton, ii. 26.

[5] Cf. Parton's *Franklin*, ii. 41, 44; Mahon, v. 24; Niles (1876 ed.), 476; *Gent. Mag.*, xlvii. Franklin left London in March, 1775, and on his voyage home he wrote out an account of his recent negotiations, which is printed in Sparks (vol. i.) and in Bigelow (ii. 256). There are different copies of this paper (Parton, ii. 71)*; and Stevens (*Hist. Coll.*, i. p. 160 D) has an account of one given to Jefferson (Bigelow, ii. 253).

Just before leaving London, Franklin wrote some articles for the *Public Advertiser* on *The Rise and Progress of the Difference between Great Britain and her American Colonies*, which are reprinted in Sparks, iv. 526. (Cf. *Ibid.*, v. 2, 97, and Parton, ii. 72.)

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CHAPTER II.

THE CONFLICT PRECIPITATED.

BY JUSTIN WINSOR,
The Editor.

"YOU must be firm, resolute, and cautious; but discover no marks of timidity," wrote one from London to James Bowdoin, February 20, 1774.[1] Firm, resolute, cautious, but bold! This was the impelling spirit of the hour. Hutchinson was at the same time writing to Dartmouth that anarchy was likely to increase, till point after point was carried, and every tie of allegiance was severed.[2] Indications were increasing that the conflict of argument and the burst of political passion were before long to give way to the trial of force, and to the inevitable severing of friends which a resort to arms would entail. All this was prefigured on the first of June, 1774, when Hutchinson, bearing with him the addresses of his admirers,[3] left his house on Milton Hill forever, and walked along the road, bidding his neighbors good-bye at their gates; when, as he approached Dorchester Neck, he got into his carriage, which had followed him, and was driven to the point, where he took boat, was conveyed to a frigate, and in a short time was passing out by Boston light, leaving behind the line of ships at their moorings, which, with shotted guns, marked the beginning of the Boston blockade. That severing of friends and that threat of war was at that moment, away off in Virginia, accompanied by the tolling of bells out of sympathy for Boston. The Massachusetts yeomanry had not yet openly seized the musket, but their tribune, Sam. Adams, a few days later, turned the key upon the governor's secretary in Salem, when that officer was sent to dissolve the assembly. It was then that Adams and his associates proceeded to pass votes, with no intention of submitting them to the executive approval, — the beginning of the end, which we have seen Hutchinson

[1] *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, viii. 85.

[2] P. O. Hutchinson's *Gov. Hutchinson*, i. 115, 116. Percy, writing (April 17, 1774) just before he left England, said: "I fancy severity is intended. Surely the people of Boston are not mad enough to think of opposing us. Steadiness and temper will, I hope, set things in that quarter right, and Gen. Gage is the proper man to do it." Letter to Dr. Percy (Bishop of Dromore), among the Percy MSS. in Boston Public Library.

[3] Address of the Merchants of Boston in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, xii. 45. A broadside list of the addressers, as taken from the *London Gazetteer* and *New Daily Advertiser* of Sept. 24, 1774, was printed in Boston. There is a copy in the library of the Mass. Hist. Society.

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but a few months before had anticipated. Between the upper and the nether mill-stone, between the patriots of Massachusetts and the Tories of Parliament, the charter of William and Mary was rapidly crushed. Parliament determined that all power should come from them, and the province leaders determined otherwise. So the distribution of authority provided under the charter ceased. The rival powers in and around Boston could not long abstain from force. Each watched the other, in the hopes of a pretext to be beforehand, without being the aggressor.

On the first of July, 1774, when Hutchinson, in London, was convincing the king that the ministry's aggressive measure was going to bring the recalcitrant Bostonians to terms, Admiral Graves, in his flagship, was entering Boston harbor, and new regiments soon followed in their transports. Presently one could count thirty ships of war at their moorings before the town, and the morning drum-beats summoned to the roll-call strong garrisons at Castle William, in Boston itself, and at Salem, now the capital. It was known that arms were stopped, if any one tried to carry them from Boston ; and it soon became evident to Gage that it was best to concentrate his force, for he removed his headquarters from Danvers [1] to Boston, and thither his two regiments followed him. Perhaps he had heard of the enthusiasm of a certain young officer, whom he had seen twenty years before, saving all that was saved, on Braddock's bloody day ; and how, surviving for the present crisis, he had just declared, in distant Virginia, that he was ready to raise, subsist, and march a thousand men to Boston. Gage must have known George Washington quite as well as the Bostonians did, who were, it is to be feared, better prepared on their part to look upon Israel Putnam, as he marched into town from Connecticut with a drove of sheep for the hungered populace, as a greater hero than the Virginian colonel.

September came in, and it did not look as if the conflict could be put off longer.[2] On the first of that month Gage sent a detachment to the Powder House beyond Quarry Hill, in the present Somerville, and it brought away ammunition and cannon and took them to the castle. News of the inroad spread, and on the next day crowds gathered in Cambridge with arms in their hands. They assembled before Lieutenant-Governor Oliver's

[1] Where he had occupied the Hooper house. Cf. *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, xvi. 6 ; *Evelyns in America*, p. 267. There is a view of it in *The Century*, xxviii. p. 864. "King Hooper," as he was called, was born in 1710 and died in 1790. Cf. Perkins' *Copley*, p. 74, for a picture of him.

There is a portrait of Gage, now in the State House at Boston, which came to Gen. William H. Sumner through his marriage with Gage's niece, and which is engraved in Sumner's *Hist. of East Boston*. A contemporary engraving of Gage is reproduced in Shannon's *N. Y. Manual*, 1869, p. 766, and in Wheildon's *Siege of Boston*.

[2] Lee, in Sept., 1774, was writing of Gage: "He is now actually shut up at Boston . . . and has perhaps the most able and determined men of the whole world to deal with." Chas. Lee Papers, *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, 1871, p. 136. Various letters of this period written from Boston are in the *Evelyns in America* (Oxford, 1881).

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house[1] and forced him to resign. Joseph Warren, in Boston, heard of the tumult and hastened to the spot. His influence prevailed, and the sun went down without the shedding of blood. It was ominous, however, to Gage, and he set to work rebuilding the old lines across Boston Neck, and constructing barracks. He soon encountered difficulties. Somehow laborers could not be hired, nor provisions be bought. Somehow his freight-

BOSTON, September, 27, 1774.

GENTLEMEN,

THE committees of correſpondence of this and ſeveral of the neighbouring towns, having taken into conſideration the vaſt importance of withholding from the troops now here, labour, ſtraw, timber, ſlitwork, boards, and in ſhort every article excepting proviſions neceſſary for their ſubſiſtance; and being under a neceſſity from their conduct of conſidering them as real enemies, we are fully ſatisfied that it is our bounden duty to withhold from them every thing but what meer humanity requires; and therefore we muſt beg your cloſe and ſerious attention to the incloſed reſolves which were paſſed unanimouſly; and as unanimity in all our meaſures in this day of ſevere trial, is of the utmoſt conſequence, we do earneſtly recommend your co-operation in this meaſure, as conducive to the good of the whole.

We are,

Your Friends and Fellow Countrymen,

Signed by Order of the joint Committee,

William Cooper Clerk.

NOTICE OF THE COMMITTEE OF CORRESPONDENCE.[2]

barges sunk, his carts of straw got on fire, his wagons were sloughed; and somehow, with all his vigilance, a few young men made up for the loss of the powder-house pieces by stealthily carrying off by night some cannon from Boston,[3] besides some others from an old battery in Charlestown. It

[1] This is the house still standing, belonging to James Russell Lowell. *Mem. Hist. Boston*, iii. 114.

[2] From an original in the volume of *Proclamations*, etc., in the library of the Mass. Hist. Society.

[3] Loring's *Hundred Orators*, p. 89; *Mem. Hist. Boston*, iii. 62; *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, vi. 261.

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was soon found that the men on the Neck lines needed protection, and Admiral Graves tried to send up a sloop of war into the South bay to enfilade the road from Roxbury, if occasion came; but her draught was too much, and so he employed an armed schooner. By November the works were finished. Warren thought them as formidable as Gage could make them, but the old Louisbourg soldiers laughed at them and called them mud walls.

Meanwhile, in October, the military spirit was taking shape throughout the province. On the 5th the legislative assembly, which had met at Salem on Gage's call, though he sought to outlaw them by rescinding (September 28) his precept, had declared his attempted revocation without warrant in law, and had resolved itself into a provincial congress. The body then adjourned to meet in Concord, where, under John Hancock's presidency, they appointed a Committee of Safety to act as the executive of the province, and chose three general officers, — Preble,[1] Ward, and Pomeroy. The militia was organized, and minute-men were everywhere forming into companies. Gordon tells how the country was astir with preparations. Connecticut was not far behind in ordering her militia to be officered, and in directing her towns to double their stock of ammunition, while she voted to issue £15,000 in paper money, — the first of the war.

"An armed truce," wrote Benjamin Church, "is the sole tenure by which the inhabitants of Boston possess life, liberty, and property." Away from Boston, the towns made common cause. "Liberty and Union" was to be read on a flag flying in Taunton. When news of these and similar events reached England, Lord North told Hutchinson that, for aught he could see, it must come to violence, with consequent subjection for the province.[2] When such tidings reached Virginia it found her officers just sheathing their swords after their conflict with the Indians in the mountains, and resolving next to turn their weapons against the oppressors of America. Gage, in Boston, whom Warren really felt to be honest and desirous of an accommodation, was awaking to a juster measure of the task of the ministry, which might, he said, require 20,000 troops to begin with. As he pondered on such views, he might have heard, on the evening of the 9th of November, 1774, the ringing of the bells which greeted the return of Sam. Adams and his colleagues from the Philadelphia congress. Shortly after the middle of the month the British in Boston went into winter quarters.[3] So November passed; — the Committee of Safety had ar-

[1] For an account of Preble, see *N. E. Hist. and Gen. Reg.*, 1868, pp. 404, 421. He, as well

as Ward and Pomeroy, had been in the French wars.

[2] P. O. Hutchinson, 293, 297. Percy was writing, October 27, 1774, from the camp in Boston: "Our affairs here are in the most critical situation imaginable. Nothing less than the total loss or conquest of the colonies must be the end of it. . . . We have got together a clever little army here." *Percy MSS.* in Boston Public Library.

[3] *Percy MSS.*, Nov. 25, 1774: "I really begin now to think that it will come to blows at last, for they are most amazingly encouraged by our having done nothing as yet. The people here

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ranged to raise and support an army, and the recommendation of the Continental Congress had been approved.

December came. Boston was not yet burned, as some in London believed it was, when Quincy heard them laying wagers in the coffee-houses,[1] and if Sam. Adams was not the first politician in the world, as others told the same ardent young Bostonian, he was sharing conspicuous honors at home, with his distant kinsman, John Adams. The latter, as Novanglus, in his public controversy with the unknown Massachusettensis, was just attracting renewed attention. But that sturdy patriot, while he was arguing in public, was comforting himself in private by reckoning that Massachusetts could put 25,000 men in the field in a week; and New England, he counted, had 200,000 fighing men, "not exact soldiers," he confessed, "but all used to arms."[2] Tidings were coming in which told how this warlike spirit might be tested. Governor Wanton, of Rhode Island, had spirited away from the reach of the British naval officers forty-four cannon, which were at Newport. Paul Revere had gone down to Portsmouth and harangued the Sons of Liberty, till they invaded Fort William and Mary and (December 14, 1774) carried off the powder and cannon.[3] From Maryland, where they had lately been burning a tea-ship,[4] the word was that its convention had ordered the militia to be enrolled. From Pennsylvania it appeared that Thomas Mifflin was conspicuous among the Quakers in advocating the measure of non-intercourse. From South Carolina the news was halting. Could her rice-planters succeed in getting their product excepted from such a plan? They did. Gage had some time before[5] written to Dartmouth that they were as mad in the southern Charlestown as in northern Boston; and when one of their Tory parsons had intimated that clowns should not meddle with politics, they had been as fiery as they could have been in Massachusetts.[6] Gordon, of Jamaica Plain, in appending notes to a sermon which he had just preached on the Provincial Thanksgiving of December 15, 1774, refers to the brave lead of Virginia in the present time, as nine years before she had been foremost in the stamp-act time.[7] Governor Dunmore was reporting to Dartmouth (December, 1774) that every county in Virginia was arming a company of men, to be ready as occasion required.

John Adams, at Philadelphia, read to Patrick Henry from a paper of Joseph Hawley, that the result of the action of the ministry rendered it necessary to fight. "I am of that man's opinion," replied the ardent Vir-

are the most artful, designing villains in the world."

[1] *Mem. of Quincy*, p. 216.

[2] Letters, Dec. 12 and 28, 1774. The census or estimate by congress in 1775 gave New England 800,000 souls.

[3] *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, 1868, p. 337; letters of Gov. Wentworth in *Ibid.*, 1869, p. 274; *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, xiv. 450; Force's *Am. Archives;* Belknap's *New Hampshire;* T. C. Amory's *General Sullivan*, 295; *N. H. Rev. Rolls*, i. 31; *N. H. Provincial Papers*, vii. 420-423, 478; Mary P. Thompson's *Mem. of Judge Eben. Thompson* (Concord, N. H., 1886).

[4] E. S. Riley, Jr., in *Southern Monthly*, xiv. 537.

[5] Sept. 30, 1774.

[6] Gibbes' *Doc. Hist. of the Amer. Rev.*

[7] Thornton's *Pulpit of the Rev.*, p. 218.

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ginian.[1] With the new year (1775) that opinion was becoming wide-spread. *Ames' Almanac* (1775), published in Boston, was printing, for almost every family in New England to read, "a method for making gun-powder," so that every person "may easily supply himself with a sufficiency of that commodity." Day by day news came to Boston from every direction of the indorsement of Congress, and of the wild-fire speed of the dispersion of the military spirit. Those who remembered the 40,000 men who marched towards Boston at the time of the D'Anville scare, thirty years before, said the enthusiasm then was nothing like the present. Somehow Gage began to feel more confident. He had in January 3,500 men in his Boston garrison, and almost as many more were expected, and he did not hesitate to send (January 23) Captain Balfour and a hundred men, with two cannon, to Marshfield, to protect the two hundred loyalists there, who had signed the articles by which Timothy Ruggles was hoping to band the friends of government together, and the reports which Balfour sent back seemed to satisfy the governor that the measure was effective.[2]

On the first of February, 1775, the second provincial congress assembled at Cambridge, and they soon issued a solemn address to the people, deprecating a rupture, but counselling preparations for it.[3] It was not then known that Gage had won over Dr. Church, and that through this professing patriot the British headquarters in Boston were informed of the doings of congress. Church's defection encouraged the tories, and on the 6th, handbills appeared in Boston, reminding the patriots of the fate of Wat Tyler.[4] A few days later Cambridge was alarmed by the report that troops were coming out of Boston to disperse them; but the day passed without the proof of it. The Committee of Safety were anxious, for they knew that the other colonies and their friends in England were fearful that the conflict would be precipitated without the consent of congress; and the authority of congress was now so dominant that its cognizance of such measures was essential to the continuance of the sympathy with Massachusetts which now existed. No one at this time was more solicitous for this prudent measure than Joseph Hawley, and no one in Massachusetts had a steadier head. On the 18th Peter Oliver wrote from Boston to London: "Great preparations on both sides for an engagement, and the sooner it comes the better."[5] "Every day, every hour widens the breach!" wrote Warren to Arthur Lee, two days later.[6] Already the provincial congress had conferred on the Committee of Safety (February 9) the power to as-

[1] The paper which excited Patrick Henry was the "Broken Hints" of Joseph Hawley, which

was first printed in Niles's *Principles and Acts of the Revolution*; and since in *John Adams' Works*, ix. p. 641.

[2] See documents in Force's *Amer. Archives*; Frank Moore's *Diary of the Revolution*, i. 15.

[3] Frothingham's *Warren*, p. 416.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 413.

[5] P. O. Hutchinson, p. 371.

[6] Frothingham's *Warren*, p. 418.

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semble the militia, and John Thomas and William Heath had been added to the general officers. The committee, on the 21st, had voted to buy supplies for 15,000 men, including twenty hogsheads of rum. On the same day Sam. Adams and Warren signed a letter to the friends of liberty in Canada, and secret messengers were already passing that way. Presently, on the 26th, the impending conflict was once more averted.

Colonel David Mason, of Salem, had been commissioned by the Committee of Safety as an engineer, and was now at work in that town mounting some old cannon which had been taken from the French. Gage heard of it, and by his orders a transport appeared at Marblehead, with about 300 men under Lieutenant-Colonel Leslie, who rapidly landed and marched his men to Salem. Their purpose was seasonably divined; the town was aroused, and, in the presence of a mob, the commander thought it safer to turn upon his steps.[1] A British officer, Colonel Smith, with one John Howe, was at about the same time sent out in disguise to scour the country towards Worcester, and pick up news for Gage;[2] and two others, Brown and Bernière, were a few weeks later prowling about Concord.[3] The patriots did not scour for news. It came in like the wind, — now of county meetings, now of drills, now of Colonel Washington's ardor in Virginia, and now of Judge Drayton's charge to the grand jury in Carolina.

Early in March came the anniversary of the Boston massacre. Two days before, Judge Auchmuty, in Boston, wrote to Hutchinson: "I don't see any reason to expect peace and order until the fatal experiment of arms is tried. . . . Bloodshed and desolation seem inevitable."[4] While this tory was writing thus, the patriots, in a spirit that somewhat belied their professed wish to avoid a conflict, were arranging for a public commemoration of the massacre. It could have been omitted without any detriment to the cause, and to observe it could easily have begotten trouble amid the inflamed passions of both sides. "We may possibly be attacked in our trenches," said Sam. Adams. It little conduced to peace that Joseph Warren was selected to deliver the address, which, as the fifth came on Sunday, was delivered on Monday, the sixth. The concourse of people suggested to Warren to enter the Old South meeting-house, where the crowd was assembled, by a ladder put against a window in the rear of the pulpit. Forty British officers were present, and the moderator offered them front seats, and some of the officers placed themselves on the pulpit stairs. A contemporary story says that it was a set purpose of the officers to break up the meeting,[5]

[1] Gage seems to have reported to the War Office that the information was erroneous which induced him to send out this expedition. P. O. Hutchinson's *Gov. Hutchinson*, 432. Cf. *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, xiv. 348.

[2] They started April 5th. Howe's record appears in *A Journal kept by Mr. John Howe, while he was employed as a British Spy during the Revolutionary War; also while he was engaged in the smuggling business during the late war.* (Concord, N. H., 1827.) The only copy known is in the library of the New Hampshire Hist. Soc. Extracts from it are printed in the *Boston Daily Advertiser*, Apr. 20, 1886.

[3] Their reports to Gage are in Force's *Amer. Archives.*

[4] P. O. Hutchinson, p. 397.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 529; Joshua Green's diary in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, xiv. 101.

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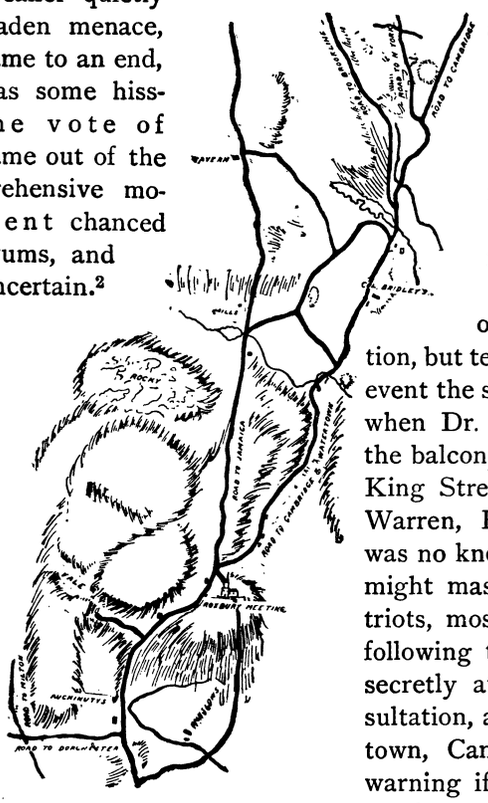
and that one of them took an egg in his pocket, to be thrown at the speaker for a signal. This man tripped as he entered the building, and the egg was broken before its time. Another officer, below the desk, held up some bullets in his open palm as Warren warmed in his eloquence. The speaker quietly dropped his handkerchief on the leaden menace, and went on. So the meeting came to an end, with no outbreak; though there was some hissing and pounding of canes when the vote of thanks was put. As the crowd came out of the meeting-house there was an apprehensive moment,[1] for the Forty-third Regiment chanced to be passing, with drums, and beating uncertain.[2] for an instant the outcome was



ROADS OF ROXBURY AND BEYOND.[5]

Gage had suffered the commemoration to pass without recognition, but ten days later his officers made the event the subject of a provoking burlesque, when Dr. Thomas Bolton delivered from the balcony of the British Coffee House in King Street a mock oration in ridicule of Warren, Hancock, and Adams.[3] There was no knowing what purpose this ridicule might mask; and a committee of the patriots, mostly mechanics, were constantly following the progress of events, meeting secretly at the Green Dragon[4] for consultation, and setting watches at Charlestown, Cambridge, and Roxbury, to give warning if there were any signs that the royal troops were preparing to move from the town.

On the 22d March, 1775, the provincial congress assembled again at Concord, and set to work in organizing their army, and in devising an address to the Mohawks, with the purpose of securing them to the patriot side. They also prepared to use the Stockbridge Indians as mediators with their neighbors, who were already tampered with, as was believed or alleged, by emissaries from Canada. It was already known that the people of the New

[1] Rivington's *N. Y. Gazetteer*, Mar. 16, 1775, cited in Loring's *Hundred Boston Orators*, 60; also Moore's *Diary of the Amer. Rev.*, i. 34.

[2] The manuscript of Warren's address is preserved in the hands of Dr. John C. Warren, and a page of it is in fac-simile in the *Mem. Hist. of Boston*, 143. Frothingham enumerates the editions of the printed pamphlet in his *Warren*, p. 436.

[3] It was printed as given "at the request of a number of the inhabitants of the town of Boston." Haven in Thomas, ii. 654.

[4] *Mem. Hist. Boston*, iii. 64.

[5] Sketched from a MS. map. in the library of Congress, which is apparently one of the maps made by Gage's secret parties of observation.

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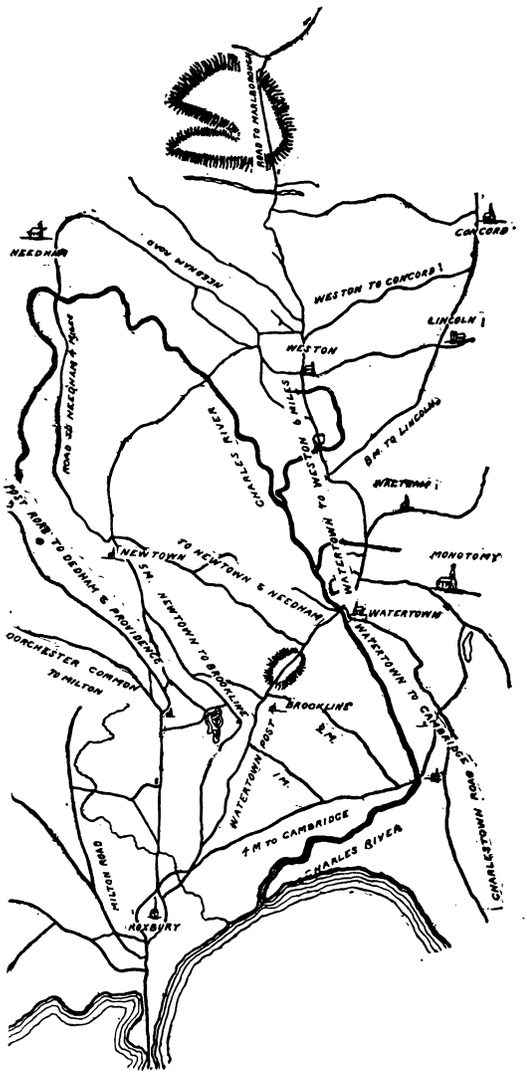
Hampshire Grants were preparing to seize Ticonderoga as soon as the war-cloud should burst.

News sped rapidly by relays of riders. It was not long after Patrick Henry had said in Virginia, "We must fight; an appeal to arms and to the God of hosts is all that is left for us," [1] before the words were familiar in Massachusetts, and John Adams, who knew, said that Virginia was planting wheat instead of tobacco. At Providence they were burning tea in the streets, and men went about erasing the advertisements of the obnoxious herb from the shop-windows. Everywhere they were quoting the incendiary speech of John Wilkes, the lord mayor of London, whose retorts upon the ministry were relished as they were read in the public prints. As if to test whether March should pass without bloodshed,[2] Gage on the 30th sent Earl Percy out of town with a brigade, in light marching order, and he went four miles, to Jamaica Plain, and returned. The minute-men gathered in the neighboring towns, but no encounter took place.[3]



BETWEEN BOSTON AND MARLBOROUGH.[4]

So April came, with the rattle of the musket still unheard. On the second day two vessels arrived at Marblehead, bringing tidings that Parliament had pledged its support to the

[1] Niles's *Principles and Acts of the Revolution* (ed. of 1876), p. 277.

[2] "Much art and pains have been employed to dismay us," wrote Samuel Cooper to Franklin, Apr. 1, 1775, "or provoke us to some rash action, but hitherto the people have behaved with astonishing calmness and resolution." *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, viii. 124.

[3] Moore's *Diary of Amer. Rev.*, i. 57.

[4] Sketched from a MS. map in the library of Congress, which is seemingly the original or copy of the map made by one of Gage's secret parties sent to observe the country.

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king and his ministers, and that more troops were coming. On the 8th a committee reported to the provincial congress on an armed alliance of the New England colonies, and messengers were sent to the adjacent governments.[1] Connecticut responded with equipping six regiments; New Hampshire organized her forces as a part "of the New England army," and Rhode Island voted to equip fifteen hundred men. In Virginia it looked for a while as if the appeal to arms would not be long delayed, for Dunmore fulminated against their convention; and he even threatened to turn the slaves against their masters, and he did seize the powder at Williamsburg, of which the province had small store at best. Calmer counsels prevailed, and the armed men who had gathered at Fredericksburg dispersed to reassemble at call.

The contest meanwhile had been precipitated in Massachusetts. The rumor had already gone to England that it was close at hand. Hutchinson, in London, on the 10th, when writing to his son in Boston, had said: "Before this reaches you it will be determined;" and while tidings of the actual conflict was on the way, Hutchinson learned in London that Pownall had been prepared by letters from Boston for something startling.[2] The circle of sympathizers with America were in this suspense while Franklin was on the ocean, hither bound, and, if we may believe Strahan, he had left England in a rancorous state of mind, causing men to wonder what he intended on arriving, whether to turn general and fight, or to bolster in other ways the spirits of the rebels.[3] When he arrived the fight had begun.

On the 15th of April the provincial congress had adjourned. On the 16th, Isaiah Thomas spirited his press out of Boston and took it to Worcester, where, in a little more than a fortnight, the *Massachusetts Spy* reappeared.[4] Families, impressed with the forebodings of the sky, were moving out of town. Samuel Adams and Hancock had been persuaded to retire to Lexington,[5] to be beyond the grasp of Gage, who was shortly expected to order the arrest of the patriots, for which he had had instructions since March 18th.[6] The Boston committee of observation was watchful. It had noticed that on the 14th the "Somerset" frigate had changed her moorings to a position intermediate between Boston and Charlestown, and on the 15th the transports were hauled near the men-of-war. Notice of these signs was sent to Hancock and Adams, and preparations were begun

[1] On this same day, Percy, in Boston, was writing: "Things now every day begin to grow more and more serious. The [rebels] are every day in great numbers evacuating this town, and have proposed in congress either to set it on fire and attack the troops before a reinforcement comes, or to endeavor to starve us. Which they mean to adopt time only can show." *Percy MSS.* in Boston Public Library.

[2] P. O. Hutchinson, pp. 428, 433.

[3] *Ibid.*, 434, 475.

[4] Thomas's letter in the *Worcester Centennial Anniversary*, p. 116.

[5] They lodged in the house of the Rev. Jonas Clark, half a mile away from Lexington Common. Loring's *Orators*, 81. The house was built in 1698. See Hudson's *Lexington*. A painting of the house was owned by the late H. G. Clark, of Boston.

[6] As early as Jan. 28, instructions to Gage to apprehend the leaders of Congress had been signed. P. O. Hutchinson, p. 416.

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for removing a part of the stores at Concord. When, during the afternoon of the 18th, some of the precious cannon were trundled into Groton, her minute-men gathered for a night march to Concord. During that same day Gage sent out from Boston some officers to patrol the roads towards Concord, and intercept the patriot messengers, and to discover, if possible, the lurking-place of Adams and Hancock. In the evening it was observed in Boston that troops were marching across the Common to the inner bay. William Dawes was at once dispatched to Concord by way of Roxbury, for the patriot watch had not been without information before the troops actually moved. Gordon tells us that they got a warning from a "daughter of liberty unequally yoked in point of politics," and as Gage's wife was a daughter of Peter Kemble, of New Jersey, it has been surmised that the informer may have been one very near to headquarters.[1] Paul Revere immediately caused the preconcerted signal-light to be set in a church-tower at the north end of Boston, and crossing the river in a boat, he mounted a horse on the Charlestown side and started on his famous midnight ride. It was none too soon. At eleven o'clock eight hundred men, under Lieutenant-Colonel Smith, were passing over the back bay in boats to Lechmere Point. Here they landed at half past two in the morning, and the moon at this hour was well up. They marched quietly and rapidly, but not unobserved, and when they approached Lexington Green they found drawn up there a company of minute-men. Smith had become alarmed when, as he was advancing, he found the country aroused in every direction, and sent back for reinforcements. Earl Percy, with the succor, was by some stupidity[2] delayed, and did not get off from Boston till between nine and ten the next morning, and he then took the circuitous route by Roxbury and Cambridge.

The critical moment on Lexington Green had then long passed. Major Pitcairn, who commanded Smith's advance-guard, would not or could not prevent that fatal volley in the early morning light, by which several of the small body of provincials were killed before they broke, while, by a scattering return fire, one or two of the British were wounded.[3] Smith, without being aware that Hancock and Adams were at the moment within sound of his musketry, and just then being conducted farther from his reach, waited while his troops gave three cheers, and then resumed his march, passing on towards Concord. The provincials gathered their dead and wounded, and managed as the British passed on to pick up a few stragglers, the first prisoners of the war.[4]

On the red-coats went as the day broadened.[5] They followed the road

[1] Gage had married her in 1758. She died in 1824, aged 90.

[2] *Mem. Hist. Boston*, iii. 70.

[3] Gen. Wm. H. Sumner (*New Eng. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, viii. 188) records some recollections of the opening of the fight as narrated to him by Dorothy Quincy, later Mrs. John Hancock, who saw it begin.

[4] Hudson's *Lexington*, 200.

[5] The night had been chilly; but the day grew rapidly warm. The season was a month early. Cf. Geo. Dexter's note in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, xix. 377.

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much as it runs to-day, though in places steeps and impediments are now avoided by a better grade. Their march went by the spots which the genius of Hawthorne and Emerson have converted into shrines. In the centre of Concord they halted, while the gathering provincials, who had retired before them, watched the smoke of devastation. Smith had detailed two detachments to find and destroy stores. One of these, sent to Colonel Barrett's, beyond the North Bridge, had some success, and while it was absent the provincials, now increased in numbers from the neighboring towns, approached a guard which had been left at the bridge. Here the British fired at the Americans across the stream, and the volley being returned, a few were killed on both sides, before the British guard retreated upon the main body, whither they were soon followed by the other detachment which was out. Smith took two hours to gather wagons for his wounded and make preparations for his retreat, which had now become imperative, for the militia were seen swarming on the hills.[1] When Smith started he threw out a flanking party on his left, which followed a ridge running parallel to his march; but when the sloping of the land compelled the flankers to descend to the level of the road, the British lost the advantage which the ridge gave them, and the minute-men, who now began to strike the British line of march at every angle, waylaid them at cross-roads, and dropped an incessant fire upon them from copse, hill, and stone wall, until the retreating troops, impeded with their wounded, and leaving many of their dying and dead, huddled along the road like sheep beset by dogs. Just on the easterly outskirts of Lexington they met Percy, whose ranks opened and received the fugitives; and Stedman, the British historian who was with Percy, tells us how the weary men hung out their tongues as they cumbered the ground during their halt. It was near two o'clock, and Percy planted his cannon to keep his assailants at bay, while his troops, now about eighteen hundred in number, rested and refreshed themselves. Before this, his baggage train, which had been delayed in crossing the bridge from Brighton to Cambridge so as to fall far behind his hastening column, had been captured, with its guard, by a crowd of old men some distance below, at Menotomy.[2] When Percy limbered his pieces and his troops fell again into column, the hovering militia renewed the assault. As pursuer and pursued crossed West Cambridge plain the action was sharp. Percy did not dare attempt to turn towards the boats which Smith had left at Lechmere Point, and any intention he may have had of halting at Cambridge and fortifying was long vanished. So he pursued the road which led towards Charlestown Neck. Several hundred militia-men, who had come up from Essex County,[3] were nearly in time at Winter Hill to cut the

[1] John Howe was sent towards Lexington to meet and hurry Percy along. *Journal of John Howe.*

[2] Cf. Everett's *Orations*, i. p. 102.

[3] These were under the command of Col. Timothy Pickering, who was then and has been since charged with dilatoriness in coming up. Bancroft (*United States*) and W. V. Wells (*Sam. Adams*) so assert. Bancroft was controverted by Samuel Swett in a pamphlet in 1859, and Octavius Pickering, in his *Life of T. Pickering* (ch. 5 and App.), makes a full defence of his father.

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British off in their precipitate retreat, and "God knows," said Washington, when he learned the facts, "it could not have been more so." Percy, however, slipped by, and as darkness was coming on, the fire of the pursuers began to slacken as they approached Bunker Hill. Here, with the royal ships covering their flanks, the British halted, and, facing about, formed a line and prepared to make a stand. General Heath, who during the latter part of the day had been on the ground, drew off his militia, and at the foot of Prospect Hill held the first council of war of the now actual hostilities. Warren, early in the day hastening from Boston across the river, had galloped towards the scene of conflict. When he encountered Percy's column on its way out, he seems to have evaded it and joined General Heath, then taking cross-roads to intercept the pursuing militia. Heath took the command of the provincials soon after Percy resumed his march. From this time Warren, as chairman of the committee in Boston, kept near Heath, for counsel if need be, and Heath says that on the West Cambridge plain a musket-ball struck a pin from Warren's earlock.

No one could tell what would happen next, after this suddenly improvised army had begun to rendezvous that night in Cambridge. As the straggling parties, in bivouac and in what shelter they could find, compared experiences and counted the missing, messengers were hurrying in every direction with the tidings of the war at last begun![1]

On the 20th of April there was much to do beside picking up the dead that may have been left over night along the road from Concord. The Committee of Safety[2] were summoning all the towns to send their armed men to Cambridge.[3] Warren was writing to Gage to beg better facilities for getting the women and children, with family effects, out of Boston.[4] These were busy days for that ardent patriot. The militia were beginning to pour in, and Warren must do the chief work in reducing the mob to order. Congress comes to Watertown, and Warren, in the absence of Hancock, must preside. He bids God-speed to Samuel Adams and John Hancock[5] as they start for the Continental Congress. He hears with a sinking heart of the vessel which arrived at Gloucester on the 26th, bringing the body of Josiah Quincy, so lately warm that, when the tidings reached Cambridge of his death, Warren supposed he had lived to get ashore.[6] Another day Warren is busy carrying out the behests of the Com-

[1] Andrews' letters (*Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, July, 1865) show the rumors which reached Gage in Boston during the day. There were some among the provincials who thought the news, when received in England, would stir up civil war (*Proceedings*, vol. v. p. 3); but Washington records, respecting its influence there, that it was "far from making the impression generally expected here." Sparks' *Washington*, iii. 43.

[2] Minutes in *Mass. Archives*, vol. cxv.

[3] Bancroft, orig. ed., vii. 311.

[4] Frothingham's *Warren*, 467.

[5] It was before long known what a reception these delegates had had in New York, and how the crowd were with difficulty prevented from taking the horses from Hancock's carriage and drawing it. *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, 1865, p. 135. The journey of the delegates to Philadelphia in May, 1775, is described in the Deane Correspondence (*Conn. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, ii. 222, etc.), and Jones (*N. Y. during the Rev.*, i. 45) describes their reception.

[6] The papers of Quincy include a long message to the patriots, practically a report on his English mission, which he was too weak to write

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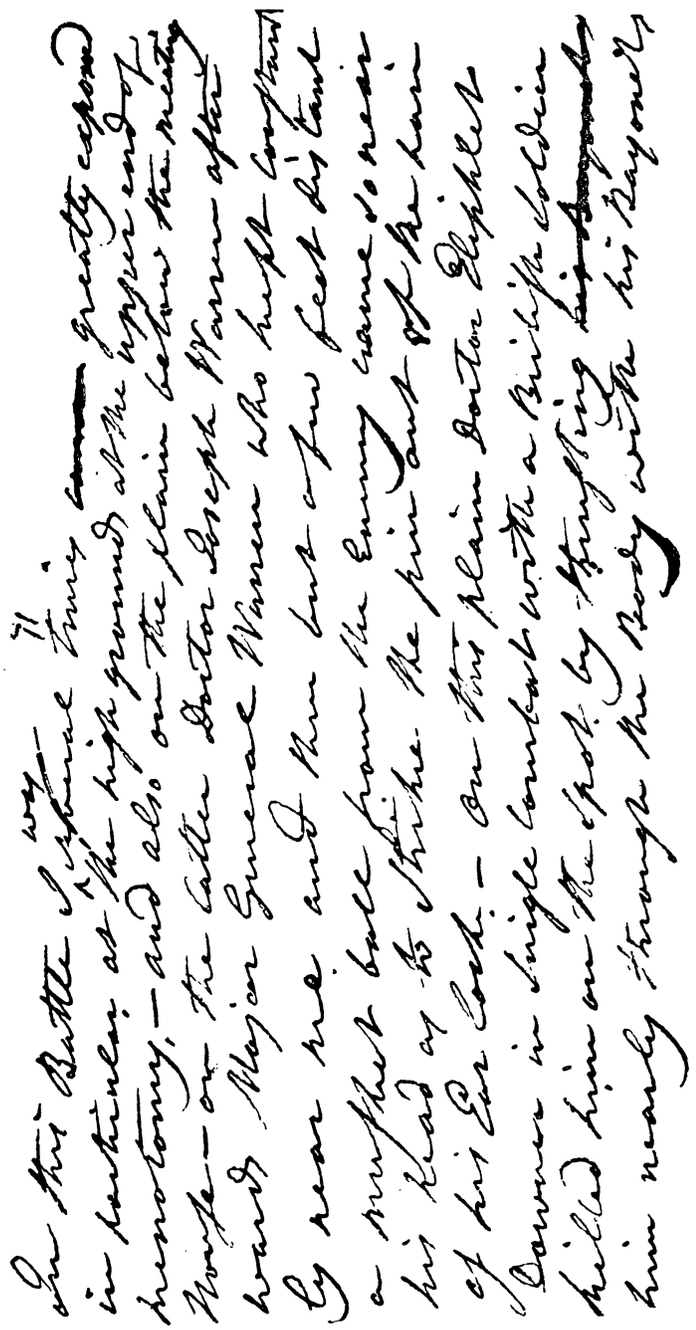

HEATH'S ACCOUNT OF THE FIGHT AT MENOTOMY.[1]

himself, but dictated to a sailor on the voyage. The only portrait of Quincy is one painted after his death. This is engraved in the *Mem. Hist. of Boston*, vol. iii.

[1] From a slip of paper in the *Heath Papers*, vol. i. no. 71.

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W. Heath [1]

[1] After a copper-plate in *An Impartial Hist. of the War in America*, Boston, 1784, vol. iii. The background is much the same as that of a portrait of Washington in the same work, and

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mittee of Safety respecting their scant artillery. At another time he is encouraging wagoners to go into Boston to bring out the friends of the cause and their property; but it was not so easy to get Gage's permission, and as the tories made a plea that these Boston patriots were necessary hostages, obstacles were thrown in the way.[1] There were rumors, too, of an intention of the royal troops once more to raid upon the country. Only two days after the 19th of April, Ipswich was wild with such rumors, and the alarm spread to the New Hampshire line [2] and beyond.[3]

The patriots at Cambridge were not pleased when they found that the Connecticut assembly had sent a committee to bear a letter from Governor Trumbull (April 28) and to confer with Gage.[4] There was a feeling that the time had passed for such things, and Warren wrote (May 2) a letter beseeching the sister colony to stand by Massachusetts, which elicited from Trumbull a response sufficiently assuring.[5]

Already there was a proposition warlike enough from a Connecticut captain who had just led his company to Cambridge, and was now urging the seizure of Ticonderoga and its stores. The proposition was timely. During the previous winter the patriots had learned that the British government was intending to separate the colonies by securing the line of the Hudson.[6] Accordingly the instigator of this counter-movement was ordered, May 3d, to carry it out, and Benedict Arnold makes his first appearance in American history. Meanwhile, however, acting upon hints which Arnold had already dropped before leaving Connecticut, or perhaps anticipating such hints, some gentlemen in that colony, joining with others of Pittsfield, in Massachusetts, had gone to Bennington, where, on the day before Arnold

the print, issued in Boston, where Heath was well known, shows what kind of effigies then passed current. A portrait of Heath by H. Williams has been engraved by J. R. Smith. (*Catal. Cab. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, p. 46.) There is extant a likeness owned by Mrs. Gardner Brewer, of Boston. Cf. *Mem. Hist. of Boston*, iii. 183. Heath was born in Roxbury, March 2, 1737, and died Jan. 24, 1814. His service was constant during the war, though his deeds were not brilliant. He seems conspicuously to have acquired the regard of Washington; though Bancroft calls him vain, honest, and incompetent. His papers are in the Mass. Hist. Soc. Cabinet.

[1] The trouble was in part whether "effects" included merchandise as well as furniture. *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, xiii. 58. Cf. Frothingham's *Warren*, p. 483. James Bowdoin, as representative of the Boston people, tried to make an arrangement on the basis of a surrender of arms, and the draft of an order in Bowdoin's handwriting, in the name of Gage, is given, with references, in *Mem. Hist. Boston*, iii. 76. Cf. *Evacuation Memorial*, p. 115. A part of the agreement with Gage was that the country Tories should be allowed to move into Boston. Among those who soon found their way into Boston, but under difficulties, were Lady Frankland and Benjamin Thompson, afterwards Count Rumford. (*Evacuation Mem.*, 125–130. Cf. Barry's *Mass.*, iii. 5, and references.)

[2] Whittier's "Great Ipswich Fright," in his *Prose Works*, ii. 112; *Ipswich Antiq. Papers*, iv. no. 46; Crowell's *Essex* (Mass.), 205.

[3] See Alexander Scammell's letter in Amory's *General Sullivan*, 299. New Hampshire was already sending forward her men. *Hist. Mag.*, vii. 21.

[4] Niles's *Principles and Acts* (1876), p. 141.

[5] Force's *Am. Archives*, ii. 433–39; Beardsley's *Life of W. S. Johnson*, 110, 210. The Massachusetts delegates meanwhile had tarried long enough in Connecticut, on their way to Philadelphia, to confirm the patriots there, and force the halting to take a decided stand. Cf. *Journals Prov. Cong.*, 179, 194, 196.

[6] *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, xii. 227.

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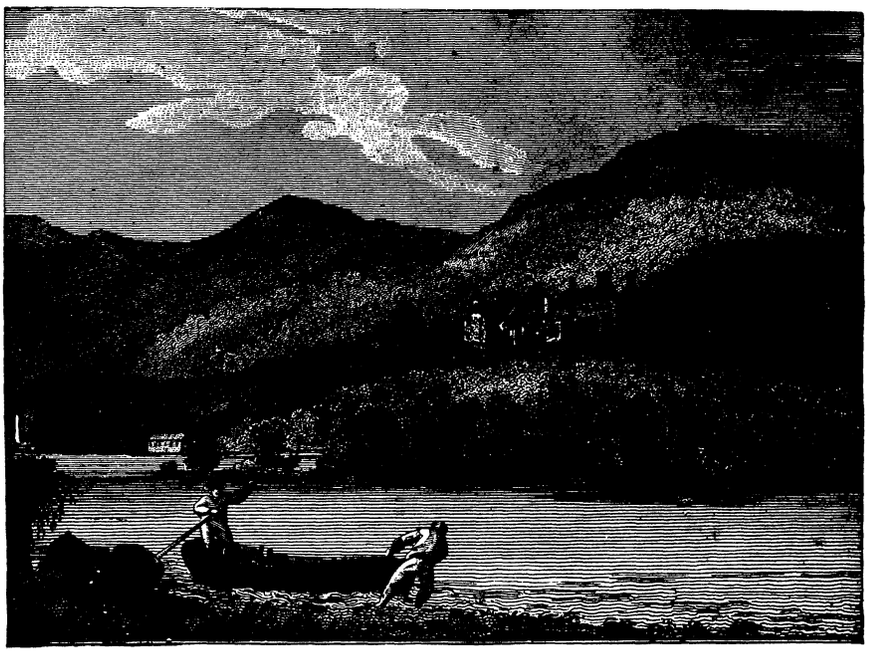
was commissioned, they had been joined by Col. Ethan Allen. Thus the plan which Arnold had at heart was likely to be carried out before he could arrive from Cambridge. A few days later the command of the force which had gathered naturally fell to Allen as having the largest personal following, and this following was loyal enough to their leader to threaten to abandon the enterprise if Arnold, who arrived very soon, should press his rights to the command. By a sort of compromise, Allen and Arnold now shared amicably the leadership. Less than a hundred men had reached the neighborhood of the fort on the morning of May 10, when, in the early dawn, the two leaders, overpowering the sentinels at the sally-port, reached the parade-ground with their men, and forced an immediate surrender from the commandant, still in his night-clothes. Fifty men and nearly two hundred cannon, and many military stores, were thus promptly and easily secured. More than a hundred other pieces were added, when, on the 12th,



RUINS OF TICONDEROGA,[1] 1818.

Colonel Seth Warner,[2] with a coöperating detachment, seized the post at Crown Point, and shortly afterwards Bernard Romans took possession of Fort George.[3]

[1] From a plate in the *Analectic Magazine* (Philadelphia, 1818). Cf. views in Lossing's *Field-Book*, and *Harper's Monthly* (vii. p. 170); Von Hellwald's *America*, pp. 134, 135.

[2] Cf. account of Warner in *Hist. Mag.*, iv. 200, and by Gen. Walter Harriman in *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, 1880, p. 363.

[3] De Costa's *Lake George*, p. 11; Jones, *N. Y. during the Rev.*, i. p. 550. There is an account of Bernard Romans in E. M. Ruttenber's *Obstructions to the Navigation of Hudson's River* (Albany, 1860), p. 9.

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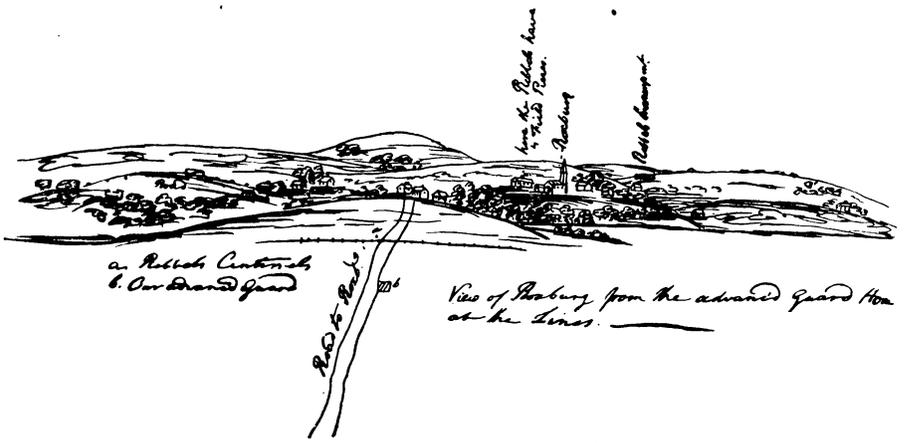
On the 14th some of Arnold's belated men reached him with a captured schooner, which Arnold immediately put to use in conveying a force by which he surprised the fort at St. John's, on the Sorel, and then returned to Ticonderoga.[1]

Meanwhile the provincials had begun to use the spade in Cambridge, and here and there a breastwork appeared.[2] On the 5th of May the provincial congress pronounced Gage "an unnatural and inveterate enemy,"[3] and issued a precept for a new congress to convene.

The military anxiety was increasing. Thomas had but 700 men at Roxbury, which he tried to magnify in the British eyes by marching them in and out of sight, so as to make the same men serve the appearance of many more. On the 8th of May there was an alarm that the royal troops were



ROXBURY LINES.[4]

coming out, and the militia of the near towns were summoned.[5] To put on an air of confidence, a few days later (May 13), Putnam, from Cambridge, marched with 2,200 men into Charlestown and out again, without being molested, though part of the time within range of the enemy's guns. It was the military assertion of the idea, which the day before the Watertown congress had expressed, of governing themselves. "It is astonishing

[1] Various papers respecting the capture of Ticonderoga and Crown Point in the spring of 1775, and movements thereabouts, are in the Mass. Archives, including letters of John Brown, Arnold, Allen, Easton, and some of these are copied in the *Sparks MSS.*, vol. lx. Sparks indorses on a copy of the letter of the Mass. committee at Crown Point, June 23, 1776: "By the journal of the Mass. assembly it appears that Arnold, on his way to Ticonderoga, had engaged a company of men in Stockbridge, who marched on the 10th of May, under Captain Abraham Brown, but how far is uncertain."

On the trouble between Allen and Arnold at Crown Point (May, 1775), see the Deane Correspondence. (*Conn. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, ii. 247.)

[2] Frothingham's *Siege*, 106.

[3] Circulated in broadside. There is one in the Mass. Hist. Soc. Cabinet, among the Elton broadsides.

[4] Follows a contemporary pen-and-ink sketch, showing the American lines as seen from the British lines on Boston Neck. The original is in the library of Congress.

[5] *Heath Papers* (MS.), vol. i.

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how they have duped the whole continent," wrote Gage to Dartmouth,[1] and perhaps he had not heard even then of the last victory of opinion down in Georgia, where parishes of New England descent were forcing issues with their neighbors.

The Committee of Safety now resolved to remove the live-stock from the islands in Boston Harbor; and Gage, on his part, determined on securing some hay on Grape Island, near Weymouth. These counter-forays led to fighting, and for some weeks the harbor was alive with skirmishing.[2] Meanwhile the Massachusetts congress had urged Connecticut to let Arnold bring some of the cannon captured on Lake Champlain to Cambridge,[3] and the day before the brush occurred at Grape Island they had delivered (May 20) a commission as commander-in-chief of the Massachusetts troops to Artemas Ward. In Boston the remaining loyalists were soon cheered by advices promising large reinforcements, which they now confidently began to expect,[4] and the feeling grew apace among the beleaguerers that a better organization and a closer dependence of the colonies among themselves were necessary to meet the impending dangers. Dr. Langdon, the president of Harvard College, in the election sermon[5] on the day when the new provincial congress met (May 31), had recognized the general obedience which was already paid to the advice of the Continental Congress. There were not a few who remembered how, twenty years before, the young Virginian, Colonel George Washington, had come to Boston, and who recalled the good impression he had made. They had heard lately of the active interest and sympathy with the patriots' cause which he was manifesting among his neighbors in that colony. On the 4th of May, Elbridge Gerry, with the approval of Warren, wrote to the Massachusetts delegates at Philadelphia, that they would "rejoice to see this way the beloved Colonel Washington" as generalissimo.[6] This was the feeling, while the army which lay about Boston was a mere inchoate mass, far from equal to the task which they had undertaken; but brave words did much; brave spirits did more; and John Adams was writing from Philadelphia that one "would burst to see whole companies of armed Quakers in that city, in uniforms, going through the manual."[7] The tories in Boston looked on with mingled fear and confidence. "We are daily threatened," wrote Chief-justice Oliver from Boston (June 10), "with an attack by fire-rafts, whale-boats, and what not."[8] One of the new British generals now lent his literary skill to his commanding general, for Burgoyne was a playwright and had an easy way of vaporing, which was quite apparent in Gage's proclamation of June

[1] *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, xiv. 352.

[2] Grape Island, May 21: Moore's *Diary of the Am. Rev.*, i. 84, 85; Adams' *Familiar Letters*, 56; Frothingham's *Warren*, 492, 496; *New Jersey Archives*, x. 606.

Noddle's Island, May 27: Frothingham's *Siege*, 109; Dawson's *Battle*, i. 47; Force's *Am. Archives*, ii. 719; Gordon, ii. 24; Humphrey's *Putnam*, 69; Tarbox's *Putnam;* Sumner's *East Boston; N. E. Hist. and Gen. Reg.*, April, 1857, p. 137.

[3] Frothingham's *Warren*, 490 (May 16).

[4] P. O. Hutchinson's *Gov. Hutchinson*, 457.

[5] Thornton's *Pulpit of the Revolution*, p. 277.

[6] *Life of Gerry*, i. 79.

[7] *Familiar Letters*, p. 60.

[8] P. O. Hutchinson, p. 468.

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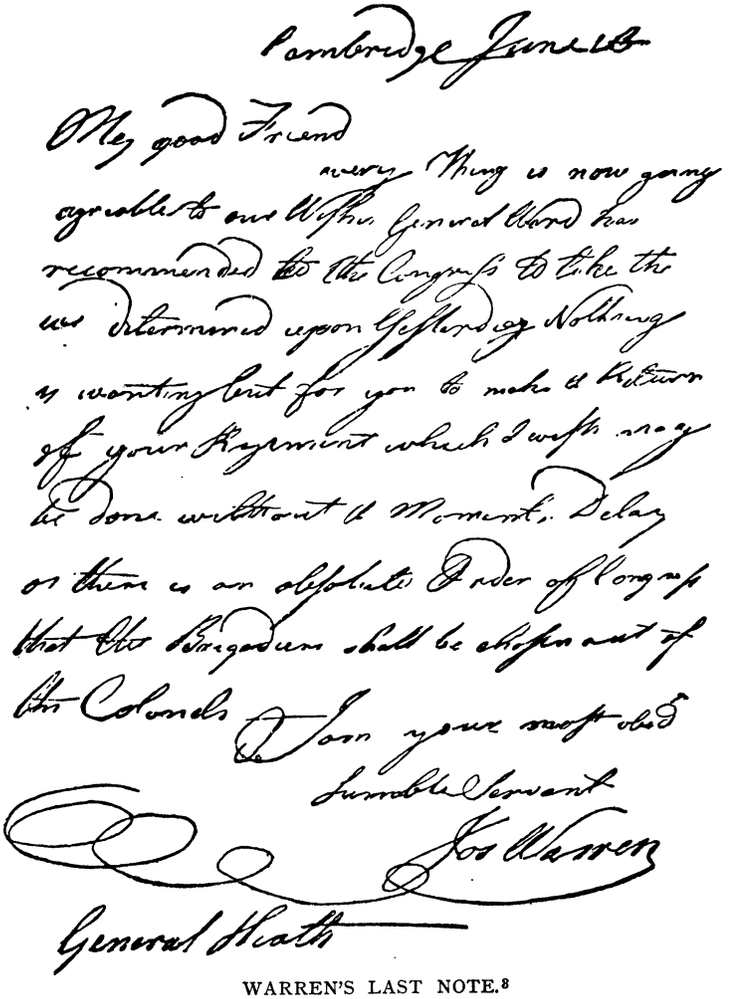
12,[1] to warn the rebellious and infatuated multitudes, and to hold out forgiveness to all but Samuel Adams and John Hancock.[2] The provincial congress, through Warren, prepared a counter-manifesto, but events were rushing too speedily to leave time for its publication. On the very



WARREN'S LAST NOTE.[3]

day of issuing his proclamation Gage wrote to Dartmouth that he was intending to attack the rebels, "which every day becomes more necessary."[4]

[1] Issued in pursuance of Dartmouth's instructions of April 15. Sparks' *Washington*, iii. 510. There are copies of the broadside in the Mass. Hist. Soc. library, and in the Bostonian Society's rooms.

[2] Fonblanque's *Burgoyne*, 136, with the document in the Appendix. It is also in Niles's *Principles and Acts* (1876), p. 122. Moore, in his *Diary of the Amer. Rev.*, i. 93, gives a sample of the fun made of it in rhyme. Cf. Wells's *Sam. Adams*, ii. 310.

[3] The original is among the Heath Papers (Mass. Hist. Soc.), and is given in fac-simile in Frothingham's *Warren*, p. 506; and reduced (as above) in G. A. Coolidge's *Brochure of Bunker Hill*, p. 34.

[4] *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, xiv. 352.

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On the 14th Warren was made the second major-general of the Massachusetts forces, and his active spirit gave encouragement, since the inalertness of Ward was creating much concern. Early in the morning of the 17th Warren left Watertown, and the provincial congress convened without him, but they knew the emergency. A broadside exists of this day, in which they call upon the neighboring militia to hold themselves in readiness. In

In *Provincial Congreſs, Watertown, June* 17th, 1775.

WHEREAS the hoſtile Incurſions this Country is expoſed to, and the frequent Alarms we may expect from the Military Operations of our Enemies, make it neceſſary that the good People of this Colony be on their Guard, and prepared at all Times to reſiſt their Attacks, and to aid and aſſiſt their Brethren: Therefore,

RESOLVED, That it be and hereby is recommended to the Militia in all Parts of this Colony, to hold themſelves in Readineſs to march at a Minute's Warning, to the Relief of any Place that may be attacked, or to the Support of our Army, with at leaſt twenty Cartridges or Rounds of Powder and Ball. And to prevent all Confuſion or Delays, It is further recommended to the Inhabitants of this Colony, living on the Seacoaſts, or within twenty Miles of them, that they carry their Arms and Ammunition with them to Meeting, on the Sabbath and other Days, when they meet for public Worſhip:——*Reſolved*, That all Vacancies in the ſeveral Regiments of Militia occaſioned by the Officers going into the Army, or otherwiſe, be immediately filled up: And it is recommended to the Regiments where ſuch Vacancies are, to ſupply them in manner and form as preſcribed by the Reſolutions of Congreſs.

A true Copy from the Minutes,

Atteſt SAMUEL FREEMAN, Secry.

NOTICE TO THE MILITIA.[1]

the anxious hours of this, St. Botolph's day,[2] with all eyes on Boston, the Continental Congress had chosen Washington to be their military chief,[3] and had adopted the forces which were about to show that Boston was not besieged idly. It took time then for Cambridge to know what was happen-

[1] After an original in the volume of *Proclamations* in the library of the Mass. Hist. Society.

[2] E. E. Hale, *One Hundred Years Ago.*

[3] Cf. John Adams's account of this choice, *Works*, ii. 417; *Familiar Letters*, 65; *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, iv. 68. Also see Sparks' *Washington*, i. 138, etc.; iii. 1; Barry's *Mass.*, iii. 18, and references; Irving's *Washington*, i. 411. His commission and instructions are in Sparks' *Washington*, iii. 479.

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ing in Philadelphia; but the assembled legislators at Watertown might well hope for what had really happened, when, as the fateful day wore on, messengers arrived, declaring that the Continental funds were to be used to help supply this beggared army, and that all the aspirations of its provincial congress to set up a civil government of their own had met the approval of the continent.[1]

Now to look at the military situation. Already John Thomas, a physician of Kingston, had been made second in command under Ward; and Richard Gridley, an old Louisbourg artilleryman, had been made chief engineer. As yet the New England colonies were the only ones which had sent their armed men to the scene. The Massachusetts men had taken post mostly at Cambridge, near the college; and here, as the days went on, came also a Connecticut regiment under Israel Putnam, who had left his plough in its furrow. So, as June began, there had assembled on this side of Boston between seven and eight thousand men, eager, but poorly equipped, and with a small supply of powder. On the Roxbury side, fronting the British lines on Boston Neck, there were about four thousand Massachusetts men, under John Thomas, supported by a camp a little farther out, at Jamaica Plain, to which Joseph Spencer had come with another Connecticut regiment, and Nathanael Greene, with a body of Rhode Islanders. Thomas had some field-pieces and a few heavy cannon, and his force constituted the army's right wing. Its left wing was upon the Mystick at Medford, and near Charlestown Neck, and here were the New Hampshire men, and among their officers the old Indian fighter, John Stark, was conspicuous. Three companies of Massachusetts men constituted the extreme left at Chelsea. So, as the summer came on, perhaps about 16,000 men in all were encamped as a fragile army besieging Boston. General Ward exercised by sufferance a superior authority over all, though as yet no colony but New Hampshire had instructed its troops to yield him obedience. As Massachusetts claimed three quarters of the entire force thus drawn together, the assumption of chief command by her first officer was natural enough in a common cause.

The force which this sixteen thousand loosely organized men dared to hold imprisoned in Boston was a well-compacted army of somewhere from five to ten thousand men, for it is difficult amid conflicting reports to determine confidently a fixed number. On the 25th of May Gage had been joined by a reinforcement, accompanied by three other general officers, — Burgoyne, Clinton, and Howe.

The council of war at Cambridge was meanwhile directing new works to be constructed, strengthening and stretching their lines of circumvallation. Its opinions were divided on the question of occupying so exposed a position as the most prominent eminence on the peninsula of Charlestown, the defence of which might bring on a general engagement, which their stock of powder could not support. On the 13th of June the American com-

[1] Frothingham's *Warren*, 512; *Evacuation Memorial*, p. 731; Wells's *Sam. Adams*, ii. 13, 17.

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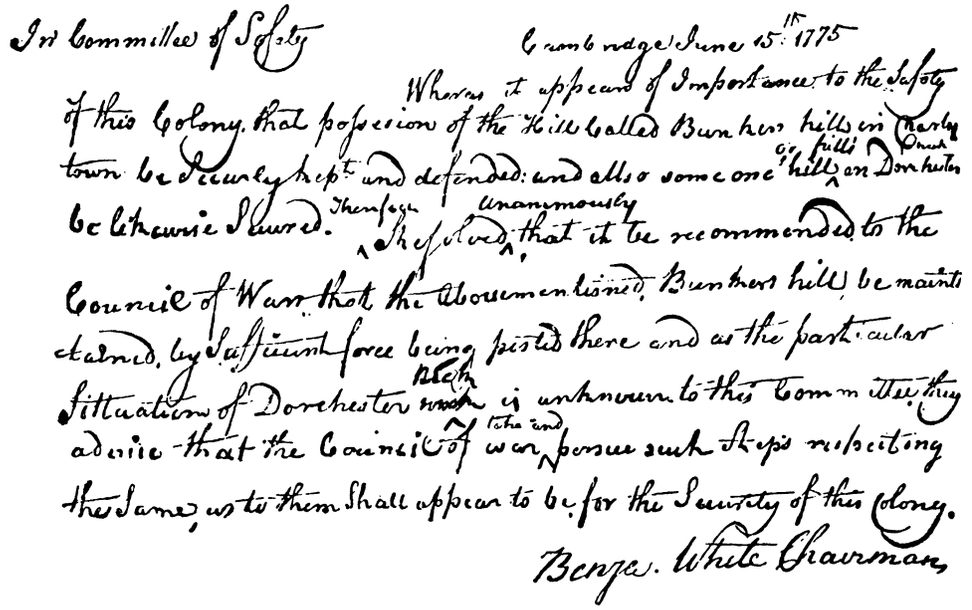
manders had secretly learned that Gage intended on the 18th to take possession of Dorchester Heights, the present South Boston. There was but one counter-move to make, and that was to seize in anticipation the summit of the ridgy height which began at Charlestown Neck and extended, in varying outline, to the sea-ward end of the peninsula, — an eminence known as Bunker Hill. On the 16th of June, a council of war, held in the house near Cambridge common, known then as the Hastings and later as the Holmes House,[1] decided, upon the recommendation of the Committee of


In Committee of Safety Cambridge June 15th 1775
Whereas it appears of Importance to the Safety
of this Colony, that possession of the Hill Called Bunkers hills in Charlestown
town be Securely kept and defended: and also some one hill on Dorchester
be likewise Secured. Therefore Unanimously
Resolved that it be recommended to the
Council of War that the abovementioned Bunkers hill be maintained by sufficient force being posted there and as the particular
situation of Dorchester Neck is unknown to this Committee they
advise that the Council of War pursue such steps respecting
the same, as to them shall appear to be for the Security of this Colony.
Benja. White Chairman

ORDER OF THE COMMITTEE OF SAFETY.[2]

Safety, to occupy Bunker Hill at once. That evening about 1,200 men, of whom 200 were from Connecticut under Thomas Knowlton, the whole being under the command of Colonel William Prescott, first listened to a prayer of the president of the college, and then marched, with their intrenching tools, in the darkness, to Charlestown Neck. Here the purpose was for the first time disclosed to the men. They resumed their march, going up the slope of the hill before them, while Nutting's company and a few Connecticut men were sent along the shore opposite Boston, to patrol it. The highest summit of the hill was the one first reached; but, after a consultation, it was decided to proceed to a lower one, more nearly before Boston. Here Richard Gridley marked out a redoubt, and at midnight the men took their spades and began to throw up the breastworks. Putnam,

Wm Prescott

[1] It was torn down in the summer of 1884. See cut and note in *Mem. Hist. Boston*, ii. p. 108.

[2] This has before appeared in G. A. Coolidge's *Brochure of Bunker Hill*, 1875.

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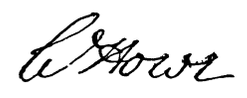
who seems to have accompanied Prescott, now returned to Cambridge, and while the men worked busily, Prescott sent an additional patrol to the river, and twice went down himself, to be satisfied, as he heard the "All 's well" of the watch on the men-of-war moored opposite, that no noise of the intrenching tools had reached the enemy. Soon after the first glimmer of dawn on the 17th, the sailors on the ships discovered the embankments, now about six feet high, when one of the vessels, the "Lively," at once opened fire upon them. This lasted only till Admiral Graves could send orders to cease, but was shortly renewed from the ships and from the batteries on Copp's Hill, in Boston, as soon as the British generals comprehended the situation. Prescott's men meanwhile kept at their work. One man was soon killed by a cannon-ball. The commander and others walked the parapet, encouraging their men, and Willard, one of the councillors who stood by Gage as they surveyed the hill through their glasses, recognized the Pepperell colonel, and told the British general what sort of man he had got to encounter. A promise had been given to Prescott that in the morning a relief and refreshments would be sent from Cambridge; but nothing came to the hungry men, as they still worked. Ward, who heard the firing, yielded to Putnam's persuasion to send reinforcement, only so far as to despatch a part of Stark's regiment, for he feared that Gage would seem to prepare to assault in Charlestown, while his intention might be to attack in Cambridge. Finally, about ten o'clock, Major John Brooks[1] reached headquarters with a request from Prescott for help and food. Richard Devens pressed Ward to comply, and at eleven the rest of the New Hampshire men were ordered to march.

Meanwhile, as the tide rose, some floating batteries were sent up the stream to take the works in flank, and later, to rake the Neck. A few stray shots were returned from a single field-piece in the redoubt, one of whose balls passed over Burgoyne's head, as he tells us, while he was watching at Copp's Hill. Putnam came again from Cambridge, and induced Prescott to send off a large number of his men with the intrenching tools, and under Putnam's direction this detail soon began to use them in throwing up earthworks on the higher summit in the rear, — labor wasted, as it turned out.

As the day wore on, Gage held a council of war, and it was determined not to land troops at the Neck and attack in rear, as Clinton urged, but to assault in front. This decision was long the ground of severe criticism upon Gage, and ruined his military reputation. The ships were put into better positions, and redoubled their fire. By noon the British troops in Boston were marching to the wharves, where they embarked in boats, and, under the command of General Howe, they rowed to Moulton's or Morton's Point,



[1] *Mem. Hist. Boston*, iii. 83.

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where the landing was quickly made.[1] Howe drew up his men on the rising ground which makes the least of the three heights of the peninsula, and anticipating sharp work, sent back the boats for more men.

Prescott observed all this from the hill, but looked longingly up the peninsula for his own reinforcements. A few wagons came, not with men, but with beer, though nothing adequate even of this. The feeling began to spread among the men on the hill that they had been treacherously left to their fate; but they got encouragement from a few brave souls who came straggling in from Cambridge. Pomeroy, the French war veteran, was one. James Otis, wreck as he was, came.[2] So did Warren, whose presence the men recognized by a cheer, and, major-general as he was, he came to fight under Colonel Prescott. Putnam, too, had again returned, and was seen riding about the field in a restless way, with a word of encouragement here and there, and pointing out to a few reinforcements now arriving where best to go.

Prescott's eye, observing Howe's dispositions, saw he was aiming to advance along the Mystick and take the redoubt in reverse. So Knowlton, with two field-pieces and the Connecticut troops, were sent down the hill towards the Mystick, where they began to make a line of defence of a low stone wall, which was topped by a two-rail fence. Stark and Reed, with the New Hampshire regiments, diminished somewhat by details which Putnam had taken from them to help the work in the trenches on the higher hill, soon came up and ranged their men in a line with Knowlton. There was, however, an interval between this part of the field and the breastwork and redoubt, which offered a chance for the enemy to intervene and break the line. An attempt was made to prepare for such a contingency by grouping the few guns which they had at this point. New troops, in small numbers, continued to come up, and they were placed in position as best they could be to keep the line strong in all parts as it sloped away from the crowning redoubt towards either river.

It was nearing three o'clock when the British boats returned from Boston; and when their troops landed Howe had about 3,000 men in array. He pushed his guns forward and got them in position to play upon the American field-pieces, and soon drove them away, while at the same time some skirmishing took place on the British flanks, whose main body was now advancing in a measured step in two columns: one led by Howe against the rail-fence, the other by Pigot against the redoubt. The assault was become one of infantry only, for the British guns were soon mired in some soft ground, and

[1] The first boat to approach was struck by a three-pound shot from the redoubt. *Life of Josiah Quincy*, by Edmund Quincy, p. 372.

[2] *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, xii. 69.

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the balls in reserve had proved of an over-calibre.[1] Pigot's front got near the redoubt before the Americans poured in their fire, which was deadly enough to send the staggered column wildly back. At the same time, along the Mystick Howe's advance was met by the American field-pieces, some of which had been drawn to the rail-fence. Their musketry fire was reserved, as at the redoubt, and when it belched upon the deployed enemy it produced the same effect. So there was a recoil all along the British line. In the respite before they advanced again, Putnam tried to rally some troops in the rear, and to get others across the Neck, which the raking fire of the British vessels was now keeping pretty clear of passers.[2] But there was not time to do much, for Howe was soon again advancing, his artillery helping him more this time; and to add to the terror of the scene, he had sent word to Boston to set Charlestown on fire by shells, and the conflagration had now begun.[3] The smoke did not conceal the British advance,[4] and Prescott and Stark kept their men quiet till the enemy were near enough to make every shot tell. The result was as during the first attack. The royal troops struggled bravely; but all along the line they wavered, and then retreated more precipitately than before.

There was a longer interval before Howe again advanced, and Prescott used it in making such a disposition of his men as would be best in a hand-to-hand fight, for neither adequate reinforcements nor supplies had reached him, and his powder was nearly gone. There was a good deal of confusion and uncertainty in the rear, all along the road to Cambridge. Ward had ordered a plenty of troops forward, but few reached the peninsula at all, or in any shape for service. Putnam did what he could to bring order out of confusion; but his restless and brandishing method, and his eagerness to finish the works on Bunker Hill, were not conducive to such results as a quiet energy best produces. The brave men at the front must still do the work left for them, with such chance assistance as came.

Howe was rallying his men for a third assault. Major Small had landed 400 marines, to make up in part for the losses. Clinton had seen how confused the troops were as he looked across the river with his glass, and had hurried over from Boston to render Howe help as a volunteer aid. The

[1] This is Stedman's statement, but it seems at variance with the official report, which states that they took sixty-six rounds with their guns, and did not use over half. Denman's *Royal Artillery*, 3d ed., ii. 303.

[2] Washington, on his arrival in Cambridge, recognized the services of Col. Joseph Ward, who at this time had borne an order from General Ward across Charlestown Neck amid the cross-fire of the British batteries, by giving him a brace of pistols, now preserved; and perhaps the only written order of the battle-field now remaining is a requisition by Jos. Ward for ammunition, which is given in fac-simile in *Mem. Hist. Boston*, iii. 86, where are also other notes on Jos. Ward. Cf. also J. V. Cheney in *Scribner's Monthly*, xi. 424. Some memoranda respecting Joseph Ward are in the *Sparks MSS.* (LII. vol. iii.)

[3] Only one or two hundred people, out of a population of from two to three thousand, were now remaining in the town.

[4] Belknap (*Papers*, ii. 164) says the wind was southwest all day, and incommoded the British but not the intrenchment. There are some verses on the burning of Charlestown, attributed to Barlow. (Moore's *Songs and Ballads of the Amer. Rev.*, 95.) For a supposed painting, see *Mem. Hist. Boston*, iii. 86.

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British general determined now to concentrate his attack upon the works on the crown of the hill, making only a demonstration against the rail-fence. He brought his artillery to bear in a way that scoured the breastwork which flanked the redoubt, and then he attacked. His column reserved their fire and relied on the bayonet. They met the American fire bravely, but soon perceived that it slackened; and surmising that the American powder was failing, they took new courage. Those of the defenders who had ammunition mowed down the assailants as they mounted the breastworks, Major Pitcairn among them;[1] but as soon as Prescott saw the defence was hopeless, he ordered a retreat, and friend and foe mingled together as they surged out of the sally-port amid the clouds of dust which the trampling raised, for a scorching sun had baked the new-turned soil. It was now, while the confused mass of beings rocked along down the rear slope of the hill, that Warren fell, shot through the head. No one among the Americans knew certainly that he was dead, as they left him. The British stopped to form and deliver fire, and there was thus time for a gap to open between the pursuers and the pursued. The New Hampshire men and others at the rail-fence, seeing that the redoubt was lost, tenaciously faced the enemy long enough to prevent Prescott's men from being cut off, and then stubbornly fell back. Some fresh troops which had come up endeavored to check the British as they reached the slope which led to the intrenchments that Putnam had been so solicitous about; but the British wave had now acquired an impulse which carried it bravely up the hill; and Putnam, skirring about, was not able to make anybody stand to defend the unfinished works. So down the westerly slope of the higher summit to the Neck the provincials fled, and the British followed. The vessels poured in their fire anew as the huddled runaways crossed the low land, and not till they got beyond the Neck was there any effectual movement by fresh troops to cover the retreat. General Howe fired a few cannon shot after them, as he mustered his forces on the hill. It was now about five o'clock. There was time in the long summer's day to advance upon Cambridge, but Howe rejected Clinton's advice to that end, and began, with other troops which had been sent to him from Boston, to throw up breastworks on the inland crown of Bunker Hill. Thus spading for their defence, the British passed the night, while the Americans lay on their arms on Winter and Prospect hills, or straggled back to Cambridge. There was no disposition on either side to renew the fight.

Prescott did not conceal his indignation at not having been better supported, when he made his report at Ward's headquarters. He knew he had fought well; but neither he nor his contemporaries understood at the time how a physical defeat might be a moral victory. Not knowing this,

[1] Fonblanque's *Burgoyne*, 154; C. Hudson, in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, Jan., 1880. He was killed by a negro. (Livermore's *Historical Research*, etc., p. 119.) His body was taken to Boston and buried under Christ Church. There is said to have been a blunder subsequently in taking the wrong body to England. Sargent's *Dealings with the Dead*, i. 54; Drake's *Landmarks of Boston*, 207.

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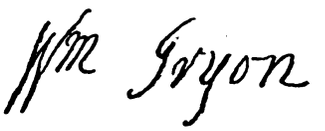
there was little else than mortification over the result, — indeed, on both sides. A wild daring had brought the battle on, and something like bravado had led the British general into a foolhardy direct assault, while more skilful plans, availing of their ships, might have accomplished more without the heavy loss which they had endured.[1] The British folly was increased by the way in which they allowed the provincials to make the first great fight of the war a political force throughout the continent.

The general opinion seems to be that the Americans had about 1,500 men engaged at one time, and that from three to four thousand at different times took some part in it.[2] The British had probably about the same numbers in all, but were in excess of the Americans at all times while engaged.[3] The conflict with small arms lasted about ninety minutes.

TRYON'S SEAL AND AUTOGRAPH.[4]

On the morning of the 18th of June (Sunday) the British renewed the cannonading along their lines, as if to cover some movement, but nothing came of it, and each side used the shovel busily on the intrenchments. A shower in the afternoon stopped the firing.

There was a dilemma in New York a few days later. Governor Tryon, who had been in England, was already in the harbor ready to land on his return, and Washington was approaching through Jersey on his way to Boston. It was determined by the city authorities to address and extend courtesies to both. The American general chanced to be ahead, and got the parade and fair words first. Tryon disembarked a few hours later, and received the same tributes.[5]



It was Sunday, June 25, when Washington reached New York. He found the town excited over the recent battle, the news of which he had met a few hours out of Philadelphia.[6] Among the letters now passing

[1] When Elisha Hutchinson, in London, heard of the battle, he said: "If every small hill or rising ground about Boston is to be recovered in the same way, I see no prospect of an end to the war." (P. O. Hutchinson's *Governor Hutchinson*, p. 506.) Belknap (*Papers*, published by Mass. Hist. Soc., ii. 159) says the criticism on Howe for attacking in front was general. The royalist Jones, in his *New York during the Revolutionary War* (i. 52), charges the British general with obstinacy in this respect. Lee (*Memoirs of the War in the Southern Department*, 2d ed., p. 33) traces Howe's subsequent timidity in his conduct of campaigns to the lesson this battle taught him.

[2] Their loss was 150 killed, 270 wounded, and 30 taken prisoners, — 450 in all.

[3] Their loss was 224 killed and 830 wounded, — 1,054 in all, of which 157 were officers.

[4] From a plate in Valentine's *N. Y. City Manual*, 1851, p. 420.

[5] Jones (*N. Y. during the Rev.*, i. 55, 555) is characteristic upon the double-faced spirit of New York at this time.

[6] The news of Bunker Hill reached Philadelphia in a vague way, June 22. The cannonade

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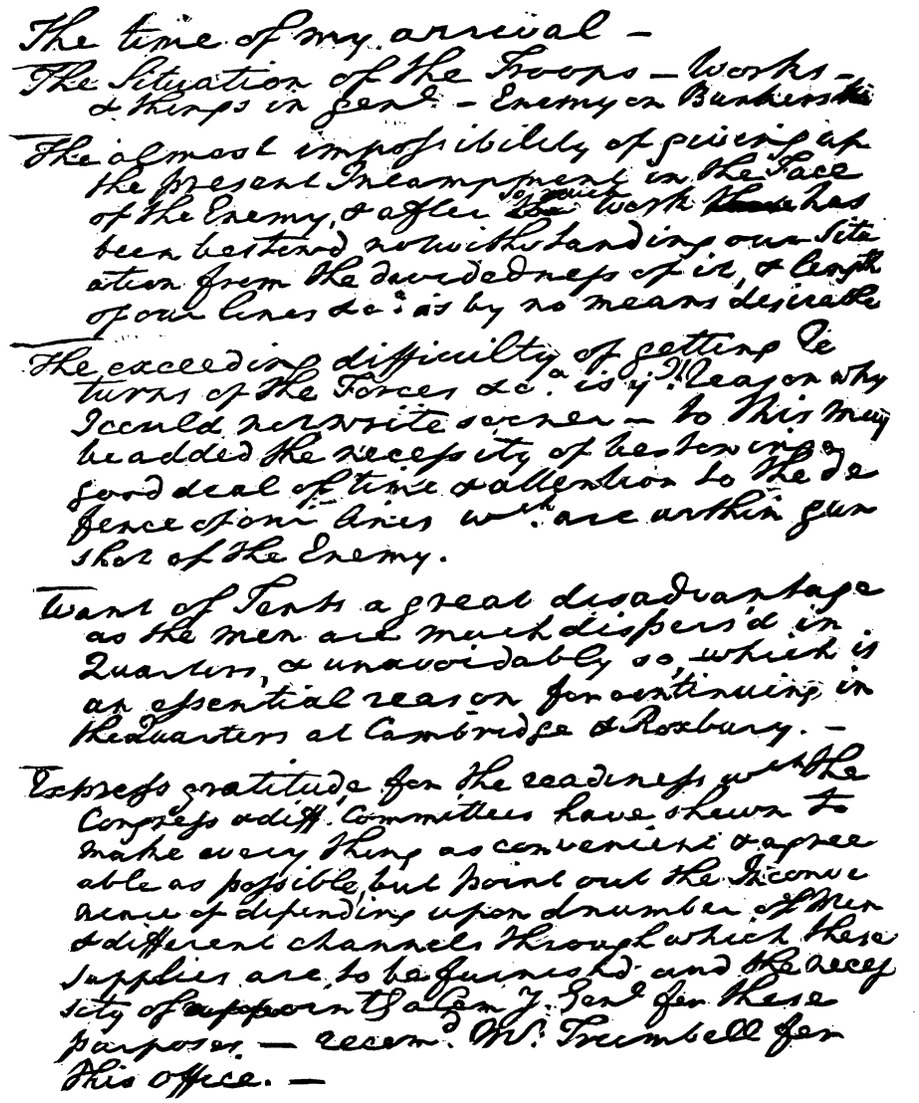
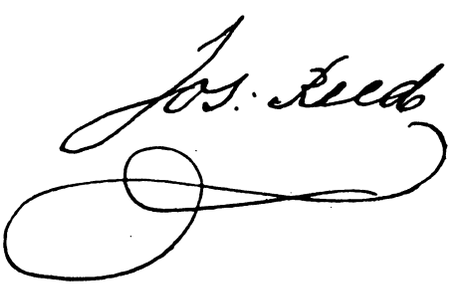
through New York was one upon that battle, addressed to the President of Congress, which Washington took the liberty of opening for his own guid-



WASHINGTON'S HEADS OF LETTER, JULY 10, 1775.[1]



at Boston Neck during the battle had been magnified into a second fight going on at the same time at Dorchester Point. (Adams, *Familiar Letters*, 70.)

[1] This is about half of the whole as given in fac-simile in Wilkinson's *Memoirs*, i. p. 855. The original is now among the Reed-Washington letters in the Carter-Brown library. It was the basis of Washington's first formal official letter to the president of Congress, which, as written out by Joseph Reed, is given in Sparks' *Wash-*

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ance. After instructing Schuyler, who was to be left in charge of the forces in New York, to keep watch upon Tryon[1] and Guy Johnson,[2] Washington the next day (26th) started for Cambridge. On the 2d of July Washington reached Watertown, and on the 3d, under a tree still standing,[3] he took command of the army, which thus passed, in effect, under Continental control, numbering at the time nearly 15,000 men fit for duty.[4] To brigade this army, rectify the circumvallating lines, watch the constant skirmishes, and assign the new bodies of troops arriving to places in the works, was the labor to which Washington devoted himself at once. On the 9th of July he held his first council of war,[5] and on the 10th he ad-

ington, iii. p. 17. It shows the degree of attention which the general bestowed on his minutes for his secretary's use.

Washington, on his first arrival, had taken temporary quarters in the house of the president of the college, known now as the Wadsworth house (*Mem. Hist. Boston*, iii. 107; Gay's *Pop. Hist. U. S.*, iii. 408), till the finest house in the town, one of a succession of mansions on the road to Watertown, was made ready for his use. These houses, which had all been deserted by their Tory owners, gave the name of Tory Row to this part of Cambridge. The one assigned to Washington's use was a Vassall house, later, however, known as the Craigie house, when it became the property of Andrew Craigie, from whose family it passed to the ownership of Longfellow, who died in it. Sparks lived in it when he edited *Washington's Writings*. It is familiar in engravings. Cf. *Mem. Hist. Boston*, iii. p. 113, with a note on various views of it; and for its associations, see Samuel Longfellow's *Life of H. W. Longfellow;* Irving's *Washington*, ii. p. 11; Greene's *Hist. View of the Amer. Rev.*, p. 220; *Manhattan Mag.*, i. 119; Mrs. Lamb's *Homes of America;* Gay's *Pop. Hist. U. S.*, iii. 415. Among the other buildings of Revolutionary associations still standing in Cambridge are the Brattle house, the headquarters of Mifflin; the Vassall house, where Dr. Church was confined; the house where Jonathan Sewall lived, later occupied by General Riedesel; the Oliver house, now owned by James Russell Lowell; the "Bishop's Palace," where Burgoyne was quartered; and Christ Church, where Washington attended service (view in *Mass. Mag.*, 1792, and compare Nicholas Hoppin's discourses, Nov. 22, 1857, and Oct. 15, 1861). For more of the historical associations of these Cambridge sites, see the *Harvard Book;* Drake's *Landmarks of Middlesex;* the Cambridge *Centennial Memorial* (1875); William J. Stillman's *Poetic Localities of Cambridge* (Boston, 1876); T. C. Amory's *Old and New Cambridge;* an illustrated paper in *Harper's Monthly*, Jan., 1876; another by Alexander Mackenzie, in the *Atlantic Monthly*, July, 1875; *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, June, 1858, and Sept., 1872; and the book edited by Arthur Gilman, *Theatrum Majorum, The Cambridge of 1776*, which has an eclectic diary (by Mary W. Greely) of the siege, purporting to be that of one Dorothy Dudley.

[1] Sparks, iii. 11.

[2] The provincial congress of New York assembled on the 22d of May, and it soon became evident that some violent wrenching would be necessary to unloose the grasp which the loyalists had upon it. The Johnsons, with their Indian affiliations, were strong royalists, and the leadership of the family, by the death of Sir William in July, 1774, fell to his son-in-law and nephew, Guy Johnson. The motives which actuated the one remained with the other.

[3] This elm, now going to decay, has been often pictured: *Amer. Mag.* (1837), iii. 432; *Harper's Monthly*, xxiv. 729; Gay's *Pop. Hist. U. S.*, iii. 410; *Mem. Hist. Boston*, iii. 110, etc.; Von Hellwald's *Amerika in Wort und Bild*, i. 73.

On the 22d of June, 1775, Hancock had written to Ward, transmitting his commission as first major-general, and next in command after Washington. He says of the new commander-in-chief, that "he takes his departure to-morrow morning from this city [Philadelphia] in order to enter upon his command. I the rather (he adds) mention the circumstance of his departure, that you may direct your movements for his reception." (*Ward MSS.*, in Mass. Hist. Society.)

The assumption of command by Washington under this tree rests, so far as the writer knows, on tradition only, and he knows of no detail of the ceremonies given by contemporary evidence, though writers have much exercised their ingenuity in giving various attendant circumstances.

[4] Cf. Sparks's *Washington*, iii. 486.

[5] He held subsequent councils during the siege, at Cambridge, Aug. 3, Sept. 11, Oct. 8, Oct. 18, Jan. 16, 1776, Jan. 18, Feb. 16, and at Roxbury, Mar. 13. Copies of their proceedings are in the *Sparks MSS.* Minutes of Gates's speech at the council of war in Cambridge, Dec., 1775, in which he advised against an assault on Boston, are among the Gates papers (copied in *Sparks MSS.*, xxii., and xxxix. 446).

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[To Gen. Ward.]

22d June 1775
6 o'clock PM

Sir

The Congress just rise, below is their determination with Respect to Superior Officers & Rank —

1st Genl Washington
2d Genl Ward
3d Genl Lee
4 — Genl Schuyler
5 — Genl Putnam
} Major Genl.

Brigadier Generals Viz.

1st Pomroy
2d Montgomery. for New York
3d Wooster
4th Heath
5 Spencer
6 Thomas
7 — Sullivan. Member of Congress
8 — Greene. Rhode Island

We have just a Report of a Battle, & that Coll Gardiner is mortally Wounded. We are anxious. No Express. God send us a good Account — I am now signing the Commiss. for your whole army. The Gent. this out early in the morng. I am &c
J Hancock

dressed his first letter to Congress, describing the condition of the siege as he had found it.

To guard against surprise, and replenish the magazines, required constant diligence, and the supply of powder never ceased to be a cause of anxiety in the one camp, while the diminishing stock of provisions produced almost as much concern in Boston. The beleaguered British, however, got some relief from the exodus of the Boston people, which the stress of want forced the royal commander to permit.[1] So the summer was made up of anxious moments. The independent husbandmen of New England made but intractable raw recruits, and Washington, who had expected to find discipline equal to that which the social distinctions of the South gave to the masses there, was disappointed, and did not wholly conceal his disgust.[2] He grew, however, to discern that campaigns could produce that discipline as well, if not better, than a life of civil subservience. Recruits came in from the South, and when some of the Northern officers saw the kind of men that Morgan and others brought as riflemen from Virginia, their comment was scarcely less austere. "The army would be as well off without them," said Thomas, who, next to Washington, was the best disciplinarian in the camp. Of the generals, Lee was, however, by much the most conspicuous. There was a glamour about the current rumors of his soldierly experience that obscured what might have been told of his questionable character.[3] His eccentricities were the camp talk, and rather served to magnify his presence, while it proved dangerous to perambulate the lines with him and his crowd of dogs, since the exhibition tempted the enemy to drop their shells in that spot.[4] Early in July a trumpeter approached the American lines bringing a letter from General Burgoyne to General Lee, and the camp straightway proceeded to invest the strange general with political importance. Burgoyne and Lee were old campaigners together, and Lee, before he left Philadelphia, had written a stirring letter to the British general on the bad prospects of the ministerial policy. The letter which now came was a reply, and proposed a conference on Boston Neck, to which Congress advised Lee not to accede, and the momentary ripple subsided.[5]

[1] Washington complained that vessels cleared at New York with fresh provisions for the West Indies, and, when free of the harbor, steered for Boston. (N. Y. Arch., in *Sparks MSS.*, no. xxix.)

[2] Cf. John Adams' *Works*, i. 245; ix. 358. See, on the Southern view of the North at this time, *Life of Chief Justice Parsons*, p. 40.

[3] Bancroft, orig. ed., viii. 26. Cf. John Adams's opinion, *Works*, ix. 362.

[4] Lee had his headquarters at one time at the Royall house, in Medford. Cf. Drake's *Landmarks of Middlesex*, ch. vi.; Lamb's *Homes of America; Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, xi. 334. A paper on Lee, Gates, Stephen, and Darke as generals from the Shenandoah Valley, by J. E. Cooke, is in *Harper's Mag.*, 1858, p. 500.

[5] Cf., for the letters and comment, Niles's *Principles and Acts*)1876), p. 118; Sparks's *Washington*, iii. 498; Moore's *Diary*, 108; *Boston Evacuation Memorial*, p. 146; Fonblanque's *Burgoyne*, 172. The correspondence was soon printed, as *Letter from General Lee to General Burgoyne, with General Lee's answer, and the letter declining an interview* (Boston, 1775). Cf. Haven, in Thomas, ii. p. 659. The letters are given in the *Lee Papers* (*N. Y. Hist. Coll.*, 1871, pp. 180, 188, 222), and were translated into German and published at Braunschweig, 1777. (Sabin, iii. no. 5,259.) When Burgoyne sailed for England, Lee says, in a letter written from the camp at Winter Hill, Dec. 15, 1775: "I have written a parting letter to Burgoyne. It is in my opinion the most tolerable of my performances." *Sparks MSS.*, xxvi.

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In August there was some correspondence with Gage respecting the treatment of prisoners, in which Washington appears to the better advantage.[1] The correspondence of the American general during the summer constantly dwells upon the scarcity of powder, though for prudence' sake he veils his expressions as much as he can. His own troops and even Congress had no conception of his want, and while Washington hardly dared fire a salute because of the powder it would take, Richard Henry Lee, from Philadelphia, was urging him to plant batteries at the mouth of Boston harbor, and keep the enemy's vessels from coming in and going out.[2] Governor Cooke, of Rhode Island, who was doing his best to get powder from Bermuda, was compelled to keep the secret too. Apparently Washington did not let his brigade commanders know the whole truth.[3] Under these circumstances Washington had no courage to attack, and Gage, on his part, was content to keep his men from deserting as best he could.

During September the threatening manœuvres of the British cruisers along the Connecticut coast[4] kept Governor Trumbull from sending what powder he had, and there was little hope, when Washington called a council of war on the 11th, that anything would come of it. There had been just then some internal manifestations not very reassuring.[5] A letter which Dr. Benjamin Church had tried to get to the British in Newport harbor had been intercepted, and its cypher interpreted. There was no expressed defection made clear by it, but suspicions were aroused, and Church, being arrested, was summoned before the congress at Watertown, where he made a speech protesting his innocence, but scarcely quieting the suspicions. He was put under control, and removed from the neighborhood of the army.[6]

It was Burgoyne's opinion at this time that no force which Great Britain and Ireland could supply would bring the war to a speedy conclusion; while he thought that hiring foreign troops, levying Canadians, and arming blacks and Indians, might do it. (Fonblanque, 153.) By July 3, Dartmouth had become aware that almost every colony had caught the flame, and he had deduced from Gage's letters that twenty thousand men would be required to reduce New England alone. Burgoyne soon began to chafe under Gage's inaction, and urged him to transfer the army to

New York. (Fonblanque, p. 190.) He writes to the ministry about "being invested on one side and asleep on the other" (*Ibid.*, p. 198), and says Gage is "amiable for his virtues, but not equal to the situation."

There is in the Mass. Hist. Soc. library (Misc. MSS., 1632–1795) a printed burlesque of a supposed battle of "Roxborough, July 19, 1775," which shows the drift of public satire.

[1] W. B. Reed thinks these letters on Washington's part the production of Colonel Reed. *Life of Jos. Reed*, i. 111.

[2] Sparks' *Corresp. of the Rev.*, i. 12.

[3] Sullivan writes to Schuyler from Winter Hill, Aug. 5, 1775: "Our enemies fear to come out, though we endeavor in every way to aggravate them."

[4] Of the attack at Stonington, Aug. 30, 1775, see *Conn. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, ii. 298 and references.

[5] Draper's *Gazette*, of Sept. 21, had intimated that there was to be some faithlessness in the patriot party. Barry's *Mass.*, ii. 48.

[6] Being carried to Connecticut, he sunk under his confinement, and was allowed to embark for the West Indies, but the vessel on which he sailed was never heard of. For the sources and their examination, see Sparks' *Washington*, iii.

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There was scarce less gratification in the camp at Cambridge in getting rid of their doubtful associate than was experienced in Boston in getting a release from their sluggish general. The ministry had saved that soldier's pride as much as they could in desiring to have him nearer at hand for counsel;[1] and the sympathetic loyalists whom he had befriended paid him their compliments in an address. Gage finally, on October 10, issued his last order, turning over the command to Howe.[2]

In the middle of October, the burning of Falmouth, the modern Portland, in Maine, seemed to make it clear that the war was to be conducted ruthlessly on the British part. Captain Mowatt, with a small fleet, had entered the harbor and set the town on fire, and to those who communicated with him it was said that he announced his doings to be but the beginning of a course of such outrages. When the news reached Washington, he dispatched Sullivan to Portsmouth, with orders to resist as far as he could any similar demonstration there.[3] What a modern British historian[4] has called a "wanton and cruel deed" seems to have been but the hasty misjudgment of an inferior officer, without orders to warrant the act, and the ministry promptly disowned the responsibility.[5] During October, also, a committee of Congress,[6] visiting Washington's camp, could see for themselves the troubles of their heroic commander. They had not yet heard in Philadelphia the roar of hostile guns, — a sensation they might now experience. They could share Washington's perplexities as the new enlistments halted upon the expiration of the old,[7] and perhaps join in some of his kindly merriment when Phillis Wheatley, the negress, addressed his Excellency in no very bad verses.[8] Perhaps they may have had the grim satisfaction of riding to distant parts of the lines in Thomas Hutchinson's

115, 502; John Adams's *Works*, ii. 414; ix. 402; Wells's *Sam. Adams*, ii. 51, 333; Greene's *Life of Greene*, i. 120; Cowell's *Spirit of Seventy-Six in Rhode Island;* Bancroft, vi. 409; Chandler's *Criminal Trials*, i. 417; Frothingham's *Siege of Boston*, 258; Loring's *Hundred Boston Orators*, 37, 40; *Mem. Hist. Boston*, iii. 111, 145; *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, June, 1884, p. 15; *Sparks MSS.*, xlix. vol. i.; *N. H. Prov. Papers*, vii. 622; *New Jersey Archives*, x. 671. An exculpatory letter of Church, dated American Hospital, Sept. 14, 1775, is among the Sullivan papers (*Sparks MSS.*, xx.)

[1] *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, xiv. 353.

[2] *Sparks MSS.* xlv. There is a list of his addressers (Oct. 6) in Curwen's *Journal*, p. 474.

[3] A letter from H. Jackson to John Langdon, describing the preparations (Sept. 3, 1775) is in the *Sparks MSS.*, xlix., vol. 2.

[4] Mahon, vi. 74.

[5] Sparks's *Washington*, iii. 129, 145, 520; *Correspondence of the Rev.*, i. 70, 71; *Genl. Mag.*, 1775; Bailey's letter, in *Me. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, v. 437. Washington, Oct. 24, 1775, transmits a statement (Oct. 16) of Pearson Jones. (N. Y. Archives in *Sparks MSS.* xxix.). A letter of William Whipple, Nov. 12, 1775, to Langdon, describing the burning, is among the Langdon Papers, and a copy in the *Sparks MSS.* (lii. vol. ii.). There is a rude copper-plate engraving of the burning town, by Norman, in the Boston ed. of the *Impartial Hist. of the War* (1781), vol. ii. Cf. Williamson's *Maine*, ii. 422; William Goold's *Portland in the Past* (1886), ch. 10; Willis's *Portland*, with plans and views; Smith and Deane's *Journal of Portland;* Jos. Williamson's *Belfast;* Barry's *Mass.*, ii. 56; *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, July, 1873, p. 256; *Hist. Mag.*, Mar., 1869 (xv. 202); *Old Times*, vi. 823; *N. H. Prov. Papers*, vii. 633, 635. Hutchinson records (*Life and Diaries*, i. 583) that when the news reached London, Lord George Germain told him that "Graves had been put in mind of his remissness, and he imagined he would run to the other extreme." Cf. Mahon's *England*, vi. 75.

[6] Lynch, Franklin, and Harrison.

[7] *Heath MSS.*, p. 3.

[8] Sparks's *Washington*, iii. 288, 297; *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, Dec., 1877, p. 390; *Mem. Hist. Boston*, iii. 147 and references.

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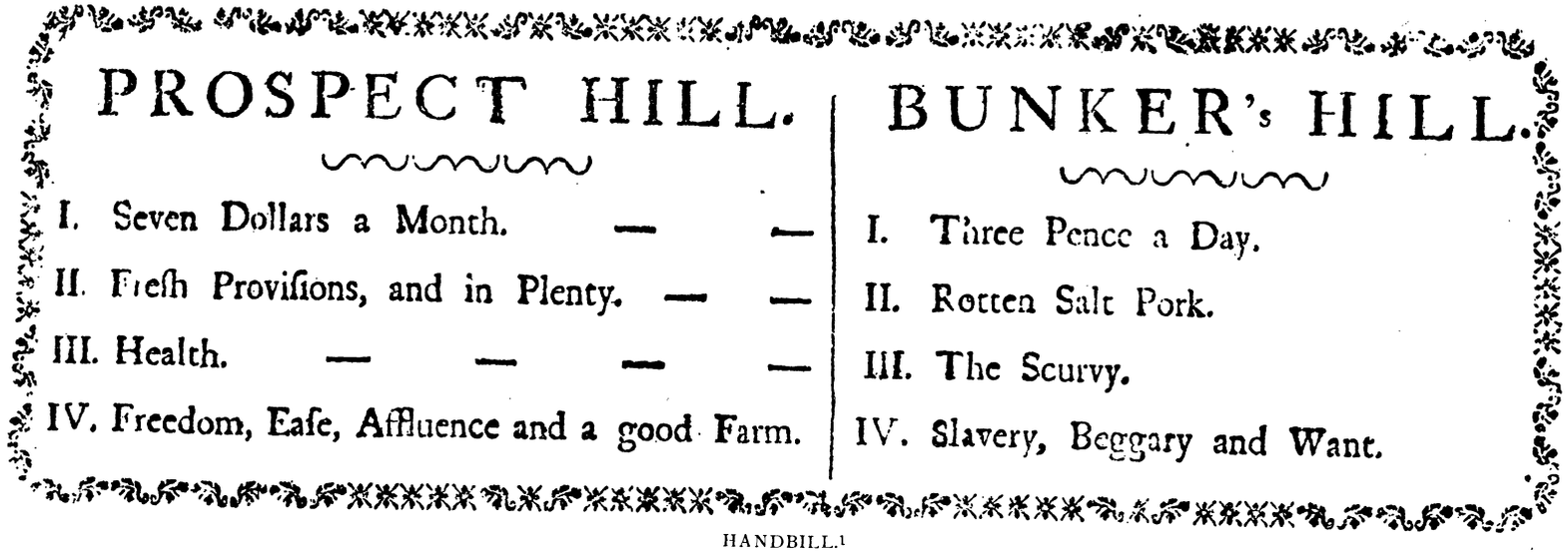
PROSPECT HILL.
I. Seven Dollars a Month. — —
II. Freſh Proviſions, and in Plenty. — —
III. Health. — — — —
IV. Freedom, Eaſe, Affluence and a good Farm.
BUNKER's HILL.
I. Three Pence a Day.
II. Rotten Salt Pork.
III. The Scurvy.
IV. Slavery, Beggary and Want.

HANDBILL.[1]

[1] Fac-simile of handbill printed to send among the royal troops to induce desertion. It follows an original in a volume of *Proclamations* in the library of the Mass. Hist. Society. Cf. *Evacuation Memorial.*

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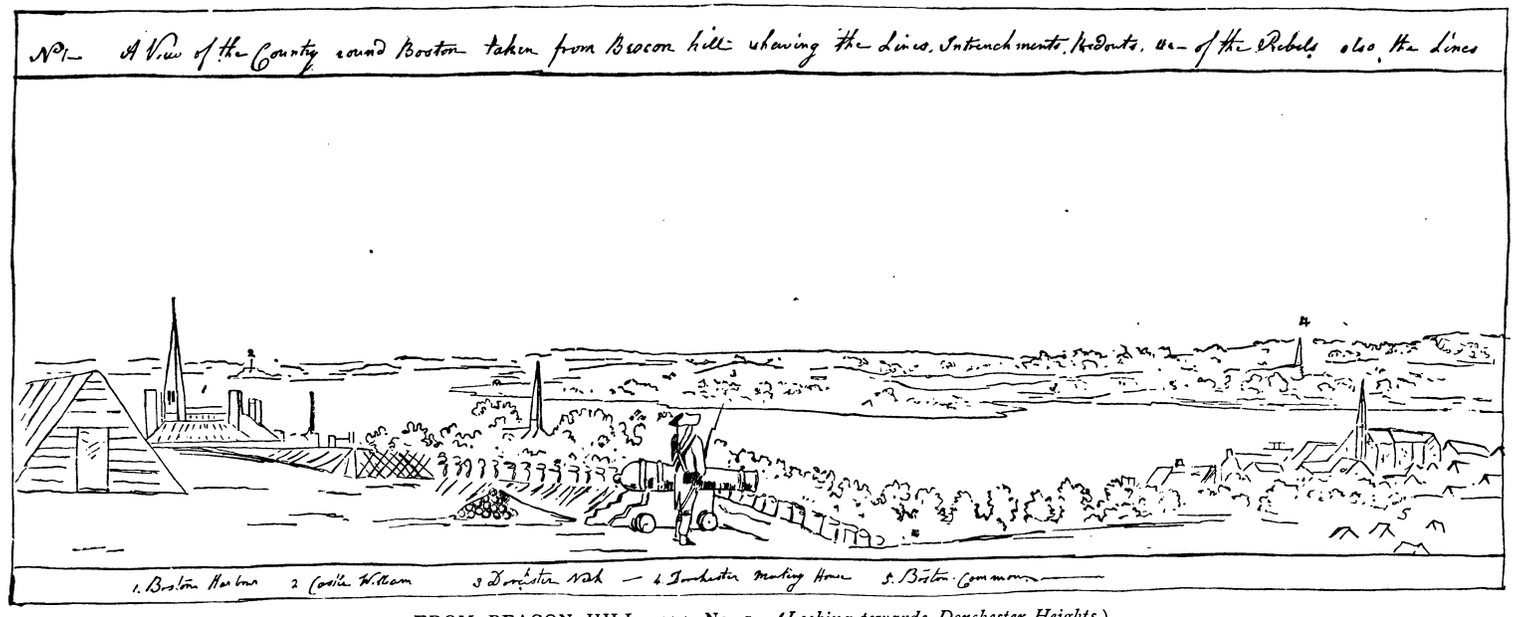
No 1 A View of the Country round Boston taken from Beacon hill shewing the Lines, Intrenchments, Redouts, &c of the Rebels also the Lines
1. Boston Harbour 2 Castle William 3 Dorchester Neck 4 Dorchester Meeting House 5 Boston Common

FROM BEACON HILL, 1775, No. 1. (*Looking towards Dorchester Heights.*)

NOTE. — This and the three companion sketches are drawn from a panoramic view in colors, now in the Cabinet of the Mass. Hist. Soc., of which a much reduced heliotype is given in the *Mem. Hist. Boston*, iii. 80. This view is a copy by Lieutenant Woodd of the Royal Welsh Fusiliers, from the original by Lieutenant Williams, of the same regiment, which is preserved in the King's Library (Brit. Museum). Cf. *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, iv. 397, 424; *Mem. Hist. Boston*, iii. 80.

The foreground on the left is the summit of Beacon Hill, not far from the spot where the State House now stands, though at a level considerably higher than the present one. Two of the guns now standing on Cambridge Common were taken from the dock in Boston after the British evacuated it, and they resemble the cannon here sketched, and one of them may possibly be that identical gun. The spire at the left would seem to be that of the First Church, which stood on the present Washington Street nearly opposite the head of State Street. (Cf. view of it in *Memorial History of Boston*, ii. 219.) The spire next to the right must have been that of the Old South Church. That on the extreme right would seem to be the steeple of the New South (Church Green) in Summer Street, now disappeared.

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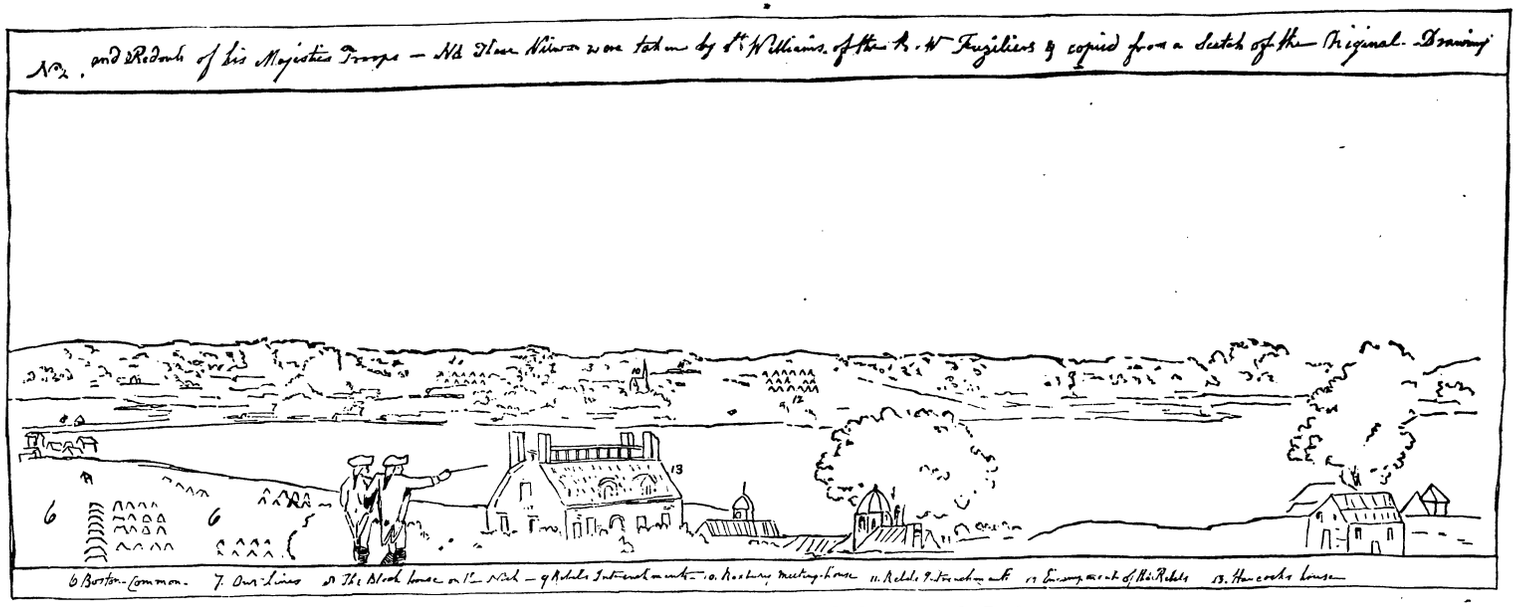
No 2. and Redoubt of his Majesties Troops — Ms Howe Nelson were taken by Lt W Williams of the R. N. Fusiliers & copied from a Sketch of the Original Drawing
6 Boston Common. 7 Our Lines 10 The Meeting house in Rox Neck 11 Redoubt 13 Hancocks house

FROM BEACON HILL, 1775, No. 2. (*Looking towards Roxbury.*)

In No. 2 the Hancock House is in the foreground. The earliest sketch of this house is a very small one, making part of the Price-Faneuil View of Boston (1743), and its presence in which and other data led to the suspicion that this 1743 view was from an old plate, which had been originally cut twenty years earlier, and this was subsequently proven. Cf. *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, xviii. 68; xxi. 249. The earliest enlarged view of the house is in the *Mass. Mag.*, 1789. Cf. *Mem. Hist. Bost.*, iii. 202. An oil painting, belonging to Mrs. F. E. Bacon, is on deposit in the halls of the Bostonian Society, where, also, are some interior views of the house.

The British encampments on Boston Common are indicated in the foreground at the left. The parallel lines (8) show the neck connecting Boston with Roxbury. The meeting-house (10) on the distant land is that of the First Religious Parish in Roxbury, on the site now occupied by the church near the Norfolk House. The American fort just beyond (at 11) was on a rocky summit, where now the stand-pipe of the Cochituate Water Works is placed.

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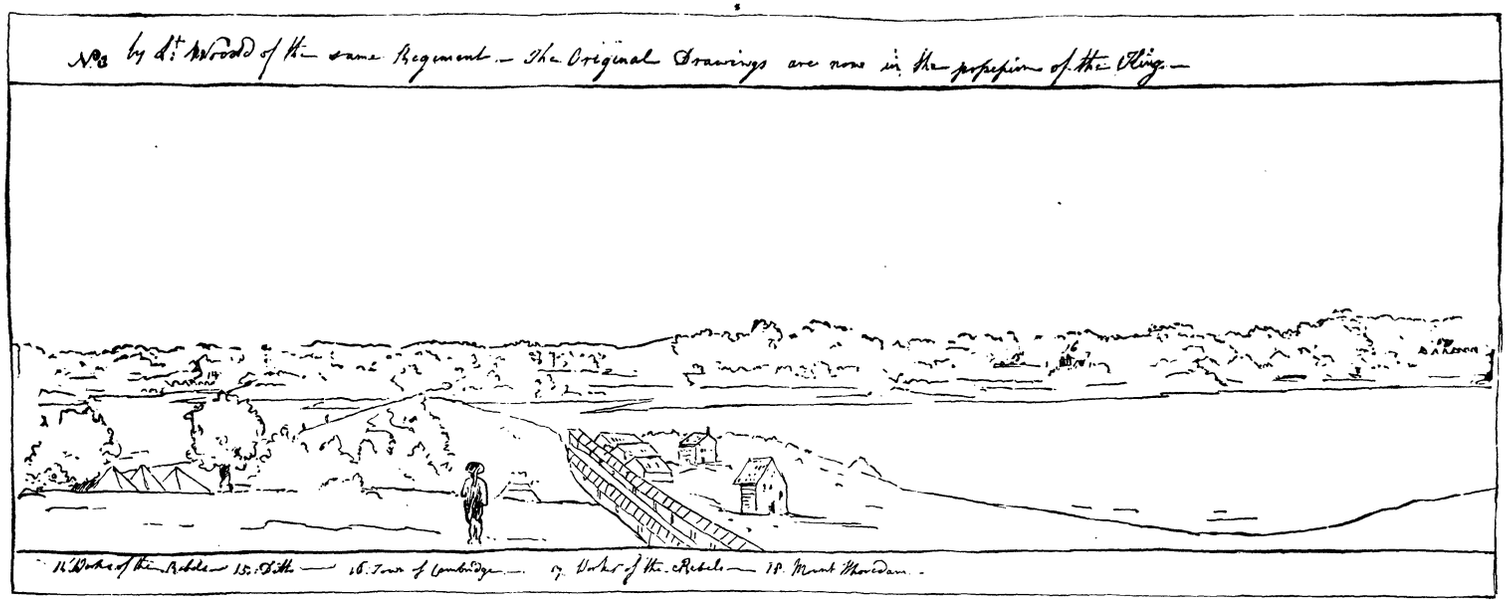
No 3 by Lt Wood of the same Regiment — The Original Drawings are now in the possession of the King —
14 Part of the Rebel Lines
15 Fort
16 Town of Cambridge
17 Part of the Rebel Lines
18 Mount Wharton

FROM BEACON HILL, 1775, No. 3. (*Looking towards Brookline and the outlet of Charles River.*)

No. 3 shows in the foreground the most westerly of the three summits of Beacon Hill (Louisbourg Square — though much lower, the hill having been cut down — represents its present site), and the rope-walks. There is a similar water-color drawing among the Peter Force maps and views in the library of Congress.

The inward curve of the nearer shore on the right of the picture represents the area now including Cambridge Street and the territory north of it, below Blossom Street, covering the approaches to the bridge now leading to Cambridge, the oldest parts of which near the College are shown at 16; while at 17 we have the American encampments at Prospect Hill, the modern Somerville. The American works between the College and Charles River seem to be intended by 15. The mouth of the river is seemingly indicated by the point of land just below the number 14, which apparently stands for the Brookline fort and its connections, in the modern Longwood. Between the man in the foreground and the somewhat abrupt eminence beyond him, was a depression in the outline of the ridge, not far from the head of the present Anderson Street.

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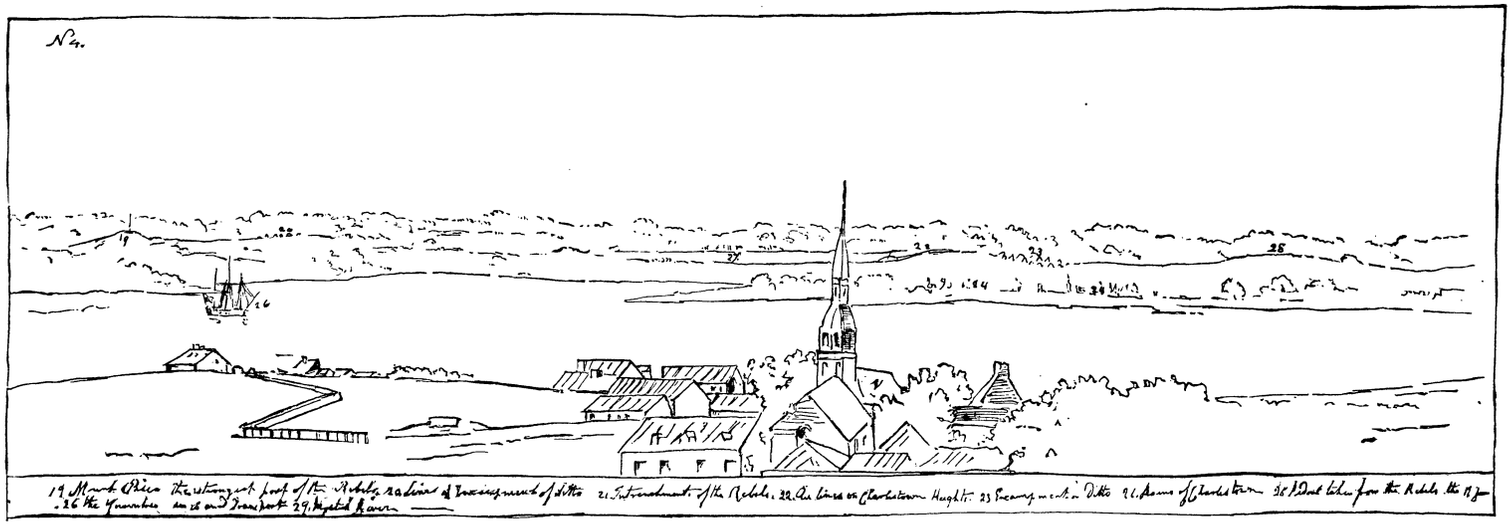

FROM BEACON HILL, 1775, No. 4. (*Looking towards Charlestown.*)

No. 4 has the Old West Church in the foreground, where Jonathan Mayhew preached. Its spire was subsequently taken down by the British to prevent its use as a signal station for the friends of the provincials. It stood till 1806, when the present edifice was built. (Drake's *Landmarks*, 374.)

This picture is substantially duplicated on another page, in the Rawdon view, sketched during the continuance of the battle of Bunker Hill. The Mount Pisca (Pisgah) at 19 is the present Prospect Hill in Somerville. The lines of Winter Hill and Ploughed Hill would be in the direction of 20. At 27 is a glimpse of the Mystick River seen beyond Charlestown Neck, the armed British transport at 16 commanding the road over that neck. At 22 are the new works of the British, begun after the battle of Bunker Hill, and shown in the contemporary plan of the Charlestown peninsula, given on another page, while the British encampment is on the inner slope of the hill, at 23. Below, and along the shore (24, 24), are indicated the ruins of Charlestown, while the figures 25 mark the position of the redoubt which was defended by Colonel Prescott and his men. The house on the hither shore, below the transport, marks nearly the spot where the present bridge to East Cambridge begins. In the foreground on the extreme right are somewhat vague indications of the dam inclosing the mill-pond, in which the present Haymarket Square occupies a central position.

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coach, kept now for the general's use, if we may believe the refugee himself.[1]

A little later, Josiah Quincy, who from his house at Braintree could look out upon the harbor, had been urging Washington to block the channel, and thus imprison the British ships there at anchor, and prevent the coming of others. Washington appreciated the motives of that ardent patriot, but he would have liked better the cannon and powder that would have rendered the plan feasible.[2] At all events, the possible chances of the plan made not a very pleasant prospect for Howe, who had already set his mind — as, indeed, the ministry had already advised[3] — upon evacuating the town; but his ships were as yet not sufficient for the task, and hardly sufficient to protect his supply-boats from the improvised navy which Washington had been for some time commissioning.[4]

John Adams, in Philadelphia, was getting uneasy over the apparent inaction of Washington, and wrote in November (1775) to Mercy Warren that Mrs. Washington was going to Cambridge,[5] and he hoped she might prove to have ambition enough for her husband's glory to give occasion to the Lord to have mercy on the souls of Howe and Burgoyne![6]

The left wing of the beleaguering army was now pushed forward and occupied Cobble Hill, the site of the present McLean Asylum, and the two armies watched each other at closer quarters than before, the almost foolhardy Americans feeling increased confidence when the fortunate captain of an ordnance brig gave them a supply of munitions. In December, Massachusetts and New Hampshire[7] promptly supplied the loss of Connecticut and Rhode Island troops, who were not to be induced to prolong their enlistments. Washington was cheered with this alacrity of a portion, at least, of the New England yeomen, and he suffered as many as he could of those

[1] P. O. Hutchinson, 123.

[2] Sparks's *Washington*, iii. 141; *Corresp. of the Rev.*, i. 73; Quincy's *Life of J. Quincy, Jr.*, 412.

[3] Sparks's *Washington*, iii. 113. Gage had, as early as July 14, 1775, pronounced Boston a "disadvantageous place for all operations," and expressed a preference for New York as a base of operations. The government had advised (Sept. 5, 1775) Howe to abandon the town. Before Howe, perhaps, got this, Gage wrote to Dartmouth that "the possession of Boston occasions a considerable diversion of the enemy's force; but it is open to attacks on many sides, and requires a large body to defend it." In November Howe had made up his mind that he must winter, at least, in Boston. (*Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, xiv. 353, 354, 356.) The Secretary of War, as early as Nov. 12, 1774, had urged that Boston was a place where the royal troops could do little good, and might do much harm. (*Life of Barrington*, 140.)

[4] Dr. Peter Oliver wrote (Nov. 27) from Boston: "The pirates, or, as the rebels term them, the privateers, have taken a Cork vessel, Captain Robbins, of this town, with provisions, and carried her into Marblehead; and a number of wood vessels from the eastward are carried into the worthless town of Plymouth." P. O. Hutchinson, i. p. 571. Again, Dec. 7, he writes: "We have eight or ten pirate vessels out between the capes; and yet our men-of-war are chiefly in the harbor." *Ibid.*, p. 581. Admiral Graves was as inactive as Gage, and, on Dec. 30, Admiral Shuldham arrived with orders to relieve him. Percy, writing from Boston of the new admiral, says: "We wanted a more active man than the last, for really the service suffered materially during his stay." (*Percy Letters*, in Boston Pub. Library.) Curwen records how matters at this time were regarded in London: "Their [the rebels'] activity and success is astonishing."

[5] She reached Cambridge Dec. 11.

[6] Adams's *Works*, ix. 270, 369. Burgoyne was soon too distant for the implied blow. He sailed for England Dec. 5.

[7] See the rolls in the State House in Boston, and *N. H. Rev. Rolls*, i. 240. Cf. *N. H. Prov. Papers*, vii. 675–681.

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who had come hastily to the camp in the spring to go home on brief furloughs to make winter provision for their families. Before the year was out, Congress had authorized Washington to destroy Boston if he found it necessary. The British general was, on his part, organizing in that town a Royal Regiment of Highland Emigrants,[1] and other loyalist battalions, putting Ruggles, Forrest, and Gorham in command of them.[2]

On the first of January, 1776, the federal flag, with its thirteen stripes and British Union,[3] was first raised over the American camp, and their council of war was inspirited to determine upon an attack, as soon as the chances of success seemed favorable; but the prudent ones trusted rather to Howe's evacuating through his straits for provisions, and held back from the final decision. It was not forgotten that 2,000 men were still without firelocks, and there was not much powder in the magazines. The total environing army scarce numbered ten thousand men fit for duty, and they were stretched out in a long circumvallation, while the enemy could mass at least half that number on any one point, and had a fleet to sustain them. Howe had not shown a much more active spirit than Gage had displayed, and there was a feeling in the British camp that he was too timid for the task,[4] and there could not have been much hopefulness in seeing so much better a general as Clinton sent off in January with several regiments, to join other forces and a fleet on the coast of North Carolina.[5] Washington meanwhile kept up a show of activity, and when, on the evening of January 8, he sent Knowlton on a marauding scout into Charlestown, there was a little flutter of excitement in Boston for fear it foreboded more serious work, and the British officers were hastily summoned to their posts from the play-house, where they were diverting themselves,[6] — the play on this particular occasion being something they had planned, and called *The Boston Blockade*.

As early as the middle of June, 1775, General Wooster, with some Connecticut troops, had by invitation of Congress marched to the neighborhood of New York, to be prepared for any demonstration from British ships which might attempt to land troops, for the British naval power was and continued to be supreme in the harbor till Washington occupied the city.

[1] There is in a volume of *Misc. MSS.*, 1632–1795, in the Mass. Hist. Soc. library, an agreement to release Andrew Richman, who had joined the regiment after the suppression of the rebellion, — signed by John Small, major of brigade.

[2] *Mem. Hist. Boston*, iii. 77.

[3] It will be recollected that independence had not yet been declared.

[4] Percy wrote from Boston, January 7, 1776: "I take it for granted that the next campaign will be so active and, I hope, so decisive a one, that the rebels will be glad to sue for mercy. All, however, will depend on our having a sufficient force sent us out very early in the spring. . . . Brig. Gen. Grant directs our commander-in-chief and all his operations. Mr. Howe is, I think, the only one here in his army who does not perceive it. I wish from my soul that we may not feel the consequences." (*Percy Letters.*) Hutchinson was writing in January, 1776, from London: "I count the days, and absurd as it is so near the close of life, I can hardly help wishing to sleep away the time between this and spring, that I may escape the succession of unfortunate events which I am always in fear of." (P. O. Hutchinson, vol. ii.)

[5] Sparks's *Washington*, iii. 223.

[6] Moore's *Diary of the Rev.*, i. 193, 199.

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A

VAUDEVIL,

Sung by the Characters at the Conclusion of a new Farce, called the

BOSTON BLOCKADE.

TRUMORE.

YE Critics, who wait for an End of the Scene,
T' accept it with Praiſe or diſmiſs it with Spleen;
Your Candour we aſk and demand your Applauſe,
If not for our Action, at leaſt for our Cauſe.
'Tis our Aim by Amuſement thus chearful and gay,
To wile a few Hours of Winter away:
While we reſt on our Arms, call the Arts to our Aid,
And be merry in Spite of the BOSTON BLOCKADE.
CHORUS. *'Tis our Aim by &c. &c. &c.*

MARIA.

YE Ladies, who find the Time hang on your Hands
While thus kept in a Cage by the Enemy's Bands:
Like me chuſe a Mate from your numerous Crew,
Be he brave as my Soldier, as tender and true
With ſuch a Companion Confinement has Charms;
Each Place is a Paradiſe claſp'd in his Arms.
And only of Abſence and Diſtance afraid,
You'll bleſs the ſmall Circle of BOSTON BLOCKADE.
CHO. *With ſuch a &c. &c. &c.*

FANFAN.

YOUR Pardon my Maſſa's one Word to intrude,
I'm ſure in my Heart you won't all tink me rude:
Tho' in Public you ſcoff, I ſee many a Spark,
Woud tink me a ſweet pretty Girl in the Dark.
Thus merily runs the World on with *Fanfan*,
I eat good ſalt Pork and get kiſs'd by white Man:
I do Miſſes Buſineſs, ſhe pleas'd and I paid,
Egad I no tir'd of BOSTON BLOCKADE.
CHO. *Thus merily runs &c. &c. &c.*

DOODLE.

YE tarbarrell'd Lawgivers, yankified Prigs,
Who are Tyrants in Cuſtom, yet call yourſelves Whigs;
In return for the Favours you've laviſh'd on me,
May I ſee you all hang'd upon *Liberty Tree*.
Mean Time take Example, deceaſe from Attack,
You're as weak under Arms as I'm weak in my Back.
In War and in Love we alike are betray'd,
And alike are the Laughter of BOSTON BLOCKADE.
CHO. *Mean Time take &c. &c. &c.*

HEARTWRIGHT

COME round then ye Comrades of Honour and Truth,
Experienc'd Age and high-ſpirited Youth;
With Drum and with Fife make the Chorus more ſhrill,
And Echo ſhall waft it to WASHINGTON's Hill.
All brave BRITISH Hearts ſhall beat Time while we ſing,
Due Force to our Arms, and Long Life to the KING.
To the Honour of both be our Banners diſplay'd,
And a glorious End to the BOSTON BLOCKADE.

NOTE.—This broadside, and the opposite one, are given in fac-similes from copies in the Massachusetts Historical Society's library, and they pertain to theatrical performances given by the British officers in Boston during the siege.

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On SATURDAY next

Will be PERFORM'D,

By a Society of LADIES and GENTLEMEN,

At FANEUIL-HALL,

The TRAGEDY of

ZARA:

The Expences of the Houſe being paid, the Overplus will be apply'd to the benefit of the Widows and Children of the Soldiers.

No Money will be taken at the Door, but Tickets will be delivered To-day and To-morrow, between the Hours of Eight and Two at Doctor Morris's in School-ſtreet.

PIT One Dollar, GALLERY Quarter of a Dollar.

The Doors to be open at FIVE, and begin preciſely at SIX o'Clock.

*** TICKETS for FRIDAY will be taken.

Vivant Rex et Regina.

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Before Clinton had left Boston, Washington, under Lee's urgency, had decided to possess New York, and the plan, which was submitted to John Adams, as representing the Congress, met with that gentleman's approval.[1] Lee was accordingly sent into Connecticut to organize such a force as he could for advancing on that city.[2] He kept Washington informed of his success in these preliminaries, and finally reached New York himself on February 4,[3] and here he remained till it was ascertained that Clinton was proceeding to the South, where he was instructed to follow that general and confront him as best he could, as we shall presently see.[4]

The chief event of February, 1776, was the arrival of the cannon captured at Ticonderoga, and the placing them in the siege batteries along the American lines, for Washington had dispatched Knox to bring these much needed cannon to him. John Adams records meeting them on their way at Framingham, January 25;[5] and when the train of fifty pieces and other munitions reached the lines, there was something less of anxiety than there had been before.[6] The army, however, was still deficient in small arms, and Washington wrote urgently to the New York authorities for assistance of that kind.[7]

By the first of March powder had been obtained in considerable quantities, and Washington opened a bombardment from all parts of his lines, which was deemed necessary to conceal a projected movement. During the night of March 4–5, General Thomas, from the Roxbury lines,[8] with 2,500 men, took possession of Dorchester Heights.[9] It was moonlight, but

[1] Sparks's *Washington*, iii. 230; *Corresp. of the Rev.*, i. 106, 112; John Adams's *Works*, ix. 370.

[2] Lee's instructions in Sparks's *Washington*, iii. 230. Cf. Duer's *Stirling*, p. 123; Johnston's *Campaign of* 1776, p. 49; Jones's *N. Y. during the Rev.*, i. 570, 593.

[3] Sparks's *Corresp. of the Rev.*, i. 124, 135, 139; *Life of Gouverneur Morris*, i. 74–88. Already, on Jan. 6, 1776, the provincial congress of New York had organized a company of artillery to defend the colony and guard its records; and March 14, 1776, a student in King's College was made its captain. That organization still exists as Battery F, Fourth Regiment U. S. Artillery. (Asa Bird Gardner, in *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, 1881, p. 416.)

[4] Letters to and from Lee during his movements from Connecticut to Charleston (S. C.) are in the Lee Papers. (*Sparks MSS.*, xxv., January, 1776–July, 1776, for copies, and *N. Y. Hist. Coll.*, 1871 and 1872, for the print. There are letters from Lee during Jan.–March, 1776, from Connecticut and New York, in the *Sparks MSS.* xxix.) Cf. Sparks's *Gouv. Morris*, i. ch. 5.

[5] *Works*, ii. 431.

[6] Knox's instructions are in Sparks's *Washington*, iii. p. 160; Knox's letters from the Lake, in the *Corresp. of the Rev.*, i. 86, 94. Knox's diary is in the *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, July, 1876, p. 321; and an inventory of the cannon, made Dec. 10, 1775, is in Drake's *Soc. of Cincinnati*, p. 544. Cf. Drake's *Knox*, pp. 22, 128, 129. A roll of men whom Knox enlisted in his artillery, 1775, is in *Mass. Archives; Rev. Rolls*, vol. xlix.

[7] N. Y. Archives in *Sparks MSS.*, no. xxix. Curiously enough, Franklin was at this time urging a resort to bows and arrows. (*N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, 1871, p. 285.)

[8] His headquarters here were in the Roxbury parsonage, a house still standing, and delineated in the *Mem. Hist. Boston*, iii. 115. On the 2d of March Washington gave notice to Ward, then commanding in Roxbury, of his intention. His letter in fac-simile is given in the *Boston Daily Advertiser*, March 17, 1876.

[9] Burgoyne had suggested the occupation of these heights by the British very soon after the battle of Bunker Hill. Fonblanque, p. 150. Clinton says (*Notes on Stedman*) that he had told Gage and Howe, in June, 1775, that if ever the royal army was forced to evacuate Boston, it would be owing to the rebels getting possession of Dorchester Heights. What is given in T. C. Simond's *South Boston*, p. 31, as "a plan

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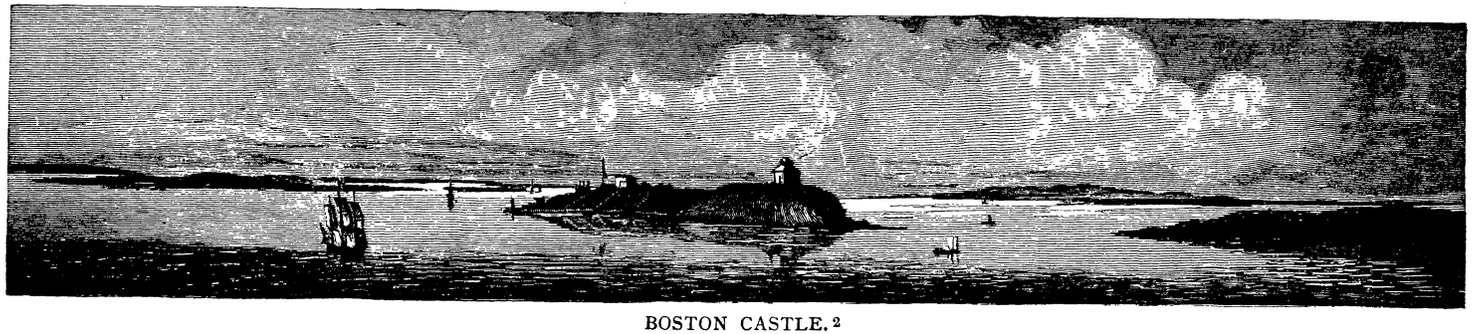
BOSTON.[1]

[1] After a photograph of a view in the British Museum. Cf. similar views in Moore's *Diary of the Amer. Rev.*, i. 97; *Mem. Hist. Boston*, iii. p. 156; Lossing's *Field-Book;* Grant's *British Battles*, ii. 138. The house in the left foreground is the house built by Governor Shirley. It is still standing, but much changed. See a view of it in the frontispiece of *Mem. Hist. Boston*, vol. ii.

There is a view of the town and harbor in the *Pennsylvania Mag.*, June, 1773; and others of a later date are in the *Columbian Mag.*, Dec., 1787; *Mass. Mag.*, June, 1791. Cf. Winsor's *Readers' Handbook of the Amer. Rev.*, p. 66, for other views and descriptions.



BOSTON CASTLE.[2]

[2] After a photograph of a view in the British Museum.

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the men worked on without discovery, and by morning had thrown up a cover. Both armies now laid plans for battle. Howe determined to attack the Heights by a front and flank assault. Washington reinforced Thomas, and planned at the same time to move on Boston by boats across the back bay. The British dropped down on transports to the Castle, but a long storm delayed the projected movement. This so effectually gave the Americans time to increase their defences that the British general saw that to evacuate the town was the least of all likely evils. As he began to show signs of such a movement, the Americans began to speculate upon their significance. Heath, at least, was fearful that the appearances were only a cloak to cover an intention to land suddenly somewhere between Cambridge and Squantum.[1] But the genuineness of Howe's intention gradually became apparent, as, indeed, evacuation with him was a necessity, while Admiral Shuldam also saw that his fleet, too, was immediately imperilled from the newly raised works on Dorchester Heights. So Howe had scarce an alternative but to give a tacit consent to a plan of the selectmen of Boston for him to leave the town uninjured, if his troops were suffered to embark undisturbed. Washington entered upon no formal agreement to that end, but acquiesced silently as Howe had done.[2] There was still some cannonading as Washington pushed his batteries nearer Boston on the Dorchester side, at Nook's Hill, teaching Howe the necessity of increased expedition. By early light on the 17th of March it was discovered that Howe had begun to embark his troops, and by nine o'clock the last boat had pushed off, completing a roll, including seamen, fit for duty, of about 11,000 men, with about a thousand refugees.[3] The Continentals were alert, and their advanced guards promptly entered the British works on the several sides. The enemy's ships fell down the harbor unmolested; but that night they blew up Castle William, and the vessels gathered together in Nantasket Roads. Here they remained for ten days, causing Washington not a little anxiety; and he wrote to Quincy, at Braintree, to have all the roads from the landings patrolled, lest the British should send spies into the country.[4] On the 27th, all but a few armed vessels, intended to warn off belated succor,[5] had disappeared in the direction of Halifax.[6]

of Dorchester Neck for the use of the British army," seems to be but an extract from Pelham's Map.

[1] *Heath's Papers* (MSS.), i. 180.

[2] See Washington's letters on the occupation of Dorchester Heights and its effect, in Sparks, iii. 302, 311. Cf. *N. H. State Papers*, viii. 86; Mary Cone's *Life of Rufus Putnam* (Cleveland, 1886) p. 45.

[3] Hutchinson says the list which reached England showed 938 souls. (P. O. Hutchinson, ii. 61.) On Nov. 20, 1775, Lieut.-Gov. Oliver wrote that there were 2,000 loyalists in Boston, men, women, and children, and that Boston had then 3,500 inhabitants, instead of the 15,000 properly belonging to it.

[4] *Mem. of Josiah Quincy, Jr.*, 416.

[5] These before long were gone. Jones (*N. Y. during the Rev.*, i. 54), referring to the captures after the British left Boston harbor, says: "One or two frigates stationed in the bay would have prevented all this mischief. But a fatality, a kind of absurdity, or rather stupidity, marked every action of the British commanders-in-chief during the whole of the American war."

[6] Nearly eighty armed vessels and transports were necessary to carry the army and its followers, but a large number of other vessels loaded with merchandise accompanied the fleet. Abigail Adams counted 170 sail in all, from her home in Braintree. Washington had supposed they would steer for New York, and so had

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Ward was left with five regiments to hold the town and its neighborhood,[1] while Colonel Gridley, "whom I have been taught to view," said Washington, "as one of the greatest engineers of the age," was directed to

BY HIS EXCELLENCY

George Washington, Esq:

Captain-General and Commander in Chief of the Forces of the *Thirteen* United Colonies.

WHEREAS the Miniſterial Army have abandoned the Town of BOSTON, *and the Forces of the United Colonies, under my Command, are in Poſſeſſion of the ſame:*

I HAVE therefore thought it neceſſary for the Preſervation of Peace, good Order and Diſcipline, to publiſh the following ORDERS, that no Perſon offending therein may plead Ignorance as an Excuſe for their Miſconduct.

ALL Officers and Soldiers are hereby ordered to live in the ſtricteſt Peace and Amity with the Inhabitants; and no Inhabitant, or other Perſon employed in his lawful Buſineſs in the Town, is to be moleſted in his Perſon or Property on any Pretence whatever.—If any Officer or Soldier ſhall preſume to ſtrike, impriſon, or otherwiſe ill-treat any of the Inhabitants, they may depend on being puniſhed with the utmoſt Severity.—And if any Officer or Soldier ſhall receive any Inſult from any of the Inhabitants, he is to ſeek Redreſs, in a legal Way, and no other.

ANY Non-commiſſioned Officer, Soldier, or others under my Command, who ſhall be guilty of robbing or plundering in the town, are to be immediately confined, and will be moſt rigidly puniſhed.—All Officers are therefore ordered to be very vigilant in the Diſcovery of ſuch offenders, and report their Names, and Crime, to the Commanding Officer in the Town, as ſoon as may be.

THE Inhabitants, and others, are called upon to make known to the Quarter-Maſter General, or any of his Deputies, all Stores belonging to the Miniſterial Army, that may be remaining or ſecreted in the Town: Any Perſon or Perſons whatever, that ſhall be known to conceal any of the ſaid Stores, or appropriate them to his or their own Uſe, will be conſidered as an Enemy of *America*, and treated accordingly.

THE Seleƈtmen, and other Magiſtrates of the Town, are deſired to return to the Commander in Chief, the Names of all or any Perſon or Perſons they may ſuſpect of being employed as Spies upon the Continental Army, that they may be dealt with accordingly.

ALL Officers of the Continental Army, are enjoined to aſſiſt the Civil Magiſtrates in the Execution of their Duty, and to promote Peace and good order.—They are to prevent, as much as poſſible, the Soldiers from frequenting Tippling Houſes, and ſtrolling from their Poſts.—Particular Notice will be taken of ſuch Officers as are inattentive and remiſs in their Duty; and on the contrary, ſuch only who are active and vigilant, will be entitled to future Favor and Promotion.

GIVEN under my Hand at Head-Quarters *in* Cambridge, *this Twenty-firſt Day of* March, 1776.

GEORGE WASHINGTON

OCCUPATION OF BOSTON.[2]

warned the New York authorities as early as March 9. (N. Y. Archives, in *Sparks MSS.*, no. xxix.) Cf. his letter to Stirling of March 14. (Duer's *Stirling*, p. 143.)

[1] A small number of General Ward's papers, given by Mrs. Barrell, a granddaughter, are in the cabinet of the Mass. Hist. Society. Ward resigned April 12, 1776, and Hancock's reply to him of April 26 is among these, as are also sundry papers pertaining to his retention of the command of the Eastern department after Washington went to New York. Cf. a paper on Ward in *Scribner's Monthly*, xi. p. 712. A letter of Ward's, April 16, 1776, describing the army's condition, is in the Mass. Archives, and is copied in the *Sparks MSS.*, vol. lx. There is an engraving of Ward, after an original picture in Irving's *Washington*, illus. ed., ii. Cf. also picture in A. H. Ward's *Hist. of Shrewsbury, Mass.*; and *Memorial Hist. of Boston*, vol. iii.

[2] After an original in the collection of *Proclamations* in the library of the Mass. Hist. Society. Cf. *Mem. Hist. Boston*, iii. p. 181; Sparks's *Washington*, iii. 322; Niles's *Principles and Acts* (1876), p. 127. Curwen records, when the proclamation reached London, that its prohibition of plunder "was a source of comfort."

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fortify the sea approaches.[1] Washington gradually moved his remaining army to New York, not without apprehension at one time that he would have to direct them to Rhode Island, for a fog had befooled some people in Newport into sending him a message that the British fleet was in the offing there. He left Cambridge himself April 4th, not for Virginia, as some good people imagined he would do, out of loyalty to his province,[2] but to defend as he could the line of the Hudson, of which signs were already accumulating that it was the game for each side to secure. A few of the enemy's ships still hung about Nantasket Roads, and some desultory fighting occurred in the harbor.[3] The British, however, failed to prevent some important captures of munition vessels being made. It was not till June that General Lincoln, with a militia force, brought guns to bear upon the still lingering enemy, when they sailed away, and Boston was at last free of a hostile force.

It is now necessary to follow two other movements, which had been begun while the siege of Boston was in progress, the one to the north, and the other to the south.

The exploits of Allen and Arnold at Ticonderoga, already related, had invited further conquests; but the Continental Congress hesitated to take any steps which might seem to carry war across the line till the Canadians had the opportunity of casting in their lot with their neighbors. On the 1st of June, 1775, Congress had distinctly avowed this purpose of restraint; and they well needed to be cautious, for the Canadian French had not forgotten the bitter aspersions on their religion which Congress had, with little compunction, launched upon its professors, under the irritation of the Quebec Act. Still their rulers were aliens, and the traditional hatred of centuries between races is not easily kept in abeyance. Ethan Allen was more eager to avail himself of this than Congress was to have him; but the march of events converted the legislators, and the opportunity which Allen grieved to see lost was not so easily regained when Congress at last authorized the northern invasion. Arnold and Allen had each aimed to secure the command of such an expedition, the one by appealing to the Continental Congress, the other by representations to that of New York. Allen had also gone in person to Philadelphia, and he and his Green Mountain Boys were not without influence upon Congress, in their quaint and somewhat rough ways, as their exuberant patriotism later made the New York authorities forget their riotous opposition to the policy which that province had been endeavoring to enforce in the New Hampshire Grants. Connecticut had already sent forward troops to Ticonderoga to hold that post till Congress should decide upon some definite action; and at the end of June, 1775, orders reached Schuyler which he might readily interpret as authorizing him, if the Canadians did not object, to advance

[1] *Mem. of Josiah Quincy, Jr.*, p. 417.

[2] Edmund Quincy's letter in *N. E. Hist. and Gen. Reg.*, 1859, p. 233.

[3] For the Mugford affair, see Sparks's *Corresp. of the Rev.*, i. 204; Moore's *Diary*, i. 244.

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upon Canada.[1] He soon started to assume command, but speedily found matters unpromising. The Johnsons were arming the Indians up the Mohawk and beyond in a way that boded no good, and they had entered into compacts with the British commanders in Canada. Arnold had been at Ticonderoga, and had quarrelled with Hinman, the commander of the Connecticut troops. Schuyler heard much of the Green Mountain Boys, but he only knew them as the lawless people of the Grants, and soon learned that Allen and Warner had themselves set to quarrelling. Presently, however, Allen reported at Ticonderoga for special service, as he had been cast off by his own people. Another volunteer, Major John Brown, was sent by Schuyler into Canada for information. Schuyler's position was a trying one. He had few troops of his own province. The Connecticut troops were too lax in discipline to suit his ideas of military propriety, and his temperament had little to induce him to make concessions to the exigencies of the conditions.[2] With the best heart he could, he tried to organize his force for an advance, and assisted, in Indian conferences at Albany, to disarm, as far as he might, the Mohawks of their hostility.

In August the news from Canada began to be alarming. Richard Montgomery, an Irish officer who had some years before left the army to settle on the Hudson and marry, was now one of the new brigadiers. He urged Schuyler to advance and anticipate the movement now said to be intended by Carleton, the English general commanding in Canada. At this juncture Schuyler got word from Washington that a coöperating expedition would be dispatched by way of the Kennebec, which, if everything went well, might unite with Schuyler's before Quebec.

Montgomery had already started from Ticonderoga, and it was not till the foot of Lake Champlain had been reached that Schuyler overtook him, and, with an effective force of about 1,000 men, he now prepared, on the 6th of September, to advance upon St. Johns. The demonstration caused a little bloodshed, but, getting information which deceived him, he fell back to the Isle-aux-Noix, and prepared to hold it against a counter attack, and to prevent any vessel of the enemy penetrating to the lake. The outlook for a while was not auspicious. Malaria made sad inroads among the men, and of those who were left on duty, insubordination and lack of discipline, and perhaps a shade of treachery, impaired their efficiency. Schuyler was prostrate on his bed, and Montgomery was forced to unmilitary

[1] *Secret Journals of Congress*, i. 19.

[2] John Adams understood these sectional difficulties. *Works*, ix. 367. Cf., on the New England distrust of Schuyler, Sparks's *Washington*, iii. 535. Bancroft says of Schuyler that he was "choleric and querulous, and was ill suited to control undisciplined levies of turbulent freemen." Schuyler, who was honest and uncompromisingly zealous, is defended in Lossing's *Life of Schuyler*, where (vol. ii. 27) Bancroft's assertion (original ed., viii. 423) that Schuyler "refused to go into Canada" is controverted on the ground that Congress declined to accept Schuyler's resignation, when ill-health prevented his leading the army. Bancroft, in his final revision (iv. 377), says of Schuyler that he owned himself unable to manage the men of Connecticut, and proposed to resign. The differences between Schuyler and Wooster have led to much championing of the two by writers of New York and Connecticut. Wooster, a man now of sixty-five years, austere in habit, could hardly be expected to commend himself to one of Schuyler's temperament. Cf. Hollister's *Connecticut*.

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expedients because of the temper of his troops. Schuyler's disorder seeming to have permanently mastered him, he resigned the command to Montgomery and returned up the lake. He had, at least, the satisfaction of meeting reinforcements pushing down to the main body. Before these arrived Montgomery had begun the siege of St. Johns, and he was pressing it, when Ethan Allen, whom Montgomery was expecting to join him, met with Brown, and these two planned an attack on Montreal. It was attempted, but Brown and his men failed to coöperate, and Allen and those he had with him were finally captured.[1] When the Canadians heard that the redoubtable Green Mountain leader was in irons on board an English vessel bound for Halifax,[2] a great deal was done towards awakening them from that spell of neutrality upon which the American campaign so much depended for success.

So Montgomery continued to keep his lines about St. Johns with great discouragement. He met every embarrassment which a hastily improvised and undisciplined mass of men could impose upon a man who was of high spirit and knew what soldierly discipline ought to be. A gleam of hope at last came. He detached a party to attack Fort Chamblée, further down the Sorel, and it succeeded (October 18), and he was thus enabled to replenish his store of ammunition, which was by this time running low.[3] So Montgomery was enabled to press the siege of St. Johns with renewed vigor. When Wooster, the veteran Connecticut general, joined him with the troops of that colony, there was some apprehension that the younger Montgomery might find it difficult to maintain his higher rank against the rather too independent spirit of the old fighter.[4] No disturbance, however, occurred, and both worked seemingly in union of spirit. Every effort of Carleton to relieve the British commander at St. Johns failing, that officer surrendered the post, and, on November 3d, Montgomery took possession.

We may turn now to the expedition that Washington had promised to dispatch from Cambridge, and which had been thought of as early as May. Benedict Arnold had hurried from Crown Point to lay his grievances before the commander-in-chief. It seemed to Washington worth while to assuage his passions and to profit by his dashing valor, for he had by this time become convinced that Howe had no intention of venturing beyond his lines. So Arnold was commissioned Colonel, and given command of the new expedition, and the satisfied leader saw gathering about him various quick spirits, better recognized later. Such was Morgan, who led some Virginia riflemen, and Aaron Burr, who sprang to the occasion as a volunteer.[5]

[1] Hinman's *Conn. in the Rev.*, p. 571; Guy Johnson's despatch to Dartmouth, Oct. 12, 1775, in *Canadian Antiquarian*, iv. 25, 135.

[2] Moore's *Diary of the Rev.*, i. 153, 158; Sparks's *Corresp. of the Rev.*, i. 471; Allen's own *Narrative;* Lossing in *Harper's Monthly*, xvii. 721. Cf. Warner's letter of Sept. 27, in the *Sparks MSS.*, xlix. vol. 2.

[3] On November 3, the colors taken at Chamblée were hung up in Mrs. Hancock's chamber at Philadelphia.

[4] Silas Deane seems to have comprehended something of the intractable quality of Wooster (*Conn. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, ii. 288.)

[5] Parton's *Burr*, i. 68.

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Washington provided Arnold with explicit instructions, and with an address to circulate among the Canadians.[1] About eleven hundred men proceeded from Cambridge to Newburyport, whence, by vessel and bateaux, they reached Fort Western (Augusta, Maine), towards the end of September. Here the expeditionary force plunged into the wilderness, up the Kennebec, environed with perils and the burdens of labor. Suffering and nerving against vexations and weariness that grew worse as they went on, they saw the sick and disheartened fall out, and found their rear companies deserting for want of food.[2] Those that were steadfast were forced to eat moccasins and anything. On they struggled to the ridge of land which marked the summit of the water-shed between the Atlantic and the St. Lawrence. Then began the descent of the Chaudière, perilous amid the rush of its waters, which overturned their boats, and sent much of what stores they had left on a headlong drive down the stream. At last the open country was reached, and Arnold stopped to refresh the survivors. He dispatched Burr to see if he could find Montgomery,[3] and, making the most of the friendly assistance of the neighboring inhabitants, Arnold advanced to Point Levi, and began to make preparations for crossing the St. Lawrence. The city of Quebec looked across the basin in amazement on a stout little army, of whose coming, however, they had had an intimation; while Arnold's men were hard at work making or finding canoes and scaling-ladders.

Meanwhile where was Montgomery, whom Burr, disguised as a priest, and speaking French or Latin as required, was seeking up the river? He had got possession of Montreal without a blow, and sending Colonel Easton down to the mouth of the Sorel, that officer intercepted the little flotilla with which Carleton was trying to reach Quebec, and captured all of the fugitives except Carleton himself, who escaped in a disguise by night. The news of Arnold, which Burr at last brought to Montgomery, made that general more anxious than ever to push on to Quebec, but the expiration of the enlistments of some of his men much perplexed him, and he was obliged to make many promises to hold his army together. Before Montgomery could reach him, Arnold had in the night taken about 550 men across the river, and ascending at Wolfe's Cove, he had paraded them before the walls and demanded a surrender. The garrison was small, and in part doubtful, and the inhabitants were more than doubtful, but the lieutenant-governor, Cramahé, with his stanchest troops, the Royal Scotch, overawed the rest, and kept the gates closed. The vaporing Arnold had been known in the past within the town as a horse-jockey, and his promise as a general, with his shivering crowd, did not greatly impress those whom he had somewhat farcically beleaguered. In a day or two Arnold became frightened and drew off his men, strengthened now a little by others who had crossed the river. Unmolested he went up the river, to keep within

[1] Niles's *Principles and Acts* (1876), p. 461; Sparks's *Washington*, iii. 92; Henry's *Journal* (1877), p. 5.

[2] This rear division was under Colonel Enos.

[3] Parton's *Burr*, i. 71. Cf. "Burr as a Soldier," in *Hist. Mag.*, xix. 385 (June, 1871).

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reach of Montgomery, perceiving as he went up the banks the succor for Quebec which Carleton, having picked up men here and there, was bringing down by water. By the 1st of December, Montgomery, with three

Guy Carleton[1]

armed schooners and only 300 men, reached Arnold at Point-aux-Trembles. The united forces now turned their faces towards Quebec, less than a thou-

[1] From the *Political Mag.*, iii. 351. Cf. Jones's *Campaign for the Conquest of Canada*, p. 112; *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, June, 1883, p. 409; Moore's *Diary of the Revolution*, p. 454; B. Sulte's *Hist. des Canadiens français* (as Lord Dorchester, to which rank Carleton was subsequently raised).

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sand in all, with a body of two hundred Canadians, under Colonel James Livingston, acting in conjunction; and on the 5th were before the town. Carleton haughtily scorned all advances of Montgomery to communicate with him, and devoted himself to overawing the town, quite content that the rigors of winter should alone attack the invaders. While the Americans were making some show of planting siege-batteries, plans for assault were in reality maturing, and a stormy night was awaited to carry them out. It came on the night before the last day of the year. While two feints were to be made on the upper plain, the main assaults were to be along the banks of the St. Charles and the St. Lawrence, from opposite sides, with a view to joining and gaining the upper town from the lower. Montgomery led the attack beneath Cape Diamond on the St. Lawrence side, and while in advance with a small vanguard, and unsuspecting that his approach was discovered, he was opened upon with grape, and fell, with others about him.[1] His death was the end of the assault on that side. Arnold was at first successful in carrying the barriers opposed to him, but was soon severely wounded and taken to the rear. Morgan, who succeeded to the command, was pressing their advantage, when Carleton, relieved by Montgomery's failure, and by the discovery that the other attacks meant nothing, sent out a force, which so hemmed Morgan in, that, having already learned of Montgomery's failure, he found it prudent to surrender with the few hundred men still clinging to him. The Americans elsewhere in the field hastily withdrew to their camp, and Carleton was too suspicious of the townspeople to dare to take any further advantage of his success.

The command of the Americans now devolved on Lieutenant-Colonel Donald Campbell, who sent an express to Wooster at Montreal, urging him to come and take the control. That general thought it more prudent to hold Montreal as a base,[2] and remained where he was, while he forwarded the dismal news to his superior, Schuyler, at Albany, who had quite enough on his hands to overawe Sir John Johnson and the Tories up the Mohawk. The succession of Wooster to the command in Canada boded no good to the New York general, and led to such crimination and recrimination between the two that Congress, towards spring (1776), took steps to relieve Schuyler of the general charge of the campaign. Thomas, who had rendered himself conspicuous in driving the British from Boston, was made a major-general (March 6), and was ordered to take the active command in Canada. A New England general for troops in the main from those colonies seemed desirable, and Thomas was certainly the best of those furnished by Massachusetts during the early days of the war.

[1] Burr was near by. Parton's *Burr*, i. 75. See the denial of the statement that Burr endeavored to carry off the body of Montgomery, in *Hist. Mag.*, ii. 264. Cf. Lossing in *Ibid.*, xiv. 272; and General Cullum's note in *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, April, 1884, p. 294. Trumbull, in his picture of the death of Montgomery (Hinton's *United States*, i. 233, and other places), represents Burr supporting the falling hero. *Catal. of Paintings by Colonel Trumbull* (N. Y., 1838), p. 14. The attack was premature. *N. H. State Papers*, viii. 351.

[2] Sparks's *Corresp. of the Rev.*, i. 134.

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Meanwhile Arnold, amid the snows, was audaciously seeming to keep up the siege of Quebec in his little camp, three miles from the town. Small-pox was beginning to make inroads on his little army, scarce at some periods exceeding five hundred effective men. Wooster finally came from Montreal on the first of April, and assumed command. For the influence intended to soothe and gain the Canadians to pass from the courtly Montgomery to the rigid and puritanical Wooster was a great loss, and it soon became manifest in the growing hostility of the people of the neighboring country. It was by such a pitiful force that Carleton allowed himself to be shut up in Quebec for five months.

This was the condition of affairs when a commission, consisting of Benjamin Franklin, Samuel Chase, and Charles Carroll, was sent by Congress, with delegated powers, to act with prompter decision on the spot.[1] They reached Albany early in April, and found Thomas, from Boston, already there. So the two generals, Schuyler and Thomas, pushed on ahead of the commissioners, and, with the reinforcements now setting towards Canada, before and behind them, it seemed as if a new vigor might be exerted upon the so far disastrous Northern campaign. Thomas directed his course to Quebec, while the commissioners went to Montreal, where they found the most gloomy apprehensions existing, and were soon convinced that, without hard money and troops, Canada must be relinquished. Franklin returned to Philadelphia to impress this upon Congress, while Schuyler was at his wits' ends to find men, provisions, and money to send forward, till Congress should act.

Washington, by this time in New York with the troops which had forced the evacuation of Boston, yielded to the orders of Congress, and sent Sullivan of New Hampshire with a brigade, carrying money and provisions, to reinforce the wretched army in Canada, thereby diminishing, with great risk, his own force to less than 5,000 men. Thomas had at this time reached Quebec (May 1), where he found, out of the 1,900 men constituting the beleaguering army, only about a thousand not in hospital, and scarcely five hundred of these were effective troops. It was necessary to do something at once, for the breaking ice told the American general that a passage was preparing for a British fleet, which was known to be below. Plans for an assault on the town miscarried, and while Thomas was beginning to remove his sick preparatory to a retreat, three British men-of-war appeared in the basin. They landed troops, and gave Carleton an opportunity to hang upon the rear of the retreating invaders, and pick up prisoners and cannon. He did not pursue them far.[2]

Near the same time a force of British and Tories, coming down the river from Ontario, had fallen upon Arnold's outpost at Cedar Rapids, above

[1] They were accompanied by the Rev. John Carroll, a Catholic priest and brother of Charles, of whom there is a *Biographical Sketch* by Brent.

[2] Percy got the news at Halifax in this fashion (June 1, 1776): "So precipitate was their retreat that whole companies flung away even their arms. Nay, they left their pots boiling, so that the king's troops sat down and ate their dinners from them." (*Letters in Boston Public Library.*)

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Montreal, and had captured its garrison. Thus disaster struck both ends of the American line of occupation. The force under Thomas was withdrawing to the Sorel, when Burgoyne, with large reinforcements, landed at Quebec. Up the Sorel the Americans retreated, joined now by the troops under Thompson, which Washington had earlier sent from New York. Thomas[1] soon died (June 2) of small-pox at Chamblée; and Wooster being recalled, Sullivan, who now met the army, took the command, and pushing forward to the mouth of the Sorel, prepared to make a stand. He soon sent a force under Thompson towards Three Rivers, to oppose the approaching British, now reaching 13,000 in number, either at Quebec or advancing from it, — a number to confront, of which apparently Sullivan had no conception. This general himself possessed hardly more than 2,500 men, for Arnold, instead of reinforcing him, as directed, had left Montreal for Chamblée. The action at Three Rivers, of which the cannonading had been heard at the Sorel, proved a disastrous defeat. It was followed by the British vessels pushing up the river, and as soon as they came in sight Sullivan broke camp and also retreated to Chamblée, followed languidly by Burgoyne. Here Sullivan joined Arnold, and the united fugitives, of whom a large part were weakened by inoculation, continued the retreat to the Isle-aux-Noix, thence on to Crown Point, where early in July the poor fragmentary army found a little rest, — five thousand in all, and of these at least one half were in hospital.[2]

DUNMORE'S SEAL.[4]

We may glance now at the progress of events to the southward. In Virginia, Dunmore, the royal governor, hearing of Gage's proclamation proscribing Hancock and Adams, feared that he might be seized as a hostage, and took safety on board a man-of-war in Yorktown harbor. Events soon moved rapidly in that quarter.[3] Patrick Henry, perhaps a little unadvisedly, was made commander of their militia.[5] In due time, from his floating

[1] There is a likeness of Thomas, owned by Mrs. Williams, of New York, a descendant. This portrait was engraved for the illustrated edition of Irving's *Washington*, and is reproduced in Jones's *Campaign for the Conquest of Canada*, p. 52. There is a brief memoir, *Life and Services of Maj.-Gen. John Thomas, compiled by Chas. Coffin* (New York, 1844). In July, 1775, Thomas had been justly irritated at the irresponsible action of Congress in ranking the general officers of its appointment, and had only been prevented from resigning by Washington's urging him to pause. W. B. Reed, in his *Life of Joseph Reed* (i. 109), prints this appeal of Washington from the draft in Reed's handwriting.

[2] Greaton writes to Heath, July 31, 1776, from Ticonderoga: "We have got out of Canada very well considering the situation we were in; but happy would it have been for us if we had retreated three weeks sooner. We are fortifying as fast as we can; the men in very low spirits." (*Heath MSS.*, i. 306. Cf. Adams, *Familiar Letters*, p. 195.)

[3] They are traced in Bancroft, orig. ed., viii. 373.

[4] From a plate in Valentine's *N. Y. City Manual*, 1851.

[5] Rives's *Madison*, i. 102.

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capitol, Dunmore issued his proclamation granting freedom to slaves of rebels,[1] and had directed a motley crew of his adherents to destroy the colonial stores at Suffolk, and this led to a brisk engagement at the Great Bridge (December 9, 1775), not far from Norfolk, in which the royalists were totally defeated.[2] The destruction of that town, now under the guns of the royal vessels, soon followed, on the first of January, 1776.[3]

On the 27th of February, 1776, the Scotch settlers of North Carolina, instigated by Martin, the royal governor, and under the lead of their chief, Macdonald,[4] endeavored to scatter a force of militia at Moore's Creek Bridge, but were brought to bay, and compelled to surrender about half of a force which had numbered fifteen or sixteen hundred.[5]

Early in 1776 the task was assigned to Clinton, who had in January departed from Boston, as we have seen, to force and hold the Southern colonies to their allegiance, and Cornwallis, with troops, was sent over under convoy of Sir Peter Parker's fleet, to give Clinton the army he needed. The fleet did not reach North Carolina till May. In March, Lee, while in New York, had wished to be ordered to the command in Canada, as "he was the only general officer on the continent who could speak and think in French." He was disappointed, and ordered farther south.[6] By May he was in Virginia, ridding the country of Tories, and trying to find out where Parker intended to land.[7] It was expected that Clinton would return north to New York in season to operate with Howe, when he opened the campaign there in the early summer, as that general expected to do, and the interval for a diversion farther south was not long. Lee had now gone as far as Charleston (S. C.), and taken command in that neighborhood, while in charge of the little fort at the entrance of the harbor was William Moultrie, upon whom Lee was inculcating the necessity of a slow and sure

[1] Moore's *Diary of the Rev.*, i. p. 160; Niles, *Principles and Acts* (1876), p. 286; Force's *Archives*, iii. 1385; Geo. Livermore's *Historical Research*, p. 134; Rives's *Madison*, i. 117.

[2] Moore's *Diary*, i. 179. Dawson, *Battles*, gives contemporary reports (i. 121, 125); Maxwell's *Virginia Register*, vol. vi. p. 1.

[3] Moore's *Diary of the Rev.*, i. 189. There are in the *Sparks MSS.*, no. xxxviii., various letters in 1775 and 1776 respecting Lord Dunmore's proceeding in Norfolk, and, after Aug., 1776, in New York. A letter in Nov., 1775, shows that he had given orders to raise a regiment of savages, to be called "Lord Dunmore's own regiment of Indians." On the other hand, Arthur Lee was making interest with Vergennes in Paris, to secure ammunition for Virginia. *Calendar Lee MSS.*, p. 7, no. 65. An *Orderly book of that portion of the American Army near Williamsburg, Va., under Gen. Andrew Lewis, Mar. 18 to Aug. 28, 1776* (Richmond, 1860), with notes by C. Campbell, covers some of the patriots' movements at this time.

[4] Husband of Flora Macdonald. Cf. *The Autobiography of Flora Macdonald, being the home life of a heroine, edited by her granddaughter*, Edinburgh, 1870; London, 1875; *Bentley's Mag.*, xix. 325; *Amer. Hist. Record*, i. 109, etc.; Mrs. Ellet's *Women of the Rev.*, ii. 142.

[5] David L. Swain published a paper on "the British invasion of North Carolina in 1776" in the *University Magazine* (Chapel Hill, N. C.), which was afterwards included in W. D. Cooke's *Rev. Hist. of North Carolina* (1853). Cf. Dawson's *Battles*, i. 128, with the official documents; Sparks's *Corresp. of the Rev.*, ii. App.; Frothingham's *Rise of the Republic*, 502; *Harper's Mag.*, lx. 682; Gay, *Pop. Hist. U. S.*, iii. 465; Mrs. Ellet's *Women*, etc., i. 316; the Tory account in Jones's *N. Y. during the Rev.*, i. 95; and an *Address on the battle of Moore's Creek bridge, Feb. 27, 1857, by Joshua G. Wright* (Wilmington, N. C., 1857).

[6] *Corresp. of the Rev.*, i. 161; *N. Y. Hist. Coll.*, 1871, p. 343. It seems to have been the determination in March to send him north. Adams, *Familiar Letters*, p. 135.

[7] Sparks's *Corresp. of the Rev.*, i. 485, etc.

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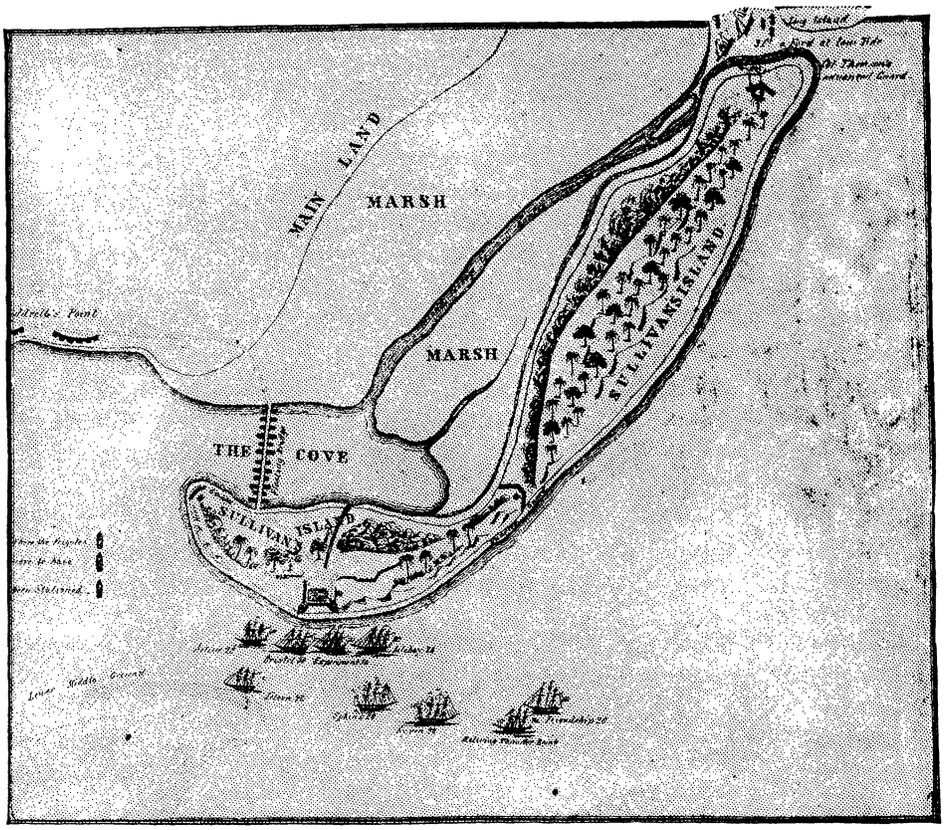
fire,[1] in case it should prove that Parker's destination, as it might well be, was to get a foothold in the Southern provinces, and break up the commerce which fed the rebellion through that harbor.

The people of Charleston had been for some time engaged on their de-



FORT MOULTRIE, 1776.[2]

fences, and "seem to wish a trial of their mettle," wrote a looker-on.[3] The fort in question was built of palmetto logs, and was unfinished on the land side. Its defenders had four days' warning, and the neighboring militia were summoned. On the 4th of June the hostile fleet appeared,[4] and hav-

[1] *Corresp. of the Rev.*, ii. 501. Cf. Lee Papers in *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, 1872, and *Sparks MSS.*, no. xxv.

[2] Reduced from the plan in Johnson's *Traditions and Reminiscences of the Amer. Revolution in the South* (Charleston, S. C., 1851). It shows that the rear portion of the fort had not been finished when the attack took place. The same plate has an enlarged plan of the fort only. See the maps in Drayton's *Memoirs of the Amer. Rev. in the South* (Charleston, 1821, two vols.), ii. 290, which is similar to Johnson's; Ramsay's *Rev. in S. Carolina*, i. 144, which is of less area; and that in Gordon's *Amer. Revolution*, iii. 358. These are the maps of American origin. Lossing (ii. 754) follows Johnson.

[3] Letter of W. A. Hyrne in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, April, 1870, p. 254; and one of Jacob Morris, June 10, noting preparations, in *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, 1875, p. 435. Lee had at first wished to abandon the fort. *Ibid.*, 1872, p. 221.

[4] It was the favorable report of a reconnoitering vessel sent from Cape Fear to Charleston that induced Clinton to attack Charleston instead of joining Howe at once. P. O. Hutchinson's *Governor Hutchinson*, ii. 96.

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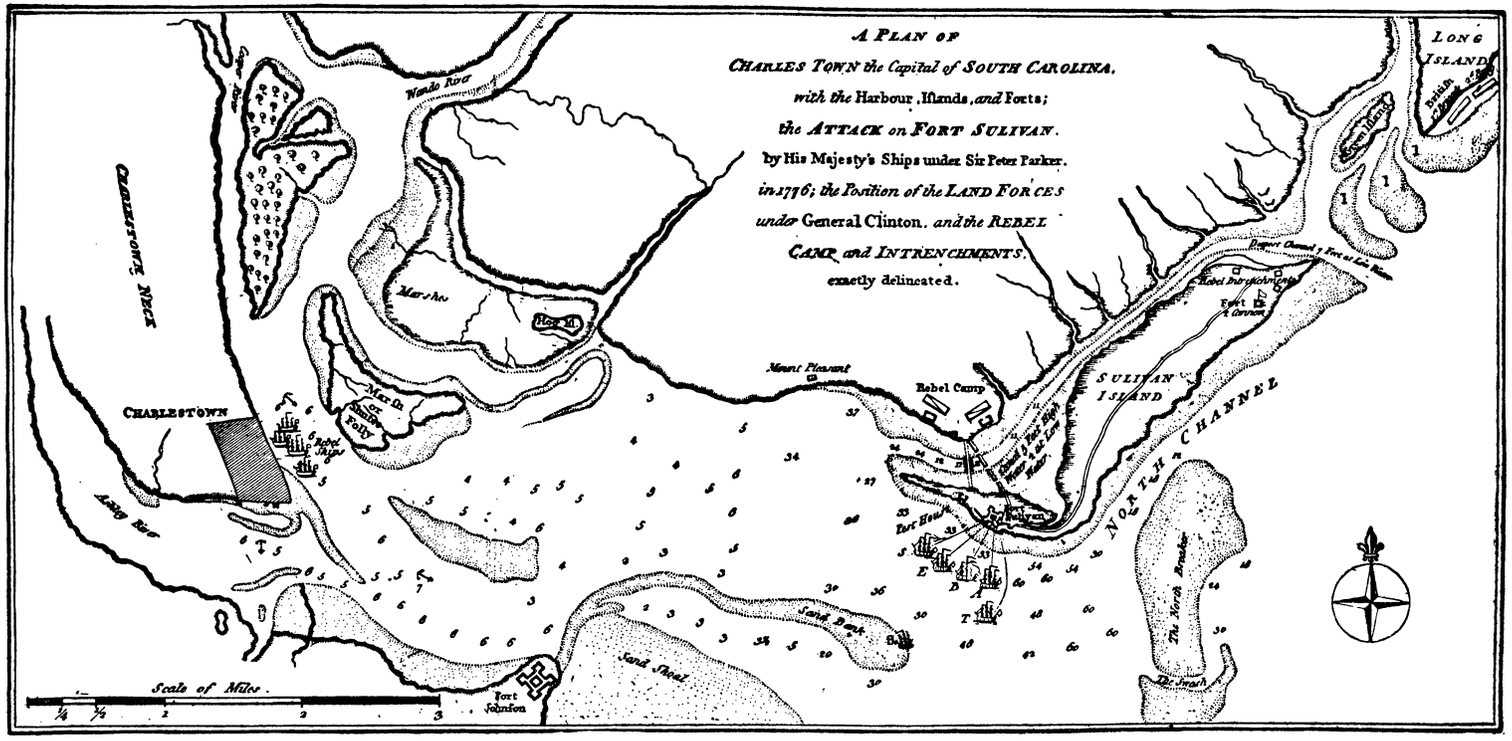

ATTACK ON CHARLESTON, 1776.[1]

[1] From *Political Mag.* (London, 1780), vol. i. p. 171, — somewhat reduced. Carrington notes (p. 176), as dated Aug. 31, 1776, and belonging to the *North Amer. Pilot:* "An exact plan of Charleston and harbor, from an actual survey, with the attack of Fort Sullivan on the 26th June, 1776, by his Majesty's squadron, commanded by Sir Peter Parker." Cf. no. 37 of the *American Atlas* (Faden's), and the *Amer. Military Pocket Atlas*, 1776, no. 5. Mr. Courtenay, in the *Charleston Year Book*, 1883 (p. 414), gives a folded fac-simile of a broadside map, *A plan of the Attack on Fort Sullivan . . . with the disposition of the King's land forces, and the encampments and entrenchments of the rebels, from the drawings made on the spot. Engraved by Wm. Faden*, by whom it was published Aug. 10, 1776. The dedication to Com. Parker is signed by Lieut.-Col. Thomas James, royal regiment of artillery, June 30, 1776. It has a corner plan of the "Platform in Sullivan's Fort," by James, on a larger scale. Appended to the map are a list of the attacking ships, and extracts from Parker's and Clinton's despatches. The channel between Long and Sullivan's islands is given as seven feet in the deepest part. The original MS. of this Faden map is in the Faden Collection in the library of Congress (no. 41),

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ing landed troops on an adjacent island, it was not till the 27th that their dispositions were made for an attack. Their ships threw shot at the fort all day, which did very little damage, while the return fire was rendered with a precision surprising in untried artillerists, and seriously damaged the fleet,[1]

WILLIAM MOULTRIE.[2]

where is also a MS. map of Charleston and its harbor, a topographical drawing, finished in colors (no. 40). Cf. *Plan de la Barre et du hâvre de Charlestown d'après un plan anglois levé en* 1776. *Rédigé au dépôt général de la marine* [Paris], 1778. (*Brit. Mus. Maps*, 1885, col. 764.)

These are the different English maps. In the same *Charleston Year Book*, p. 478, is an account of the successive forts on the same spot. A view of Charleston is in the *London Mag.* (1762, p. 296), and one by Thomas Leitch, engraved by S. Smith, 1776, is noted in the *Brit. Mus. Map Catal.*, 1885, col. 764.

[1] See an account of the effects of the fort's fire given by some Americans who had been captured at sea, and escaped. (*N. Y. Hist. Coll.*, 1872, p. 111.)

[2] From the copperplate in his *Memoirs of American Revolution, so far as it related to States of N. and S. Carolina and Georgia. Compiled from most authentic materials, the author's personal knowledge of various events, and including*

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of which one ship was grounded and abandoned. The expected land attack from Clinton's troops, already ashore on Long Island, was not made. A strong wind had raised the waters of the channel between that island and Sullivan's Island so high that it could not be forded, and suitable boats for the passage were not at hand.[1] A few days later the shattered vessels and the troops left the neighborhood, and Colonel Moultrie had leisure to count the costs of his victory, which was twelve killed and twice as many wounded. The courage of Sergeant Jasper, in replacing on the bastion a flag which had been shot away, became at once a household anecdote.[2]

CRITICAL ESSAY ON THE SOURCES OF INFORMATION.

THE earliest attempt with any precision to enumerate the various sources of information upon the whole series of military events about Boston during 1775 and 1776 was by Richard Frothingham, in the notes of his *Siege of Boston* (1849), where, in an appendix, he groups together the principal authorities. Later than this, Barry (*Massachusetts*, iii. ch. 1), Dawson (*Battles*, vol. i.), and others had been full in foot-notes; but the next systematized list of sources was printed by Justin Winsor in 1875, in the *Bulletin* of the Boston Public Library. This last enumeration was somewhat extended in the *Bunker Hill Memorial*, published by the city of Boston,[3] and still more so by the same writer in his *Handbook of the American Revolution*, Boston, 1879. It is condensed in the *Memorial Hist. of Boston*, iii. 117.

Salem, because of a little alleged pricking of bayonets when Leslie's expedition was harassed there in February, 1775, has sometimes claimed to have witnessed the first shedding of blood in the war. The principal monograph on the subject is C. M. Endicott's *Account of Leslie's retreat at the North Bridge in Salem, on Sunday, Feb.* 26, 1775 (Salem, 1856).[4] Early resistance to British arms, and even bloodshed in the act, had undoubtedly occurred before the affair at Lexington, and writers have cited the mob at Golden Hill,[5] in New York, and the massacre at Westminster, in the New Hampshire

an Epistolary Correspondence on Public Affairs, with Civil and Military Officers, at that period. (New York, 1802, two volumes.) The likeness in the *National Portrait Gallery* (New York, 1834) is Scriven's engraving of Trumbull's picture.

There is a portrait in the cabinet of the Penna. Hist. Soc., no. 58. See the paper on General Moultrie in South Carolina in *Appleton's Journal*, xix. 503, and Wilmot G. Desaussure's *Address on Maj.-Gen. William Moultrie*, before the Cincinnati Society of South Carolina, 1885.

[1] Jones (*N. Y. during the Rev.*, i. 100), without recognizing the conditions, is very severe on Clinton for his failure to coöperate. Cf. Johnston's *Observations on Jones*, p. 67.

[2] McCall's *Georgia*, p. 393.

[3] *Celebration of the Centennial Anniversary of the Battle of Bunker Hill*, edited by James M. Bugbee (Boston, 1875).

[4] This was first printed in the *Essex Institute Hist. Coll.*, i. p. 2. Cf. *Ibid.*, xviii. 190. Gage's account to Dartmouth is in *Mass. Hist. Society Proc.*, xiv. 348. Cf. further, *Memorial Services at the Centennial Anniversary of Leslie's Expedition to Salem* (Salem, 1875), including addresses by G. B. Loring and others; O. Pickering's *Life of Timothy Pickering*, i. ch. 4; Gay's *Pop. Hist. U. S.*, iii. 379; F. Moore's *Diary of the Rev.*, i. 27, etc.

[5] On Cliff Street, between Fulton Street and Maiden Lane, where several of the British troops were beaten and disarmed, but none killed, Jan. 19–20, 1770. Cf. H. B. Dawson in *Historical Mag.*, iv. 202, 233, and (best account) xv. p. 1: Leake's *Gen. Lamb*, p. 57.

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Grants, when an armed body of settlers arose against the authority of the king, as asserted in favor of the jurisdiction of New York in March, 1775.[1]

The precipitation of warfare, however, can only be connected with the expedition to Lexington and Concord. Every stage of the affair has been invested with interest by discussion and illustration. The ride of Paul Revere to give warning has grown to be a household tale in the spirited verse of Longtellow; but, as is the case with almost all of that poet's treatments of historical episodes, he has paid little attention to exactness of fact, and has wildly, and often without poetic necessity, turned the channels of events. In literary treatment, the events of Lexington and Concord form so distinct a group of references that they can be best considered in a later note (A), as can also the sources of information respecting the fight at Bunker Hill (B).

Of the siege of Boston, the chief monograph is Frothingham's, already referred to. Other contributions of a monographic nature are the address and chronicle of the siege by Dr. George E. Ellis in the *Evacuation Memorial of the City of Boston* (1876); W. W. Wheildon's *Siege and Evacuation of Boston and Charlestown* (Boston, 1876, pp. 64); and the chapters on the siege in Dawson's *Battles of the United States*, vol. i., and Carrington's *Battles of the Revolution* (1876).[2]

Among the general historians, Bancroft has made an elaborate study of the siege, devoting to it a large part of his vol. viii. (orig. edition), and all the histories of the United States, Massachusetts, and Boston necessarily cover it.[3]

The principal of the later British historians is Mahon, in his *Hist. of England*, vol. vi. Lecky (*England in the Eighteenth Century*, ii. ch. 12), while he goes little into details, gives an admirable account of the two respective camps. *The Life of Burgoyne*, by Fonblanque, is the fullest of the biographies of the actors on the British side.

On the American side, the lives of leading officers all necessarily yield to those of Washington,[4] whose letters, as contained in vol. iii. of Sparks's ed. of his *Writings*, can well be supplemented by those of Reed, then his secretary.[5] Of the contemporary general historians, Gordon and Mercy Warren were familiar with the actors of the time.

[1] Cf. the histories of Vermont; *Hist. Mag.*, iii. 133; Bancroft, orig. ed., vii. 271. See further on these preliminary acts of violence, Potter's *Amer. Monthly*, April, 1875; Seba Smith in *Godey's Mag.*, xxii. 257; Moore's *Diary of the Amer. Rev.*, i. 50.

[2] General Carrington has recast his narrative in his *Boston and New York, 1775 and 1776, historical papers from the Bay State Monthly* (Boston, 1884).

[3] Gay, *Pop. Hist. U. S.*, iii. ch. 16; Barry, *Mass.*, iii. ch. 2, with notes; *Mem. Hist. of Boston*, iii., where the chapter on the siege is written by Edward E. Hale (cf. also his *Hundred Years Ago*); Paige, *Hist. of Cambridge;* Drake, *Hist. of Roxbury;* Clapp, *Hist. of Dorchester;* Symonds, *Hist. of South Boston;* Lossing, *Field-Book of the Revolution*, i.; A. B. Muzzey, *Reminiscences and Memorials of Men of the Revolution* (Boston, 1883); H. E. Scudder in *Atlantic Monthly*, April, 1876.

[4] By Marshall and Irving, in particular. Something may be added by the memoirs of Putnam, Heath (with also his diary as printed in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, May, 1859), Greene, Wilkinson, Knox, John Sullivan, John Thomas, Wm. Hull, Col. John Trumbull, with lives of such civilians as Dr. John Warren and Elbridge Gerry.

[5] Reed's letters from the camp during the summer of 1775 are in the *Life of Joseph Reed*, i. 116, etc., as well as those of Washington (p. 125, etc.) to Reed during the autumn and winter, after the departure of the latter. Sparks thought these letters of Washington the most imperfect he had seen, being written in great haste and confidence. Sparks printed them in part. Reed gives them at length. Washington's letters to Reed from the Cambridge camp make 20 of the 51 letters constituting the lot of his correspondence with Reed, which, having passed from Mr. William B. Reed to Mr. Menzies, was sold at the latter's sale (no. 2,051), and was again sold in the J. J. Cooke sale ($2,250) in Dec., 1883, when they passed into the Carter-Brown library. The *Cooke Catalogue* (pp. 340–349) describes them mainly as Mr. Reed prepared the statement, and they are commented on in the *No. Am. Rev.*, July, 1852, p. 203, and in Irving's *Washington*, ii. 178. The original draft of Washington's letter to his officers, Sept. 8, 1775, asking their views respecting a boat attack on Boston, is among them (*Cooke Catal.*, p. 342), while a fair copy in Washington's hand, as addressed to Ward, is among the Ward MSS. in the Mass. Hist. Society's library. It is printed in Sparks, iii. 80.

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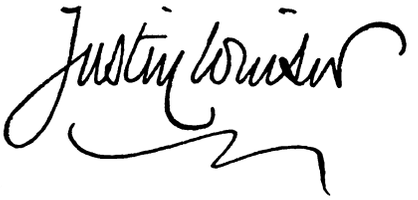
The *Journals* of the Continental Congress and of the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts follow the development of events, and show how in some ways the legislation shaped them.[1] Contemporary records and comments are garnered in Almon's *Remembrancer*, Force's *Archives*, Niles's *Principles and Acts of the Revolution*, and Moore's *Diary of the Amer. Revolution.* The life and daily routine of both camps are to be traced in abundant orderly books, diaries, and correspondence, of which the register is given in the notes (C and D) following this essay.

Of the Canada expedition, in its combined movements by the Kennebec and Lake Champlain, the authorities for detail may well be reserved for later notes (G and H), but for comprehensive treatment references may be made to the general historians and a few special monographs. As respects the campaign in general, the only considerable special study is Charles Henry Jones's *History of the Campaign for the Conquest of Canada in* 1776 (Philad., 1882). The book does not profess, however, to follow the movements before the death of Montgomery, nor to touch at all the coöperating column of Arnold before it had united with the other. A principal interest of its writer is, furthermore, to chronicle the share of Pennsylvanians in the campaign. The study is therefore but an imperfect one, and the author gives the student no assistance in indicating his sources. The reader must necessarily have recourse, then, for a survey of the whole campaign, to such general works as Bancroft's *United States* (vol. viii.), Carrington's *Battles* (p. 122), and other comprehensive and biographical works.[2]

The political aspects of the movement on Canada arise in the main from the mission of the Commissioners of Congress to the army, and their efforts to affect the sympathies of the Canadians. The sources of this matter are also traced in a subsequent note.[3]



[1] There is necessarily much in the *Mass. Archives*. Cf. *Mem. Hist. Boston*, iii. 118.

[2] Lossing's *Field-Book*, vol. i.; Lossing's *Schuyler*, i. ch. 26; Stone's introd. to Thayer's *Journal*, and the references given by that editor, p. v.

[3] On the "Canada Campaign."

NOTES.

A. LEXINGTON AND CONCORD. — The details of Revere's connection with the events of the 18th and 19th April are not altogether without dispute. Revere's own narrative was not written till 1798,[1] and was printed in the *Mass. Hist. Soc. Collections*, vol. v., but not so accurately as to preclude the advisability of reprinting it in the same society's *Proceedings*, Nov., 1878. Richard Devens's nearly contemporary account of the signal lanterns is printed in Frothingham's *Siege of Boston*, p. 57.[2] The traditional story of the other messenger of that eventful night is told

[1] The manuscript is in the cabinet of the Mass. Hist. Society. Cf. *Worcester Mag.*, i. 202.

[2] The tower upon which the lanterns were hung is a matter of dispute, Revere's "North Church" being considered by some to have been the church in North Square, Boston, pulled down by the British during the siege, and by others the present Christ Church, and it is upon the latter that the tourist to-day is shown an inscription identifying that building with the event. Richard Frothingham, in a letter to the mayor of Boston, called *The alarm on the night of April* 18, 1775 (Boston, 1876, 2d ed., 1877) protested against this act, and wrote in favor of the church in North Square. The other alternative was upheld by the Rev. John Lee Watson in a letter to the *Boston Daily Advertiser*, July 20, 1876, and this was printed separately in 1877 as *Paul Revere's Signal, with remarks by Charles Deane*, and in a second edition with an additional letter in

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in H. W. Holland's *William Dawes and his ride with Paul Revere.*[1]

In a book which was published at Boston in 1873 as *Historic Fields and Mansions of Middlesex*, but whose title in a second edition, in 1876, reads *Old Landmarks and Historic Fields of Middlesex*, Mr. Samuel Adams Drake follows (ch. xvi.–xviii.) the route of the British troops from Lechmere Point to Concord and back to Charlestown, pointing out the localities of signal events in the day's course.

The provincial congress ordered depositions[2] to be taken of those who had participated in the events of the day, with a main purpose of establishing that the British fired first at Lexington. These were signed in several copies. One set of them, accompanied by a request from Warren to Franklin to have them printed and dispersed in England, was entrusted to Capt. John Derby, of Salem, who took also a copy of the *Essex Gazette*, in which an account of the fighting was printed, and sailed in a swift packet for England four days after Lieutenant Nunn, bearing Gage's despatches, had sailed from Boston (April 24). Derby reached Southampton on the 27th of May, and was in London the next day.[3] London had been stirred three weeks before with rumors of a bloody day with Gage's troops,[4] and now two days later the government felt called upon to announce they had no tidings; whereupon Arthur Lee, who, since Franklin had sailed for America, had succeeded to his place as agent of Massachusetts, and had received the papers, made a counter-announcement that the public could see the affidavits at the Mansion House.[5] The tidings spread. Hutchinson communicated the news to Gibbon, and he recorded it in a letter, May 31.[6] On the 5th of June Horace Walpole wrote it to Horace Mann. On the 7th, Dartmouth spoke of the "vague and uncertain accounts of a skirmish, made up for the purpose of conveying misrepresentation."[7] On the same day the friends of America, forming the Constitutional Society, met at the King's Arms in

1880. (Cf. *Proc. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, Nov., 1876.) This second letter was mainly in answer to William W. Wheildon's *History of Paul Revere's Signal Lanterns* (Concord, 1878), in which, while accepting the Christ Church theory, it was claimed that Robert Newman was the person who showed the lanterns, and not John Pulling, as averred by Mr. Watson (cf. note in Everett's *Orations*, i. p. 101). Mr. Deane had shown that, both before and after the destruction of the church in North Square, Christ Church had been called the North Church; while the earliest use of that designation for the latter building seems to have been in one of Dr. Stiles's almanacs in 1754, where he speaks of "Dr. Cutler's *alias* North, *alias* Christ Church." (*Atlantic Monthly*, Aug., 1884, p. 256.) E. G. Porter's *Rambles in Old Boston, N. E.*, favors Christ Church.

Among the more general histories, the fullest account of this ride can be found in S. A. Drake's *Middlesex County*, i. ch. 16.

Mr. E. H. Goss printed a paper on Revere in the *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, Jan., 1886, p. 3, giving, among other cuts, a view of his birth-place (?) in North Square, in Boston. There is a portrait of him, with a note on other likenesses, in *Mem. Hist. Boston*, iii. 69. Cf. also T. W. Higginson in *Harper's Monthly*, Oct., 1883, and his *Larger Hist. of the U. S.*

[1] Boston, 1878, — one hundred copies privately printed.

[2] The entire series (twenty in number) is printed in Force's *American Archives*, 4th ser., ii. 490, *et seq.*; Shattuck's *History of Concord*, pp. 342, *et seq.*; *Journal of second continental congress*, pp. 79, *et seq.*; and portions of it are given in Frothingham's *Siege of Boston*, pp. 367, *et seq.*; *Remembrancer*, 1775, i. 35, *et seq.*; *London Chronicle*, June 1, 1775; also in various Boston newspapers of the time. They were also printed in a tract without imprint, *Affidavits and depositions relative to the commencement of hostilities at Concord and Lexington, April* 19, 1775. They were again issued by Isaiah Thomas, at Worcester, in a *Narrative of the incursions and ravages of the King's troops on the nineteenth of April* (Haven, in Thomas, ii. p. 661); again at Boston, in 1779 (*Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, xiv. 204). Dawson (i. 23) prints some of the depositions, and so does Hinman in his *Connecticut during the Revolution*, App. Governor Franklin, of New Jersey, transmitted copies to Dartmouth (*N. Jersey Archives*, x. 612). Lieut. E. T. Gould, of the King's Own, captured by the provincials, testified that he "could not exactly say which fired first."

[3] Sparks says (*Sparks MSS.*, no. xxxii., vol. ii.): "In the public offices in London, I saw several papers respecting [Lexington], and particularly about the arrival of Captain Derby and the intelligence he brought. He was examined by order of the ministers, and he seems to have acted a bold part in circulating the intelligence. . . . In the first dispatch to General Gage he was censured for not sending the particulars immediately, and ordered to keep a packet in constant readiness."

[4] P. O. Hutchinson, 436.

[5] These depositions of the combatants, thus falling among Arthur Lee's papers, were finally separated in a strange division, by the younger R. H. Lee, who gave a part to Harvard College and a part to the University of Virginia. Cf. *Calendar of the Lee MSS. in Harvard University Library*, p. 6; Sparks's *Washington*, iii. 35.

[6] *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, May, 1883, vol. ix.; Mahon, vi., App. p. xxvii.

[7] *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, xiv. 343, 349; Hudson's *Lexington*, 249; *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, 1857, p. 165.

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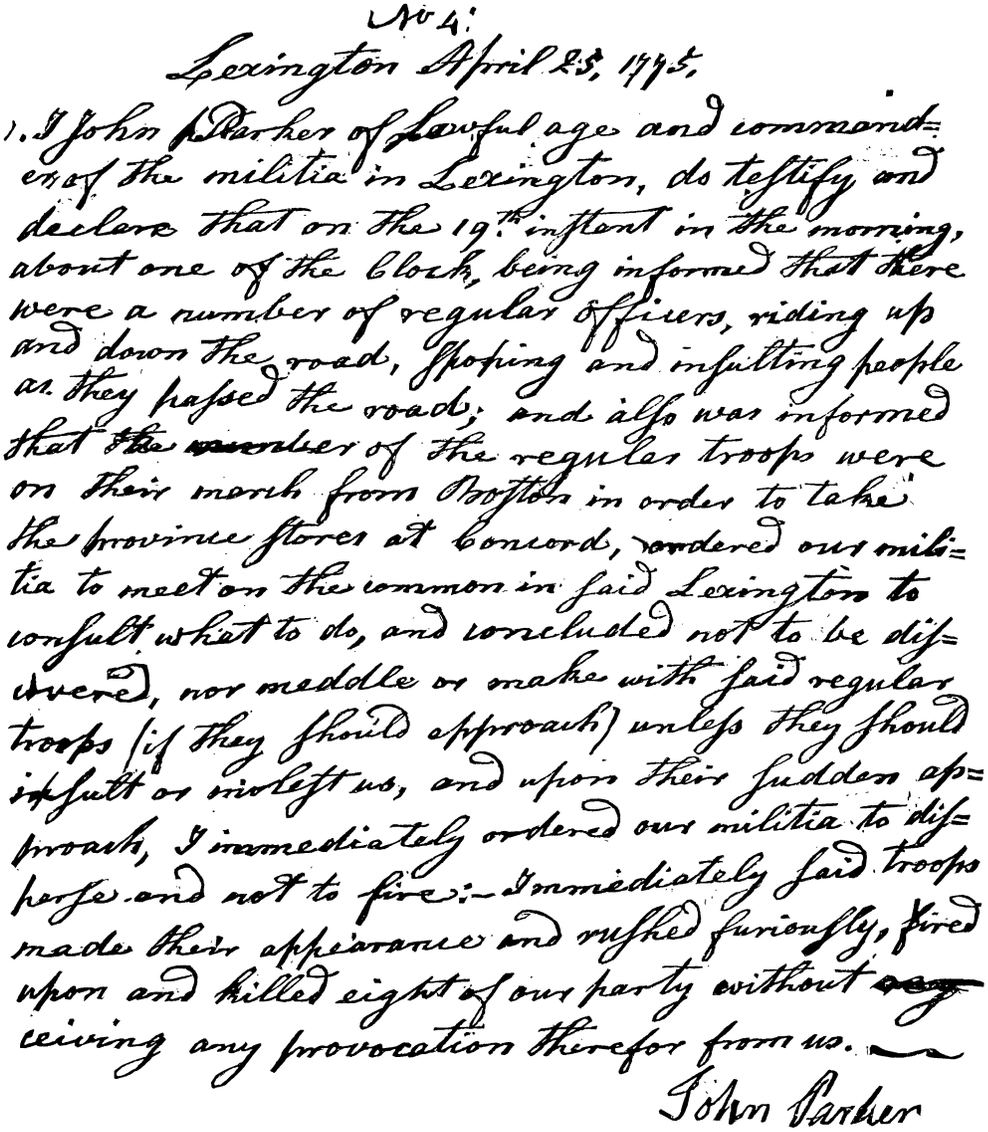

No 4:

Lexington April 25. 1775.

I. I John Parker of lawful age and command=
er of the militia in Lexington, do testify and
declare that on the 19th instant in the morning,
about one of the Clock, being informed that there
were a number of regular officers, riding up
and down the road, stoping and insulting people
as they passed the road; and also was informed
that the number of the regular troops were
on their march from Boston in order to take
the province stores at Concord, ordered our mili=
tia to meet on the common in said Lexington to
consult what to do, and concluded not to be dis=
covered, nor meddle or make with said regular
troops (if they should approach) unless they should
insult or molest us, and upon their sudden ap=
proach, I immediately ordered our militia to dis=
perse and not to fire:— Immediately said troops
made their appearance and rushed furiously, fired
upon and killed eight of our party without
receiving any provocation therefor from us.

John Parker

LEXINGTON DEPOSITION.[1]

[1] Fac-simile of the original in the Arthur Lee Papers in Harvard College library. The fac-simile on the opposite page, relating to the action at Concord, is reproduced from an original in the same collection of papers.

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Lexington April 19 1775

A Power Consort of Concord Colonel of a Regiment of Militia in the County of Middlesex & Lieut. Colonel Thomas Gage Esq. Commander in Chief of all his Majesty's Forces in North America &c &c &c

Whereas I have been informed that a number of the Inhabitants of this Province have lately assembled themselves together in a hostile manner, and have erected fortifications at Concord, and have collected a quantity of Ammunition, Artillery, and other warlike Stores, for the purpose of raising and carrying on a Rebellious War against the King, his Crown and Dignity, and have also threatened to oppose the Troops under my Command in the Execution of the Duty they are ordered upon, and have actually fired upon his Majesty's Troops, and killed and wounded many of them, and have now drawn themselves together in a body at Concord, with Intent to oppose the Troops under my Command, and prevent the Execution of the Duty they are ordered upon, and to attack and destroy them, or make them Prisoners, if they cannot defend themselves: These are therefore in his Majesty's Name, to require and command you, and every of you, to lay down your Arms, and disperse, each to his own Habitation, or Abode, upon Pain of being treated as Rebels and Traitors.

Given under my Hand at Boston, the 19th Day of April in the Fifteenth Year of his Majesty's Reign, Annoque Domini 1775.

By his Excellency's Command

Thomas Gage

Henry Barnett Secretary

God save the King

Cornhill, and raised a subscription of £100, to be paid to the widows and families of the provincials who had been killed.[1] On the 8th another vessel reached Liverpool, confirming the news, but giving no particulars. Finally, on the 10th, the official report of Gage, with the statements of Percy and Smith, reached the government.[2]

Meanwhile, both sides at home had been busy with circulating their pleas of vindications. The provincial congress at once despatched messengers south,[3] and the Rev. William Gordon, an Englishman settled in Jamaica Plain, drew up (May 17, 1775) for the patriots their authoritative *Account of the Commencement of hostilities*;[4] and various other contemporary accounts on the provincial side have come down to us,[5] and of importance among them are the narra-

[1] Sabin, viii. 33,032. This money was later paid to Dr. Franklin, and by him, in October, to a committee of the Mass. assembly. Sparks's *Franklin*, iii. 134.

[2] Frothingham's *Siege of Boston*, 86; Sparks's *Washington*, iii. 512. In the *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, May, 1876 (vol. xiv. p. 349), is Percy's report to Gage, April 20, 1775, and Smith's, of April 22 (p. 350), — both from the Public Record Office. Cf. *Sparks MSS.*, xxxii., vol. i., and the Appendix to Lord Mahon's *Hist. of England*, vol. vi. The government's bulletin, dated Whitehall, June 10, 1775, as printed in the *London Gazette*, is given in Dawson, i. 26. For the effect of the news in England, see Bancroft, orig. ed., vii. 342.

[3] One of these despatches, dated Watertown, April 19, endorsed by the officers of the towns through which it had passed, is printed in the *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, Oct., 1873, p. 434. It is pointed out in Greene's *Life of Nathanael Greene* (i. 77), how the news affected Rhode Island. The confused statements which reached Connecticut can be seen in the Deane Correspondence in the *Conn. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, ii. 218, and in the broadside *Letter of James Lockwood and Isaac Bears, dated Wallingford, April 24, 1775, respecting the Battle near Winter Hill, in which Lord Percy was killed.* The news reached New York, Sunday, April 23, and the response was sudden. Vessels loaded for Boston were seized; arsenals were taken in charge, and cannon planted at Kingsbridge (Dawson's *Battles*, i. 130, and his *Westchester County during the Amer. Rev.*, Morrisania, 1886, p. 75; Bancroft, orig. ed., vii. 328; Leake's *Lamb*, 101; *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, Apr., 1882, p. 283). Governor Colden describes the effects in his despatch to Dartmouth (*N. Y. Col. Docs.*, viii. 571). Jones, in his *New York during the Rev. War* (i. 39, 497), gives a curiously perverted story, saying, among other things, that the British muskets were unloaded when the Americans attacked them at Lexington, and describes the stormy meeting of the governor's council in the afternoon. From New Jersey, Governor Franklin wrote to Dartmouth May 6, and June 5 and 7. (*New Jersey Archives*, x. 590, 601, 642.) The tidings reached Philadelphia April 24, and the original endorsed despatch is in the Pennsylvania Hist. Soc. library. (*N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, 1864, p. 23; Hazard's *Reg. of Penna.*, iii. 175; Christopher Marshall's *Diary*, p. 18.) In the second week in May the news reached Western Pennsylvania, and the resolutions which were passed at Hannastown were drawn by St. Clair (*St. Clair Papers*, i. 363). It reached Williamsburg, Va., April 29. (Moore's *Diary*, i. 75.) It came to Kentucky just as the settlers were founding a town, and they named it Lexington. (Winthrop's *Speeches*, 1878, etc., p. 106.) A despatch which was written at Wallingford, Conn., April 24, embodying the reports which had reached that point, and representing that both the American commander and Lord Percy had been killed, was sent South, receiving endorsements as it passed along, and reached Charleston, S. C., May 10, 6.30 P M. It is given in R. W. Gibbs's *Doc. Hist. of the Amer. Rev.*, pp. 82–91. (See broadside mentioned above.) A military company, the Fusiliers, was at once formed, and its roll and career are registered in the *Charleston Year Book*, 1885, p. 342.

For the effect of Lexington and Concord upon the other colonies, see, beside Bancroft and the other general histories, Stuart's *Jonathan Trumbull;* Moore's *Diary*, i. 77; John Dickinson's Letter in Lee's *Arthur Lee*, ii. 307; Lossing's *Philip Schuyler*, i. 307.

[4] This was reprinted in Nathaniel Low's *Astronomical Diary or Almanac* (Boston), 1776; in George's *Cambridge Almanac*, 1776; and in Stearns's *North Amer. Almanac* (Boston), 1776. It is substantially included with additions and abridgments in Gordon's *History of the Amer. Revolution*, and can be found in Force's *Amer. Archives.*

[5] Cf. Dawson's *Battles of the United States*, i.; Frank Moore's *Diary of the Amer. Revolution*, i. 63; Niles's *Principles and Acts of the Revolution;* L. Lyons's *Mil. Journals of two private soldiers, 1758–1775* (Poughkeepsie, 1855), with notes by Lossing, and an App. of "official papers" (Field, *Indian Bibliog.*, 963; Sabin, x. 42,860); a letter by John Andrews in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, July, 1865, p. 403; one by Dr. Foster (?) of Charleston, in *Ibid.* (April, 1870), xi. 306; and others by D. Greene in xiii. 57, and by Jos. Greene in xiii. 59. Cf. also letter of Jos. Thaxter in *Hist. Mag.*, xv. 206; and one by Alex. Scammell in *Ibid.*, xviii. 141. A significant handbill was issued at the time, with a row of coffins at the head, called *Bloody Butchery by the British Troops.* The narrative had before appeared in the *Salem Gazette* for April 21, 25, and May 5, which, with an elegy and a list of the killed and wounded, constituted this broadside as printed at Salem. It was reproduced a few years since in fac-simile. The *Essex Gazette* and the *Worcester Spy* (May 3) also contained accounts. Thaddeus Blood, of Concord, jotted down at some later period his recollections, which, found among his papers, were printed in the *Boston Daily Advertiser*, April 20, 1886.

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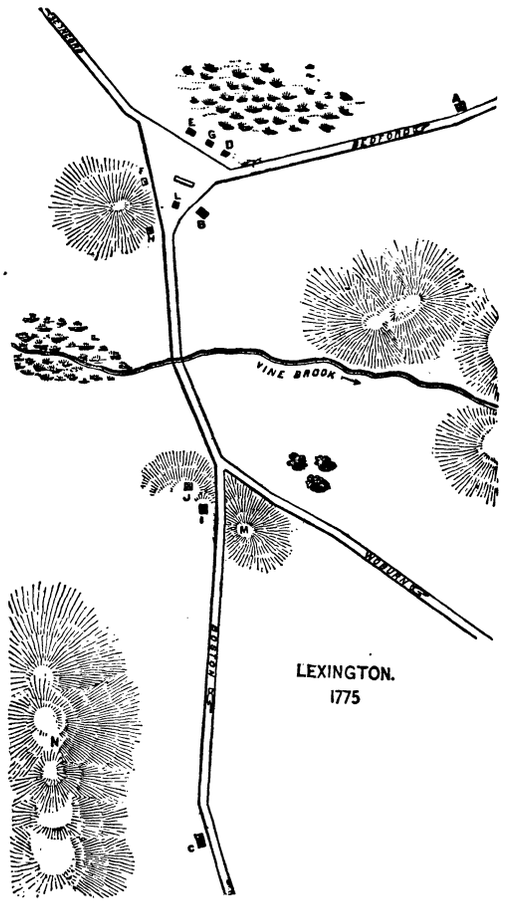

LEXINGTON, 1775.[1]

[1] After a plan in Hudson's *Lexington*, p. 173. The British approached from Boston up the road, past the Munroe Tavern, still standing (C), past Loring's house and barn (I J); and opposite Emerson's house (H) they sighted, looking beyond the meeting-house (L), the Lexington militia, under Capt. John Parker, drawn up along the farther side of the triangular green, in front of the houses of Daniel Harrington (E) and Jonathan Harrington (D, still standing) (who was one of the killed), which were separated from each other by a blacksmith's shop (G). The house on the opposite side of the common (F) was Nathan Munroe's (still standing), and on the third side was Bucknam's Tavern (B, still standing), where Parker's company was mostly assembled when the order was given to form on the common. When the minute-men scattered, most of them ran across the swamp; but some fled up the Bedford road, in the direction of the Clarke House (A), still standing, where Adams and Hancock had spent the night, but from which they were now hurrying towards Burlington for better protection.

On the return of the British from Concord, they met Percy's column on the road between Munroe's Tavern and Loring's. Percy now kept the provincials at bay by planting his field-pieces at M and N, while some of the wounded were carried into the tavern, which is still standing. The buildings (I J) were set on fire and burned down. Balls from Percy's cannon have been dug up since in the town. One went through the meeting-house (L). Several of these balls are preserved. While Percy was halting, General Heath arrived among the provincials and assumed the command. Cf. the plans in Josiah Adams's *Address at Acton;* Moore's *Ballad History of the Revolution.*

There are views of the Clarke House in Hudson's *Lexington*, 430; Drake's *Landmarks of Middlesex*, 364–368; Lossing's *Field-Book*, i. 523; and of the Munroe Tavern in Hudson, part ii. p. 161.

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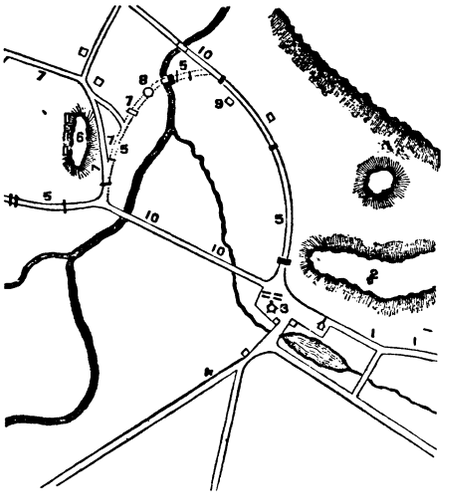

CONCORD, 1775.[1]

tives of the ministers of Lexington and Concord, the Reverends Jonas Clark and William Emerson.[2] The *Memoirs* of General Heath are, of course, of first importance; for he was on the ground soon after Percy took the command on the British side.[3]

A few days after the 19th, John Adams tells us[4] he rode along "the scene of action toward Lexington for many miles, and inquired of the inhabitants the circumstances." He gives us no particulars, but what he learned was not calculated to diminish his ardor in the cause.[5]

The accounts on the British side are almost equally numerous, including the official reports of Gage, Percy, and Smith, already referred to. General Gage sent (April 29)[6] to Gov. Trumbull, of Connecticut, a statement, which was printed at the time in a handbill as a *Circumstantial Account*, and he refers to it "as taken from gentlemen of indisputable honor and veracity, who were eye-witnesses of all the transactions of that day."[7] In 1779 there was printed

[1] This follows a plan in Hudson's *Lexington*, p. 191. The British approached from Lexington by the road (1), and halted in the middle of the town (3). The provincials, who were assembled by the liberty-pole (2), retired along the road (5) by the Rev. William Emerson's house [Hawthorne's "Old Manse"], and across the North Bridge (between 5 and 8) to the high land (6), where they halted, and where reinforcements from the neighboring towns reached them. Colonel Smith, the British commander, now sent out two parties to seek for stores. One, which went by the road (4) to the South Bridge, found little. The other followed the road (5) by the North Bridge, and passing beneath the provincials at 6, turned to their right, and took the road (5) to Colonel Barrett's house, where they destroyed some cannon and other stores. This second party had left a detail at the North Bridge to secure their retreat by that way, for the road (10) did not then exist. The provincials, after the party bound to Colonel Barrett's passed on, descended from 6 to the North Bridge, when the detail defending it, who were near 8, recrossed the bridge. Here the first firing took place, and some were killed on both sides, the river being between the combatants. The British detail now retired towards the centre of the town, the Americans following them across the bridge, but immediately dispersing without military order. While thus scattered, the British party, returning from Barrett's house, recrossed the North Bridge without molestation, and rejoined the main body at the centre of the town. Here the British, after destroying other stores and delaying for about two hours, formed for the return march towards Lexington, the main body following the road (2), while a flanking party took the ridge of high land (2).

Cf. also the plans in Frothingham's *Siege of Boston*, 70.

[2] Clark's is appended to a discourse which he delivered on the first anniversary in 1776, and this was reprinted in 1875. It was also reprinted in the *Massachusetts Mag.*, 1794. Emerson's, which makes three pages of an interleaved almanac (which was in the possession of his grandson, Ralph Waldo Emerson, when the fac-simile was made, which is here followed, so far as the first page goes), was first printed by R. W. Emerson in his *Historical Discourse* in 1835 (republished in 1875), and again in the *American Historical Magazine and Literary Record*, New Haven, 1836. Other early anniversary sermons add little or nothing to our knowledge; such are Samuel Cooke's *The violent destroyed and oppressed delivered* (Lexington, 1777, but printed in Boston, 1777), and Philip Payson's sermon, also at Lexington, in 1782. Sermons were preached at Concord from 1776 to 1783; the series is in the Mass. Hist. Society's library. A sermon preached by John Langdon, at Watertown, May 31, 1775, refers to the fight. This is reprinted in J. W. Thornton's *Pulpit of the Amer. Revolution.*

[3] *Memoirs of Maj.-Gen. William Heath, containing anecdotes, details of skirmishes, battles, and other military events during the American War, written by Himself* (Boston, 1798). Accounts by those who knew the actors intimately are in Mercy Warren's *Hist. of the Amer. Revolution* (1805), and in James Thacher's *Military Journal* (1823).

[4] *Works*, ii. p. 406.

[5] We have brief records of other observers of the after-appearances in Dr. McClure's diary and in Madam Winthrop's letter. (*Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, 1875, vol. xiv. p. 28; 1878, vol. xvi. p. 157.)

[6] This letter is in the *Trumbull MSS.*, iv. p. 77.

[7] *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, xiv. 351. There are two or three copies of this broadside in the library of this society, and it is reproduced somewhat smaller in the *Mem. Hist. Boston*, iii. 73, and is reprinted in the Society's *Collections*, xii.; and in Wm. Lincoln's ed. of the *Journals of the Provincial Congresses* (Boston,

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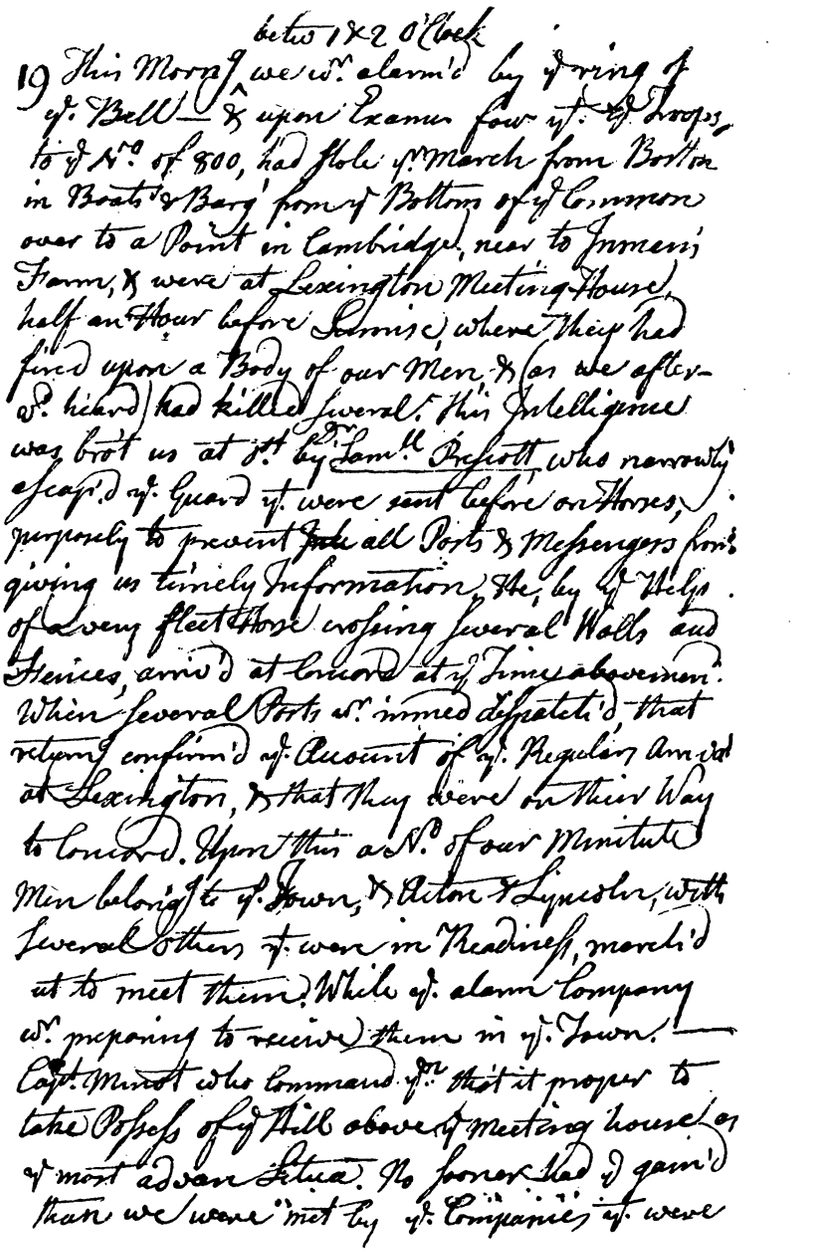

PART OF EMERSON'S RECORD IN HIS DIARY, APRIL 19, 1775 (from Whitney's *Literature of the Nineteenth of April*).

1838). There is in the Mass. Hist. Soc. library a printed broadside containing Governor Trumbull's letter to Gage, dated at Hartford, April 28, 1775, sent by a committee of the Connecticut assembly, and also Gage's reply of May 3, 1775, in which he characterizes his *Circumstantial Account* in the language quoted in the text. He also tells Trumbull that the royal troops "disclaim with indignation the barbarous outrages of which they are accused, so contrary to their known humanity. I have taken the greatest pains (he adds) to discover if any were committed, and have found examples of their tenderness both to the young and the old, but no vestige of cruelty or barbarity."

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at Boston a pamphlet containing General Gage's instructions to Brown and De Bernière,[1] from a MS. left in Boston by a British officer, to which is appended an account of the "transactions" of April 19, with a list of the killed, wounded, and missing,[2] and in 1775 there was printed at Lon-

PERCY.[3]

1 This name, probably by a typographical error, appears in some of the contemporary accounts as Bernic*re*, and this mistake has been followed by various later writers. The pamphlet is called *Instructions of 22 Feb. 1775 to Capt. Brown and Ensign de Berniere . . . and an account of their doings in consequence of further orders to proceed to Concord. Also an Account of the Transactions of the British troops from their march from Boston, April 18, till their retreat back, April 19, 1775, and a return of killed and wounded* (Boston, 1779, 20 pp.). There is a copy in the Boston Pub. Library. Cf. Haven in Thomas, ii. p. 658.

2 There is also a table of casualties at Lexington, Concord, and Bunker Hill, in the *Hist. of the War in America* (Dublin, 1779–1785). On the provincial side there is a list of casualties (forty-nine killed, thirty-nine wounded, and five missing, — ninety-three in all) of the 19th April given in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, xviii.; Frothingham's *Siege of Boston*, 80; Dawson's *Battles*, etc.; Hudson's *Lexington*, p. 211; Everett's *Orations*, i. 562; Wm. Lincoln's ed. of the *Journals of the Provincial Congresses* (Boston, 1838). The names of the men who were on duty on that day are in what are called the Lexington alarm rolls in the State Archives (*Revolutionary Rolls*, vols. xi., xii., and xiii.). The histories of towns which sent companies usually print such lists, as the *Hist. of Sutton*, p. 783, etc. The losses of property sustained by Lexington during the day, as figured in 1780, is given in the *Mass. Archives*, cxxxviii. p. 410; and the Report of the Committee of the Provincial Congress on the losses along the line of march is given in Wm. Lincoln's ed. of the *Journals of the Prov. Congresses* (Boston, 1838). This report makes the damage done by the king's troops in Concord, £274 16*s.* 7*d.*; in Lexington, £1,716 1*s.* 5*d.*, and in Cambridge, £1,202 8*s.* 7*d.*; total, £3,193 6*s.* 7*d.* In Oct., 1775, a committee of Congress — Silas Deane, John Adams, and George Wyeth — were addressing letters to get information respecting extent of losses inflicted by the ministerial troops. One of these, addressed to Ezra Stiles, is in *Letters and Papers*, 1761–1776 (MSS. in Mass. Hist. Soc.).

3 From Andrews's *Hist. of the War*, Lond., 1785, vol. ii. A portrait engraved by V. Green is noted in J. C. Smith's *Brit. Mezzotint Portraits*, ii. 576. Cf. also *Evelyns in America*, 304; *Memorial Hist. of Boston*, iii. 57, 58; "Percy family and Alnwick Castle" in Jewitt's *Stately Homes of England*. In the *Third Report* of the Hist. MSS. Commission there are (1872) various papers of the Percy family touching the American war. Some of these papers have been procured from England by the Rev. E. G. Porter, of Lexington. Several letters of Percy, addressed to Bishop Percy, sold not long since at a sale of the Bishop's MSS., were bought

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don a contemporary summary in *The Rise, Progress, and Present State of the Dispute.*[1]

The question of firing the first shot at Lexington was studiously examined at the time, each side claiming exemption from the charge of being the aggressor, and Frothingham[2] and Hudson[3] collate the evidence. It seems probable that the British fired first, though by design or accident a musket on the provincial side flashed in the pan before the regulars fired.[4] That some irregular return of the British fire was made seems undeniable, though at the time of the semi-centennial celebration certain writers, anxious to establish for Concord the credit of first forcibly resisting the British arms, denied that claim on the part of the neighboring town. The contro-

PERCY.[5]

versy resulted in Elias Phinney's *Battle of Lexington*, published in 1825,[6] with depositions of

by a London dealer, and are now in the Boston Public Library. They are quoted from in this and other chapters. On July 30, 1776, a picture of Percy was placed in Guildhall, London, by the magistrates of the city and liberties of Westminster, in token of his services in America. Cf. also Doyle's *Official Baronage*, ii. 670.

[1] Incidental British accounts are given in Donkin's *Military Collections* (*Mem. Hist. Boston*, iii. 74); in G. D. Scull's *Memoir and letters of Capt. Evelyn of the King's Own*, 1774–76, Oxford, 1779, privately printed, 200 copies (*Mem. Hist. Boston*, iii. 56), and the later *Evelyns in America*, pp. 161, 263, 277, 299, 303; in *Detail and Conduct of the Amer. War*, p. 9; in Force's *Amer. Archives.*

Capt. George Harris, of the fifth regiment, lost half his company in covering the retreat, and describes his perils in a letter in S. R. Lushington's *Life and Services of General Lord Harris* (London, 1840). A letter from Boston, July 5, 1775, is in *A view of the Evidence relative to the Conduct of the American War*, 1779. Cf. Duncan's *Royal Artillery*, 3d ed., ii. 302.

[2] *Siege of Boston*, 63.

[3] *Hist. of Lexington*, 225.

[4] Stedman, who was not present, and most British writers, say the Americans fired first, as did Pitcairn, whose representations, as reported by Stiles in his diary, are given by Frothingham (p. 62), and by Irving (*Life of Washington*, i. 393). One tory, on talking with the British soldiers afterwards, was satisfied that they were the aggressors. (*Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, xiii. 60.) Hudson, in a paper on Pitcairn in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, xvii. 318, examines the question. (Cf. Frothingham's *Warren*, 488; *Evelyns in America*, 299, 303; Mahon's *England*, vi. 36.) A deposition of one Sylvanus Wood, taken in 1826, says that the stories in this country of the Americans firing first were started long after the event. Dawson (i. 22) prints this document.

[5] From Murray's *Impartial Hist. of the present War*, i. 382.

[6] Reprinted in 1875 at Boston. The literary sources with interest centering in Lexington are Edward

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survivors, taken in 1822; and Ezra Ripley's *Fight at Concord*, published in 1827.[1] The parts borne by the men of other towns have had their special commemorations.[2]

B. BATTLE OF BUNKER HILL, *June* 17, 1775. — There are four sufficient authorities for tracing all that is known respecting the battle of Bunker Hill, even to minute particulars, especially with respect to the testimony of those who, from nearness to the event, or from opportunity, are best entitled to be considered in the matter. The earliest master of the literature and records of the fight was Richard Frothingham, who through life was identified with the story of Bunker Hill, and who has on the whole, in his *Siege of Boston* and in his *Life of Joseph Warren*, given us the amplest details.[3] His latest gleanings were included in *The Battle-field of Bunker hill: with a relation of the action by William Prescott, and illustrative documents. A paper communicated to the Massachusetts Historical Society, June 10, 1875, with additions.* (Boston: printed for the author. 1876. 46 pp.)[4]

Everett's address in 1835 (*Orations*, i. 526), where he noted (p. 561) the survivors of Captain Parker's company taking part in the celebration; Everett's *Mount Vernon Papers*, no. 47; Hudson's *Hist. of Lexington*, ch. 6, and his Abstract (1876); *Harper's Magazine*, vol. xx.; R. H. Dana's Address in 1875; C. Hudson's and E. G. Porter's *Proceedings at the Centennial Celebration*, 1875; The *Centennial Souvenir of* 1775; Henry Westcott's *Lexington Centennial Sermons* (1875); A. B. Muzzey's *Battle of Lexington* (*New Eng. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, Oct., 1877, and separately, 1877); E. S. Thomas's *Reminiscences of the last Sixty Years, commencing with the battle of Lexington* (Hartford, 1840); William D. Howells's *Three Villages;* Poole's *Index*, under "Lexington." See Mr. R. C. Winthrop's remarks on Chas. Hudson in *Mass. Hist. Proc.*, xviii. 418; cf. also *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, 1881, p. 395, and *Worcester Soc. of Antiq. Proc.*, 1881, p. 46.

Geo. W. Curtis made the oration in 1875, and J. R. Lowell's ode is printed in *Atlantic Monthly*, June, 1875. The town of Concord printed in 1875 an account of its centennial celebration. Cf. Poole's *Index*, under "Concord."

The orations of 1875 at Concord and Lexington, with an account of the celebration, are given in the *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, Oct., 1875; and there are additional particulars in the reports of the two towns for 1875–1876.

[1] This was reissued in 1832, — both editions at Concord; and the side of that town was again espoused by Lemuel Shattuck, in his *History of Concord*, whose views were, however, examined in the *North American Review*, vol. xlii. (Cf. notice of Shattuck in *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, Apr., 1860.)

Among the literary sources with their interest centering in Concord may be named Edward Everett's oration in 1825 (*Orations*, i. p. 73); Grindall Reynolds in *Unitarian Review*, April, 1875, and his chapter xvii. in Drake's *Middlesex County;* Frederic Hudson's illustrated paper in *Harper's Mag.* (May, 1875).

[2] For Acton, — the *Centennial Address* of Josiah Adams (1835), and his *Letter* to Shattuck (1850); James T. Woodbury's *Speech* in the Massachusetts Legislature (1851) for a bill to erect a monument to Capt. Davis, killed at the North Bridge. Cf. a pamphlet by Rufus Hosmer, of Stowe (1833).

For Danvers, — D. P. King's *Address* on the seven young men of Danvers slain at Lexington (Salem, 1835).

For West Cambridge, — J. A. Smith's *West Cambridge on the 19th of April*, 1775 (Boston, 1864).

For Cambridge, — Rev. Alexander Mackenzie's address in 1870, when the bodies of some "men of Cambridge," who fell Apr. 19, 1775, were reinterred in the old burying-ground, where a monument now marks the spot.

For Bedford, — notice of the flag borne by the company from this town in the *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, Dec., 1885, and Jan., 1886. This flag, which is still preserved, bore a device very like that made in England for the Massachusetts Three County Troop, an organization which existed from 1659 to 1690. It is probable that this flag had been used in earlier wars. (Cf. *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, xxv. 138.)

Cf. also Perley's *Hist. of Boxford*, ch. x.; *Hist. of Sutton*, p. 783; S. A. Drake's *Middlesex County;* and Wheildon's *New Chapter in the History of Concord Fight* (for Groton). The Andover men did not arrive in time (*Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, xv. 254).

In 1850 all the participating towns celebrated the anniversary at Concord, when an oration by Robert Rantoul, Jr., was given, and was later printed.

In the general histories, the best account is in Bancroft's *United States* (final revision), iv. ch. 10; but other accounts are in Lossing's *Field-Book;* Gay's *Pop. Hist. U. S.*, iii. 389; Elliott's *New England*, ii.; Barry's *Massachusetts;* E. E. Hale's *One Hundred Years Ago*, etc.

Dawson's *Battles of the United States*, vol. i. ch. 1, has some essential errors, as where he says Smith proceeded "up Charles River to Phipps's farm in West Cambridge."

[3] He has abundantly fortified his narrative with authorities, though it is only the chief ones that he enumerates in chronological order in an appendix of his *Siege* (p. 372; also see p. 121).

[4] The substance of this volume is also found in the *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, xiv. p. 53, etc. In the same year Mr. Frothingham condensed the story of the battle into a little volume, — *The Centennial: Battle of Bunker Hill* (Boston, 1875). Mr. Frothingham's enthusiasm for his subject may be easily misjudged by the unsympathetic reader. P. O. Hutchinson says of the *Siege:* "This would be a creditable book if it were not so overloaded with boast, tall talk, and self-glorification." (*Life of Governor Hutchinson*, p. 11.)

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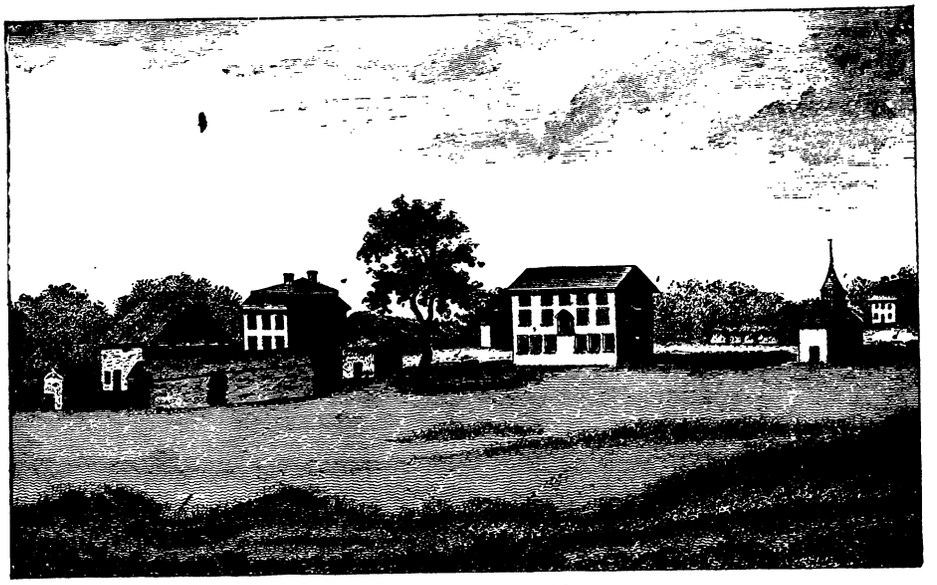
In June, 1868, Henry B. Dawson, in a special number of the *Historical Magazine*, entered into an elaborate collation of nearly all that had been published up to that time, making his references in footnotes, which serve as a bibliography of the subject.[1]

In 1875 Justin Winsor published first in the *Bulletin* of the Boston Public Library a bibliographical commentary on all printed matter respecting the battle, grouping his notes by their affinities; and this was enlarged in the *Celebration of the Centennial Anniversary of the Battle*, published by the city of Boston in 1875; and still further augmented in a section of his *Handbook of the American Revolution* (Boston, 1879).

In 1880 James F. Hunnewell, in his *Bibliography of Charlestown and Bunker Hill* (Boston), grouped everything alphabetically under such main headings as monographs, maps and plans, contemporary newspapers, American statements,



LEXINGTON GREEN.[2]

1 This will be quoted in the following pages as "Dawson" simply; and it is a much ampler and more critical account than that in his *Battles of the United States*, vol. i.

2 From the *Massachusetts Magazine* (Boston, 1794). Four views (12 × 18 inches, on copper) of different aspects of the day's fight were drawn by Earl, a portrait painter, and engraved by Amos Doolittle shortly afterward. They are reproduced in the centennial edition of Jonas Clark's *Narrative;* in Frank Moore's *Ballad History;* in *Potter's American Monthly*, April, 1875; in *Antique views of y^e^ Town of Boston;* and separately, with an explanatory text, by E. G. Porter, as *Four Drawings of the Engagement at Lexington and Concord* (Boston, 1883). The view of the attack on Lexington Green was drawn from Daniel Harrington's house (see plan), and was reduced by Doolittle himself for Barber's *History of New Haven*. (W. S. Baker's *Amer. Engravers*, Philad., 1875, p. 45.) It has also been redrawn several times by others. See Lossing's *Field-Book*, i. 421, 524; Hudson's *Lexington*, p. 183; the Centennial edition of Phinney, etc.

Earl and Doolittle were soldiers of a New Haven company, which reached Cambridge a few days after the fight.

There is a view of Concord taken in 1776 in the *Massachusetts Mag.*, July, 1794, which is reproduced in Whitney's *Literature of the Nineteenth of April.*

There is an early but fanciful picture of the "Journée de Lexington," in François Godefroy's *Reçueil d'Estampes representant les different événemens de la guerre qui a procuré l'indépendence aux États Unis de l'Amérique.*

An account of Jonathan Harrington, the last survivor of the fight, is in *Potter's Amer. Monthly*, April, 1875, and in Jones's *New York during the Revolution*, i. 552.

In fiction, mention need only be made of Cooper's *Lionel Lincoln*, and Hawthorne's *Septimius Felton.*

In 1875 there was an exhibition of relics of the fight at Lexington, and some of them are still retained in the library hall. A printed list of them was issued in 1875. A musket taken from a British soldier was bequeathed by Theodore Parker to the State of Massachusetts, and now hangs in the Senate Chamber. Cf. *Hist. Mag.*, iv. 202 (July, 1880).

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British accounts, French accounts, anniversaries. His enumeration is more nearly exhaustive than Mr. Winsor's, though this may still supplement it in some particulars.

The earliest printed accounts which we have of the battle are in the newspapers, and of these a full enumeration is given by Mr. Hunnewell.[1]

What may be called the official statements on the American side were speedily placed before the public, but, strange to say, neither of the two officers who have been held to have directed the conduct of the Americans vouched for any of the early accounts. From Putnam we have nothing. Prescott made no statement, which has come down to us, earlier than in a letter addressed to John Adams, Aug. 25, 1775,[2] though he is said to have assisted the Rev. Peter Thacher in a narrative which was prepared within a fortnight, Thacher himself having observed the fight

RICHARD FROTHINGHAM.[3]

[1] *Bibliography of Charlestown*, etc., p. 19. Taking precedence in time is that in the *Boston Gazette* of June 19, at this time printed at Watertown. The *Massachusetts Spy* (Worcester, June 21st) had the next account, and this is reprinted in Frothingham's *Centennial*. The *Connecticut Journal* printed an account the same day; and in New York a handbill was circulated, *Fresh news just arrived*, by an express from the provincial camp near Boston, giving an account by Capt. Elijah Hide, of Lebanon. See fac-simile in *Mag. of American Hist.*, March, 1885, p. 282. Hide saw the battle from Winter Hill, and his account is printed by Ellis (1843), p. 142, and Dawson, p. 378. Frank Moore's *Diary of the American Revolution* (i. pp. 97, 102), which begins Jan. 1, 1775, gives most of these contemporary press articles, and so does Dawson. Several of these newspaper accounts were reproduced in fac-simile in 1875.

[2] This was first printed by Frothingham (*Siege*, etc., p. 395), and is also in Dawson, p. 390, and in his *Battles*, i. p. 70. A paper usually called *The Prescott MS.*, said to have been prepared under Colonel Prescott's supervision, in part at least, abridged in Graydon's *Memoirs* (1846), is printed in Butler's *Groton* (p. 337) and in Dawson. A memoir prepared by Judge Prescott, son of the colonel, derived in part from his recollection of his father's accounts, is printed in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, xiv. 68, and in Frothingham's *Battle-Field*, p. 18.

[3] After a steel plate kindly furnished by Mr. Frothingham's son, Mr. Thomas Goddard Frothingham. There is a memoir of Mr. Frothingham, by Charles Deane, in the *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings*, Feb., 1885, and separately. Mr. Frothingham was born Jan. 31, 1812, and died Jan. 29, 1880. Remarks made to the society at the time of his death are in the *Proc.* (Feb., 1880), xvii. 329. Cf. R. C. Winthrop's *Speeches* (1878, etc.), p. 125.

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from the Malden side of Mystick River.[1] This Thacher MS. was made the basis of the account which the Committee of Safety, by order of the provincial congress, prepared for sending to England.[2] There have been preserved a large number of letters and statements written by eye-witnesses or by those near at hand, some of them conveying particulars essential to the understanding of the day's events, but most adding little beyond increasing our perceptions of the feelings of the hour.[3] To these may be added various diaries and orderly-books, which are of little distinctive

[1] The MS. of this account is in the Am. Antiq. Society's Collections at Worcester, and was printed in Dawson, p. 381. Cf. *Belknap Papers*, ii. 163, 166. Frothingham (*Siege*, p. 385) gives Thacher's indorsement of the MS. This narrative and that of Gordon, mainly following it, were the basis of some elaborate papers in the *Analectic Magazine* (Feb. and March, 1818), which, however, present some important differences of view, supported by documents.

[2] It is signed by J. Palmer, and dated July 25, 1775, and was transmitted to Arthur Lee. It is printed in the *Journal of the Third Prov. Congress; Analectic Magazine*, May, 1818, p. 261; Force's *Archives*, iv. 1,373; Ellis (1843), p. 131; Frothingham's *Siege*, 382; Dawson, 387, and his *Battles*, i. p. 68. The provincial congress had already (June 20) sent an account to the Continental Congress (Ellis, p. 140; Dawson, p. 371). There are other official accounts sent to Albany and New Hampshire (Dawson, 380; *N. H. Hist. Coll.*, ii. 143.)

[3] These may be named in an approximate chronological order thus: —

JUNE 17. Dr. Holyoke saw the smoke at Salem, and wrote to his wife the reports which reached him. (*Essex Inst. Hist. Coll.*, xiii. 212.)

JUNE 18. David Cheever wrote from Watertown to the provincial congress of New Hampshire (*N. H. Prov. Papers*, vii. 521). Abigail Adams, at Braintree, wrote her impressions (having heard of Warren's death) to John Adams, in Philadelphia. She supposed the battle was then (3 P. M., June 18) still unended. She wrote farther June 25 and July 5 (*Familiar Letters of John Adams and his Wife*, pp. 67, 70, 72). Josiah Bartlett, at Kingston, N. H., learned the news by express, and B. Greenleaf repeated the news (*N. H. Prov. Papers*, vii. 520). On this day Ezra Stiles, then at Newport, made his first entry in his diary as the news came in (Dawson, 391). Loammi Baldwin's letter (Frothingham's *Battle-Field*, p. 43). General Greene to Governor Cooke, of R. I. (copy in *Sparks MSS.*, vol. xlviii.).

JUNE 19. Andrew Eliot to Isaac Smith, then in England (Ellis, 151; Dawson, 369; *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, 1878, p. 288). Col. John Stark, from Medford to the N. H. congress (Ellis, 145; Dawson, 370; *N. H. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, ii. 144; *N. H. Prov. Papers*, vii. 322–23). Job Bradford, from Hingham to Col. B. Lincoln (*Rivington's N. Y. Gazetteer*, Dawson, 370; *N. H. Prov. Papers*, vii. 523). Bradford had come out of Boston on the 18th.

JUNE 20. Colonel Stark to the Continental Congress (Ellis, Dawson, *N. H. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, ii.). James Warren to John Adams (*Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, xiv. 79). Letter from Providence (*N. Y. Gazetteer*, June 26; Dawson, 372). William Williams to the Connecticut delegates in Congress (Frothingham's *Battle-field*, 41).

JUNE 21. Professor Winthrop to John Adams (*Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, xliv. 292). John Bromfield (*Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, Feb., 1870, p. 226). James Warren to Sam. Adams (*Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, xiv. 80).

JUNE 22. Isaac Lothrop to T. Burr (*Rivington's Gazetteer*, June 29; Ellis, 148; Dawson, 374). Capt. John Chester (Frothingham's *Siege*, 389). Samuel Paine (Dawson, 440). Letter from Philadelphia (Force, iv.; Dawson, 375). Gen. N. Folsom to the N. H. Committee of Safety, from Medford (*N. H. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, ii. 146; Dawson, 373; *N. H. Prov. Papers*, vii. 527).

JUNE 23. William Tudor (Dawson, 376).

JUNE 25. Peter Brown to his mother. Frothingham calls it the most noteworthy account by a common soldier (Frothingham's *Siege*, 392; Potter's *Amer. Monthly*, July, 1875, from the original). Dr. Geo. Brown to Maj.-Gen. Haldimand (*Evelyns in America*, p. 171).

JUNE 27. Letter from camp (Force, iv.; Dawson, 379). Officer (*Rivington's Gazetteer*, July 6; Dawson, 380).

JUNE 30. Isaac Smith, from Salem (*Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, xvi. 291).

JULY 3. Letter from camp (Dawson, 384).

JULY 11. Samuel B. Webb to Silas Deane, from camp at Cambridge (original MS. in Brinley, i. 1,789; printed *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, xiv. 83).

JULY 12. Samuel Gray to Dyer (Frothingham's *Siege*, 393; Dawson, 385).

AUGUST 31. Governor Trumbull (*Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, vi. 159. Cf. Stuart's *Jonathan Trumbull*, ch. vi.)

There is among the *Charles Lowell MSS.* in the Mass. Hist. Soc. a document found with the papers of Dr. Lowell's grandfather, Judge Russell, giving a list of the houses burned in Charlestown, June 17, 1775. Thaddeus Mason's account of his losses at Charlestown is in the *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, 1882, p. 397; papers on individual losses in the battle, and by the burning of Charlestown, are in *Mass. Archives*, cxxxviii. and cxxxix.

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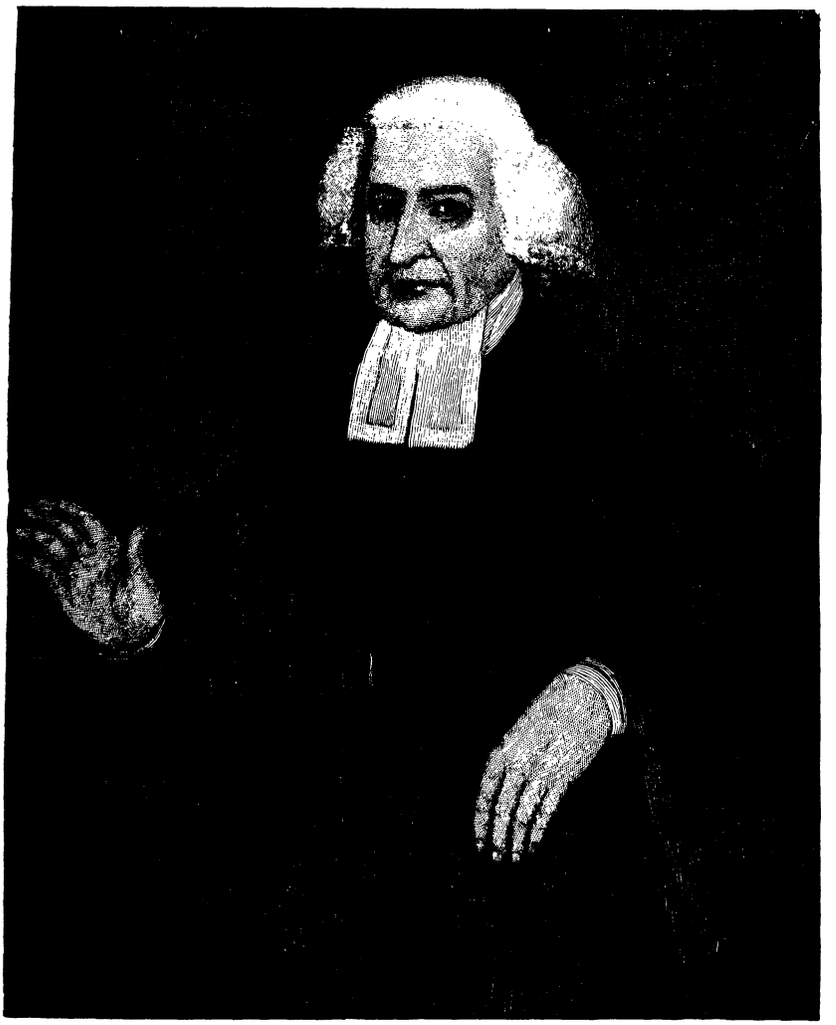

Ezra Stiles[1]

value.[2] There are other accounts, written at a later period, in which personal recollections are assisted by study of the recitals of others, and chief among them are the narrative in Thach-

[1] After the painting belonging to Yale College. Cf. photograph in Kingsley's *Yale College*, i. 102; engravings in Hollister's *Connecticut*, i. 234, and *Amer. Quart. Reg.*, viii. 31, 193; and memoir in Sparks's *Amer. Biog.*, xvi. 3, by J. L. Kingsley.

[2] DIARIES. — Lt.-Col. Storrs, June 1–28 (*Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, xiv. 86; Frothingham's *Battlefield*, 34); Benj. Crufts, June 15, etc. (*Essex Inst. Hist. Coll.*, April, 1861); Ezekiel Price, May 23, etc. (*Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, Nov., 1863, p. 185); Dr. John Warren (Frothingham's *Siege; Life of Dr. John Warren*); Thomas Boynton (*Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, xv. 254).

ORDERLY-BOOKS. — Capt. Chester's, June 5–17 (*Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, xiv. 87; Frothingham's *Battlefield*, 37); Henshaw's, April–Sept. (*Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, Oct., 1876); Fenno's (*Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, Oct., 1876).

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er's *Military Journal* (Boston, 1823), where the account is entered as of July, 1775, and chapter xix. of General James Wilkinson's *Memoirs* (1816), embodying what he learned in going over the field in March, 1776, with Stark and Reed. Col. John Trumbull saw the smoke of the fight from the Roxbury lines, and gave an outline narrative in his *Autobiography* (1841).[1] The account in General Heath's *Memoirs* (Boston, 1798) is short.[2] A few of the earlier general histories of the war were written by those on the American side who had some advantages by reason of friendly or other relations with the actors.[3] Of the still later accounts, Frothingham and Dawson have already been referred to for their bibliographical accompaniments. The diversity of evidence[4] respecting almost all cardinal points of the battle's history has necessarily entailed more or less of the controversial spirit in all who have written upon it, but for thoroughness of research and a fair discrimination combined, the labors of Frothingham must be conceded to be foremost. Dawson is elaborate, and he reveals more than Frothingham the processes of his collations, but his spirit is not so tempered by discretion, and an air of flippant controversy often pervades his narrative. Of the more recent general historians it is only necessary to mention Bancroft[5] and Carrington. The former gave to it three chapters in his original edition, in 1858, which, by a little condensation, make a single one in his final revision, but without material change.[6] The account in Carrington[7] is intended to be distinctively a military criticism.[8]

The troops of Connecticut[9] and New Hamp-

[1] References in Poole's *Index*, p. 1328.

[2] Charles Coffin, at Saco in 1831 and at Portland in 1835, published a *History of the Battle of Bunker Hill*, which was compiled from the accounts by Heath, Wilkinson, Lee, and Dearborn. Of less importance are Dr. Belknap's note-book and letters (*Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, xiv. 92, 96, etc.); *Adventures of Israel R. Potter* (Providence, 1824); Oliver Morsman's *Hist. of Breed's, commonly called Bunker's Hill Battle* (Sacketts Harbor, 1830); Col. E. Bancroft's narrative (J. B. Hill's *Bicentennial of Old Dunstable*, Nashua, 1878); *Columbian Centinel* (Dec., 1824; Jan., 1825); Needham Maynard (Boston newspaper, 1843); Timothy Dwight (*Travels in New England*, New Haven, 1821, vol. i. 468–476), who knew some of the actors, and who says that a member of the council of war held the day before told him that the representations of an old hunter, that it was better to fire a small number of shots well aimed than many carelessly, induced the council to order fifteen rounds to a man instead of sixty.

A large number of depositions of supposed survivors were made in 1818 and 1825, but they are held to be of no value by the critical student. There is a transcript in three folio volumes, made in William Sullivan's office, of some of the latter date, preserved in the cabinet of the Mass. Hist. Society. What purported to be some of the originals were offered for sale in New York in 1877, but were bid in. C. L. Woodward, of New York, advertised in May, 1883, nearly two hundred papers, which were called Col. Swett's Collection of Affidavits, priced at $200 (*Mem. Hist. Boston*, iii. 104).

[3] For instance, Rev. Wm. Gordon's *Hist. of the Independence of the United States* (London, 1788), vol. ii. 39, who followed closely the Committee of Safety's account; D. Ramsay's *Amer. Revolution* (1789), i. 201, who is criticised by Charles Thomson (*N. Y. Hist. Coll.*, 1878, p. 216) for not allowing that military necessity justified Gage in firing Charlestown; Charles Smith's *American War from 1775 to 1783* (N. Y., p. 97; also *Monthly Repository*, N. Y., 1796–97); Holmes' *Amer. Annals* (1805), ii. 231; Mercy Warren's *American War* (Boston, 1805), i. 217; Hubley's *Amer. Revolution* (1805); Lee's *Mem. of the War in the Southern Department* (Philad., 1812); Marshall's *Washington*, ii. 237. (See, for others, Hunnewell, p. 23.)

Colonel Scammans's court-martial is reported in the *N. E. Chronicle*, Feb. 29, 1776; *Essex Gazette*, Feb. 29, 1776; Dawson, p. 400.

[4] Charles Hudson availed himself of this in a pleasantry, *Doubts concerning the battle of Bunker Hill* (Boston, 1857), in which he paralleled Whately's famous argument for the non-existence of Napoleon. Cf. *Christian Examiner*, vol. xl.

[5] *Hist. of the United States*, orig. ed., vol. vii. ch. 38–40; and final revision, iv. ch. 14.

[6] He ceases, however, to speak of "the age and infirmities" of Ward, as Carrington indeed does, calling him "advanced in years and feeble in body," and as many of the writers have, misled perhaps by the somewhat elderly appearance of the usual portrait of him. He was in fact but forty-eight years old!

[7] *Battles of the Amer. Revolution*, N. Y. [copyrighted 1876], ch. 15.

[8] Gen. Carrington has contributed other papers on the battle to the *Granite Monthly*, vii. 290, and *Bay State Monthly*, May, 1884. Edward E. Hale has given accounts in his *One Hundred Years Ago* (ch. 4) and in a chapter in *Memorial Hist. Boston*, vol. iii. Dr. George E. Ellis was one of the earliest to collate carefully the sources in his *Battle of Bunker Hill* (1843). Barry (*Massachusetts*, iii. ch. 1) gives the story with care, and fortifies it by references. Irving's account (*Washington*, i. ch. 40, 41) is of course flowingly done.

[9] See Hollister's *Connecticut*, and other histories; Stuart's *Life of Jonathan Trumbull*; lives of Putnam; Hinman's *Conn. in the Revolution*; *Memorial Hist. of Hartford County*, ii. 473; and H. P. Johnston on "Yale in the Revolution," in *The Yale Book*. The news of the battle as it reached Connecticut is remarked upon in the Silas Deane Correspondence (*Conn. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, ii. 270, etc.).

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shire[1] were the only ones engaged beside those of Massachusetts.

The question of who commanded during the day has been the subject of continued controversy, arising from the too large claims of partisans. Though there is much conflict of contemporary evidence, it seems well established that Col. William Prescott commanded at the redoubt, and no one questioned his right. He also sent out the party which in the beginning protected his flank towards the Mystick; but when Stark, with his New Hampshire men, came up to strengthen that party, his authority seems to have been generally recognized, and he held the rail fence there as long as he could to cover the retreat of Prescott's men from the redoubt. Putnam, the ranking officer on the field, Warren disclaiming all right to command, withdrew men with entrenching tools from Prescott, and planned to throw up earthworks on the higher eminence, now known as Bunker Hill proper, and near the end of the retreat he assumed a general command, and directed the fortifying of Prospect Hill. It is not apparent, then, that any officer, previous to this last stage of the fight, can be said to have had general command in all parts of the field. The discussion of the claims of Putnam and Prescott has resulted in a large number of monographs, and has formed a particular feature in many of the general accounts of the battle, the mention of some of which has for this reason been deferred till they could be placed in the appended note.[2]

A list of officers in the battle, not named in

[1] Stark's letter to the N. H. congress, of June 18, has already been mentioned. Cf. memoirs of Stark by Caleb Stark and Edward Everett; "Col. Jas. Reed at Bunker Hill," in *N. H. Hist. Soc. Proc.* (1876–84), p. 111; account in *N. H. Adj.-General's Report*, 1866, vol. ii.; the rosters of her regiments in the Adj.-General's office; *N. H. Prov. Papers*, vol. vii. pp. 516, 586; *N. H. Rev. Rolls*, i. 32–44; ii. 739; C. C. Coffin in *Boston Globe*, June 23, 1875; *N. E. Hist. and Gen. Reg.*, xxvii. 377, and the account by E. H. Derby in the number for Jan., 1877. Evans' account of the service of New Hampshire troops, 1775–1782, is among the Meshech Weare papers (*Letters and Papers, 1777–1824*, vol. ii. p. 61, Mass. Hist. Soc.). For the part of New Hampshire towns: HOLLIS, *N. H. Prov. Papers*, vii. 601, by S. T. Worcester; *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, xxvii. 377; xxx. 28; xxxi. 169; S. T. Worcester's *Hist. of Hollis* (1879), p. 146. MANCHESTER, Potter's *Hist. of Manchester*.

[2] The connection of Putnam with the final stand at Prospect Hill naturally conveyed the impression of his commanding through the day, as he was known to have been by turns upon different parts of the field. Gen. Greene, who hurried up from Rhode Island that night, got this impression from the understanding of the case which he found prevailing in the Roxbury lines, when he wrote back the next day (June 18) to Gov. Cooke, of Rhode Island. "General Putnam," he says, "had taken post at Bunker's Hill, and flung up an entrenchment with a detachment of about three hundred" (*Sparks MSS.*, no. xlviii. p. 67). This notion reached England, and on a print of Putnam published there Sept. 9, which is annexed, Putnam is called commander-in-chief (*Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, Nov., 1881, p. 102). An American engraving, by Roman, which appeared shortly afterwards, represents Putnam on horseback at the redoubt, as if commanding there. Col. Trumbull gave him similar prominence when he painted his well-known picture in 1786, though he is said to have regretted it at a later day. The earliest general narrative to give the command to Prescott was Gordon's, which followed closely the account of the Committee of Safety, and this was printed in 1788. The *Life of Putnam* by Humphreys was published in 1788, while Putnam was still living, and makes no mention of his having the command; but the Rev. Josiah Whitney, in 1790, in a note to a sermon preached upon the death of Putnam, took exception to this oversight (Stevens's *Hist. Coll.*, i. no. 685). In 1809, Eliot, in his *Biographical Dictionary*, represents Prescott as commanding at the redoubt and Stark at the rail fence. When Gen. Wilkinson's *Memoirs* were published, in 1816 (reviewed in the *N. Am. Rev.*, Nov., 1817), the conduct of Putnam on that day was represented in no favorable light; and Gen. Henry Dearborn, who was with Stark at the rail fence, asserted that Putnam remained inactive in the rear. It is also significant that Major Thompson Maxwell, who was with Reed's regiment at the rail fence, also asserted that Prescott commanded (*Essex Inst. Hist. Coll.*, vol. vii.; *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, Jan., 1868, p. 57). Dearborn's statement was made in a paper in the *Portfolio* (March, 1818), which is reprinted in the *Hist. Mag.*, August, 1864, and June, 1868 (Dawson, p. 402). It was printed also separately at the time in Philadelphia and Boston (1818) as *An Account of the Battle of Bunker Hill with De Bernière's map corrected by General Dearborn* (16 pp.). Col. Daniel Putnam replied in the *Portfolio* (May, 1818) with numerous depositions (all reprinted by Dawson, p. 407), which was issued separately as *A letter to Maj. Gen. Dearborn, repelling his unprovoked attack on the character of the late Maj. General Putnam, and containing some anecdotes relating to the Battle of Bunker Hill, not generally known* (Philadelphia, 1818). Both tracts were reprinted as an *Account of the Battle of Bunker's Hill, by H. Dearborn, Major-General of the United States Army; with a letter to Maj. Gen. Dearborn, repelling his unprovoked attack on the character of the late Maj.-Gen. Israel Putnam, by Daniel Putnam, Esq.* (Boston: Munroe & Francis, 1818). Each document is paged separately, and the last has a separate title. Dearborn replied in the *Boston Patriot* (June 13, 1818), with depositions, all of which are in Dawson, p. 414. See account of Gen. Dearborn by Daniel Goodwin, Jr., in the *Chicago Hist. Soc. Proc.* In July, 1818, Daniel Webster, in the *North Amer. Rev.*, vindicated Putnam, but claimed for Prescott as much

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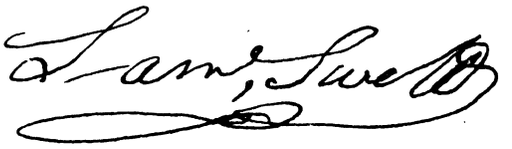
Frothingham's *Siege*, is given in the *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, April, 1873; and an English list of the Yankee officers in the force about Boston in June, 1775, is in *Ibid.*, July, 1874. The Lives of participants and observers add occasionally some items to the story.[1]

of a general command during the day as any one had, which claim he held to be established by Prescott's making his report to Ward at Cambridge when it was over. (Cf. *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, June, 1858.) John Lowell offered counter-depositions in the *Columbian Centinel* (July 4 and 15, 1818), again reprinted in Dawson, p. 423. In October, 1818, Col. Samuel Swett appended an *Historical and Topographical Sketch of Bunker Hill Battle* to a new edition of Humphrey's *Life of Putnam*. In the *Boston Patriot*, Nov. 17, 1818, D. L. Child claimed that Putnam was not in the battle, and he published separately *An Enquiry into the Conduct of Gen. Putnam* (Boston, 1819). In 1825, Swett enlarged his text, and published it as a *History of the battle of Bunker Hill* (Boston, 1825), followed by *Notes* to his *Sketch* in Dec., 1825. His history passed to a second edition as a *History of the Bunker Hill Battle, with a plan. By S. Swett. Second Edition, much enlarged with new information derived from the surviving soldiers present at the celebration on the 17th June last, and notes* (Boston, 1826). A third appeared in 1827. (Cf. Sparks in *N. Am. Rev.*, vol. xxii.)



A new advocate for Putnam appeared in Alden Bradford's *Particular Account of the Battle of Bunker or Breed's Hill, by a Citizen of Boston* (two editions, Boston, 1825, and since reprinted); while Daniel Putnam during the same year recapitulated his views in a communication to the Bunker Hill Monument Association (*Conn. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, vol. i.). A summary of this Putnam-Dearborn controversy is given in G. W. Warren's *Hist. of the Bunker Hill Monument Association.*

The dispute now remained dormant till 1841, when George E. Ellis delivered an oration at Charlestown, and then, and in his *Sketches of Bunker Hill Battle, with illustrative documents* (Charlestown, 1843), he presented at fuller length than had been before done the claims of Prescott to be considered the commander. This led to a criticism and rejoinder by Swett and Ellis in the *Boston Daily Advertiser*. See Judge Prescott's letter to Dr. Ellis in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.* (iv. 76), and another to Col. Swett (xiv. 78. Cf. Memoir of Swett and a list of his publications in the *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, 1867, p. 374). In 1843, John Fellows, in *The Veil Removed; or reflections on David Humphrey's essay on the life of Israel Putnam; also, notices of Oliver W. B. Peabody's life of the same; S. Swett's sketch of Bunker Hill*, etc. (New York, 1843), ranged himself among the detractors of Putnam.

In 1849, the question was again elaborately examined in Frothingham's *Siege of Boston* (p. 159, etc.), favoring Prescott, which produced Swett's *Who was the Commander at Bunker Hill?* (Boston, 1850), and Frothingham's rejoinder, *The Command in the battle of Bunker Hill* (Boston, 1850). Cf. also the *Report* to the Massachusetts Legislature on a monument to Col. Prescott (1852). In 1853, Irving favored Prescott (*Washington*, vol. i.). In 1855, L. Grosvenor, in an address before the descendants of Putnam, reiterated that general's claims. In 1857, Barry (*Hist. of Mass.*, iii. 39) gave to Prescott the command in the redoubt, and to Putnam a general direction outside the redoubt. In 1858, Bancroft in his *History* (vol. vii.) took the view substantially held by the present writer. In 1859, Mr. A. C. Griswold, as "Selah," of the *Hartford Post*, had a controversy with H. B. Dawson, who exceeded others in his denunciation of Putnam, and this correspondence was printed as parts 6 and 11 of Dawson's *Gleanings from the Harvest-field of American History* (Morrisania, 1860–63), with the distinctive title *Major General Putnam.* In 1860, the Hon. H. C. Deming published an address on the occasion of the presentation of Putnam's sword to the Conn. Hist. Society.

The question of the command was again discussed at the season of the Centennial of 1875. The chief papers in favor of Putnam were by I. N. Tarbox in the *N. Y. Herald* (June 12 and 14), in the *New Englander* (April, 1876), and in his *Life of Putnam;* by S. A. Drake in his *General Israel Putnam the Commander at Bunker Hill;* by W. W. Wheildon in his letters to the *N. Y. Herald* (June 16 and 17) and in his *New History of the battle of Bunker Hill.* Gen. Charles Devens' oration in *The Celebration of the Centennial Anniversary of the Battle of Bunker Hill* (Boston, 1875) did not extend Prescott's command beyond the redoubt, as was done, however, in Francis J. Parker's *Colonel Wm. Prescott the Commander in the Battle of Bunker's Hill* (Boston, 1875), and his paper "Could General Putnam command at Bunker's Hill?" in *New Eng. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.* (Oct., 1877, p. 403). During this same year, Dr. George E. Ellis recast the material of his earlier book in his *History of the Battle of Bunker's (Breed's) Hill* (Boston, 1875, in 16mo and 8vo, the last revised).

The Centennial period produced, also, various magazine articles, the most important of which are one by H. E. Scudder in the *Atlantic Monthly*, July, 1875; one by Launce Póyntz in the *Galaxy*, July, 1875; one by Dr. Samuel Osgood in *Harper's Monthly*, July, 1875; and those which later constituted a brochure, *One Hundred Years Ago*, by Edward E. Hale.

[1] As in the accounts of Ward and Knowlton in the *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, July, 1851, and Jan., 1861; the *Journals of Samuel Shaw* (Boston, 1847); *The Female Review*, being a life of Deborah Sampson, by Herman Mann (1797; also edited by J. A. Vinton in 1866); and C. W. Clarence's *Biographical Sketch*

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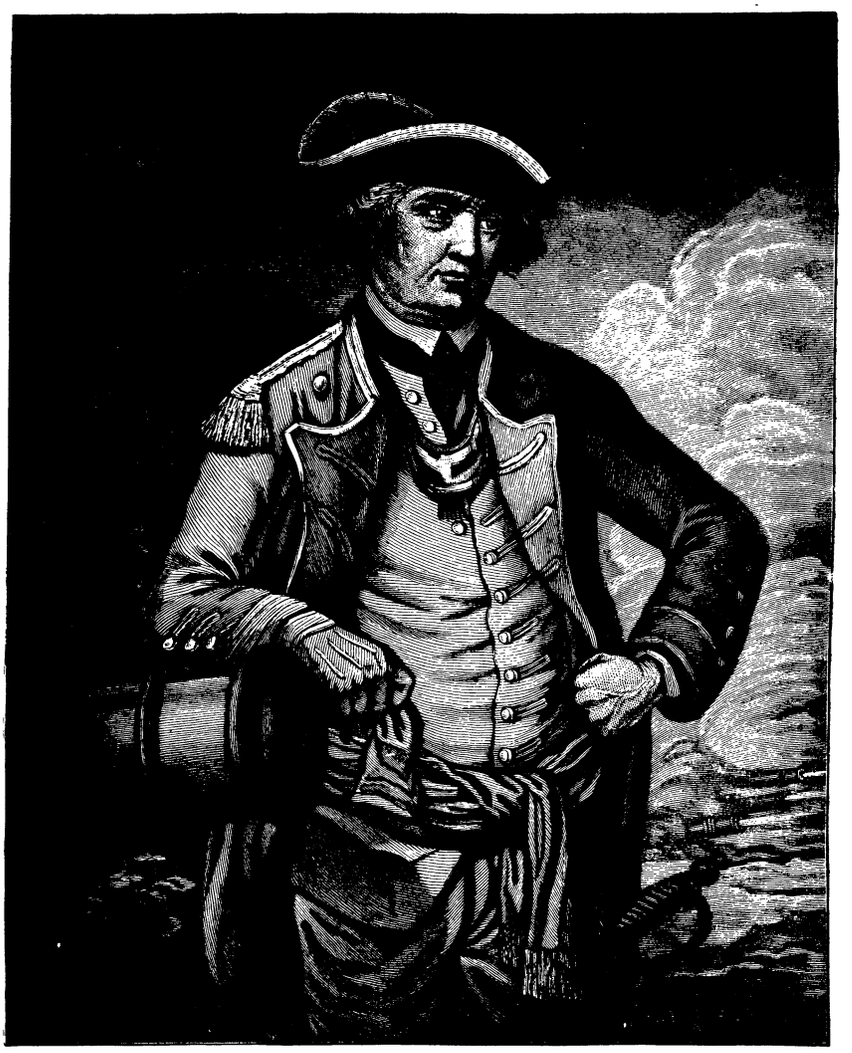

Israel Putnam M G[1]

of the late Ralph Farnham, of Acton, Me., now in the one hundred and fifth year of his age, and the sole survivor of the glorious battle of Bunker Hill (Boston, 1860). There are other accounts of this man in the *Historical Magazine*, iv. 3, 12; and in the *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, xvi. 183.

Camp at Roxbury Nov^r 20^th 1775

Artemas Ward

There is a portrait of Artemas Ward, with a memoir, in A. H. Ward's *Genealogy of the Ward family*, and another in the same writer's *Hist. of Shrewsbury* (Boston, 1847). Cf. also *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, v. 271; and *Mem. Hist. Boston*, iii.

1 This follows the reproduction of an engraving in J. C. Smith's *Brit. Mezzotint Portraits*, p. 1716, which is inscribed: ISRAEL PUTNAM, Esq., *Major-General of the Connecticut forces, and Commander-in-chief at*

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JOSEPH WARREN.[1]

the engagement on Buncker's-Hill, near Boston, 17 June, 1775. Published by C. Shepherd, 9 Sep^r 1775. J. Wilkinson pinxt. (Cf. *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, xix. 102.) There is a French engraving, representing him in cocked hat, looking down and aside, and subscribed "Israel Putnam, Eq^re, major général des Troupes de Connecticut. Il commandait en chef à l'affaire de Bunckes hill près Boston, le 17 Juin, 1775." Col. J. Trumbull made a sketch of Putnam, which has been engraved by W. Humphreys (*National Portrait Gallery*, N. Y., 1834) and by Thomas Gimbrede.

Cf. portraits in Murray's *Impartial Hist.* (1778), i. 334; Hollister's *Connecticut;* Irving's *Washington*, illus. ed., i. 413; and *Geschichte der Kriege in und ausser Europa* (Nürnberg, 1778).

For lives of Putnam, see Sabin, xvi. no. 66,804, etc. For his birthplace, see *Appleton's Journal*, xi. 321; Miss Larned's *Windham County, Conn.* Cf. B. J. Lossing in *Harper's Monthly*, xii. 577; *Evelyns in America*, 273; R. H. Stoddard in *Nat. Mag.*, xii. 97.

[1] After a copper-plate by J. Norman in *An Impartial Hist. of the War in America* (Boston, 1781), vol. ii. p. 210. The best known picture of Warren is a small canvas by Copley, belonging to Dr. John Collins Warren, of Boston, which has been often engraved, and is given in mezzotint by H. W. Smith in Frothingham's

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Among the anniversary discourses upon the battle, a few will bear reading. The earliest was by Josiah Bartlett in 1794, published by B. Edes, in Boston, the next year. Daniel Webster made a famous address at the laying of the corner-stone of the monument in 1825, which can be found in his *Works*, i. 59. (Cf. *Analectic Mag.*, vol. xi.; A. Levasseur's *Lafayette en Amérique*, Paris, 1829.) The same orator, at the completion of the monument in 1843, embodied little of historical interest in his Address. (*Works*, i. 89.[1]) Alexander H. Everett's *Address* in 1836 was subsequently inwoven in his *Life of Warren*. The Rev. George E. Ellis began his conspicuous labors in this field in his discourse in 1841. Edward Everett spoke in 1850 (*Orations*, etc., iii. p. 3), and Gen. Charles Devens, at the Centennial in 1875, delivered an oration, which was published by the city of Boston. The most noteworthy address since that time was that of Robert C. Winthrop at the unveiling of the statue of Colonel William Prescott, June 17, 1881.[2] This statue, of which an engraving will be found in the *Mem. Hist. of Boston* (iv. 410), stands near the base of the monument.[3]

We turn now to the accounts on the British side. The orderly-books of General Howe are preserved among Lord Dorchester's (Carleton's) Papers in the Royal Institution, London. Sparks made extracts from them, now in no. xlv. of the *Sparks MSS.* in Harvard College library. Extracts relating to the dispositions for the day of the battle, and for subsequent days, are given by Ellis (1843), p. 88.[4] Cf. *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, 1885, p. 214. The more immediate English notes and comments on the battle can be best grouped in a note.[5]

Life of Warren. The picture in Faneuil Hall is painted after this, and Thomas Illman has engraved that copy. A larger canvas by Copley, painted not long before that artist left Boston for England, is owned by Dr. Buckminster Brown, of Boston, and was engraved for the first time in the *Mem. Hist. of Boston*, iii. 60, where will be found accounts of various contemporary prints and memorials of Warren (pp. 59, 61, 142, 143), including his house at Roxbury, the manuscript of his Massacre Oration, etc. Cf. Frothingham's *Warren*, p. 546; *Hist. Mag.*, Dec., 1857; Loring's *Hundred Boston Orators*, p. 67; Mrs. J. B. Brown's *Stories of General Warren; Life of Dr. John Warren;* the *Warren Genealogy; Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, Sept., 1866. The earliest eulogy was that by Perez Morton in 1776 (Loring's *Hundred Boston Orators*, 327; Niles's *Principles and Acts*, 1876, p. 30), and the earliest memoir of any extent was that by A. H. Everett, in Sparks's *Amer. Biography* (vol. x.). There are reminiscences in the *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, xii. 113, 234, which were based by Gen. William H. Sumner on some letters published by him in 1825 in the *Boston Patriot*, when, as adjutant-general of the State, he arranged for the appearance of the Bunker Hill veterans in the celebration of that year, and derived some reminiscences from them respecting Warren's appearance and action during the fight. All other accounts of Warren, however, have been eclipsed by Frothingham's *Life of Warren* (Boston, 1865). In the *Boston Medical and Surgical Journal* (June 17, 1875), Dr. John Jeffries (son of the surgeon of the British army who saw Warren's body on the field) published a paper on his death. Cf. also R. J. Speirr in Potter's *Amer. Monthly*, v. 571; Frothingham's *Warren*, pp. 519, 523; Barry's *Massachusetts*, i. 37, and references.

The grateful intentions expressed by the Massachusetts House of Representatives (April 4, 1776), by the Continental Congress (April 8, 1777; Sept. 6, 1778; July 1, 1780, — see *Journals of Congress*), and by the Congress of the United States (Jan. 30, 1846, — *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, ii. 337), have never been carried out. Benedict Arnold manifested a special interest in the welfare of Warren's children (*N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, April, 1857, p. 122). The Freemasons erected a pillar to his memory on the battle-field in 1794, which disappeared when the present obelisk was begun in 1825. There is a view of the pillar in the *Analectic Mag.*, March, 1818, and in Snow's *Boston*, 309. Cf. *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, xiv. 65. A statue of Warren, by Henry Dexter, was placed in a pavilion near the obelisk in 1857. Cf. G. W. Warren's *Hist. of the Bunker Hill Monument Association;* Frothingham's *Warren*, p. 547.

[1] Accounts of the present obelisk on Bunker Hill can be found in G. W. Warren's *Hist. of the Bunker Hill Monument Association;* Wheildon's *Life of Solomon Willard;* Ellis's *Battle of Bunker Hill* (1843); Frothingham's *Siege;* and in other places noted in Hunnewell's *Bibliog. of Charlestown*, p. 28.

[2] Winthrop's *Speeches*, 1878–1886, p. 253, and separately. The statue was erected by anonymous subscribers, acting through the Rev. Dr. Ellis.

[3] For anniversary memorials, see Hunnewell's *Bibliog.*, 25, 26.

[4] See extracts and fac-simile from Waller's orderly-book in *Mem. Hist. Boston*, iii. 83, 84.

[5] The earliest English accounts which we have are two dated June 18, a letter of John Randon, a soldier (Lamb's *Journal of Occurrences*, 33; Dawson, 358), and that of an officer of rank from Boston (Force, iv.; Dawson, 357; Ellis, 115). Written on June 19, is a short letter from Brig.-Gen. Jones, colonel of the fifty-second regiment (*Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, xiv. 91; Frothingham's *Battle-Field*, 45). Henry Hulton, commissioner of his majesty's customs at Boston, wrote a long letter on June 20 (Emmons's *Sketches of Bunker Hill Battle*, 123; Dawson, 359; Ellis, 123). On the 22d, Adjutant Waller, of the Royal Marines, wrote a letter which is given in S. A. Drake's *Bunker Hill, the Story told in Letters from the Battle-field.* (Cf. P. H. Nicholas's *Historical Record of the Royal Marine Forces*, London, 1845, i. 84–89.) On the 23d we have the

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During 1775 there were two English accounts, aiming at something like historical perspective. One of these was, very likely, by Edmund Burke, and was in the *Annual Register* (p. 133, etc.). The other was *An Impartial and Authentic Narrative of the Battle fought on the 17th of June, 1775, between his Britannic Majesty's Troops and the American Provincial Army on Bunker's Hill near Charles Town in New England.* The author was John Clark, a first lieutenant of marines. He gives a speech of Howe to his men, representing that it was delivered just as he advanced to the attack, but this and much else in the book are considered of doubtful authenticity.[1]

In 1780 there appeared in the *London Chronicle* some letters by Israel Mauduit, which were republished the same year as *Three letters to Lord Viscount Howe: added, Remarks on the battle of Bunker's Hill* (London, 1780), which in a second edition (1781) reads additionally in the title, *To which is added a comparative view of the Conduct of Lord Cornwallis and General Howe.* There was among the Chalmers' MSS. (Thorpe's *Supplemental Catal.*, 1843, no. 660) a writing entitled *Some particulars of the battle of Bunker's Hill, the situation of the ground,* etc. (8 pp., 1784), which Chalmers calls a "most curious paper in the handwriting of Israel Mauduit, found among his pamphlets, Jan. 23, 1789."

In 1784 William Carter's *Genuine Detail of the Royal and American Armies* appeared in London. Carter was a lieutenant in the Fortieth Foot, and his book was seemingly reissued in 1785, with a new title-page. (Brinley, no. 1,789; Stevens, *Bibl. Amer.*, 1885, nos. 80, 81; Harvard Coll. lib., 6351.16.)

account of an officer on one of the king's ships (Force, iv.; Dawson, 360; Ellis, 117), and a brief letter by Dr. Grant, one of the surgeons (Dawson, 361; Ellis, 114). On the 24th, a merchant in Boston writes to his brother in Scotland (Ellis, 119).

The 25th of June must have been a letter day in Boston, in anticipation of the sailing of the despatch ship "Cerberus," for we have several letters of that date. Gage wrote then his official despatch to Lord Dartmouth, which reached London July 25, but a vessel had arrived at Waterford a week earlier (July 18), bringing rumors of the fight (P. O. Hutchinson's *Governor Hutchinson*, 489). The news was at once published from Whitehall (Almon's *Remembrancer*, 1775, p. 132; *Analectic Mag.*, 1818, p. 260; Force, iv.; Dawson, 361, and his *Battles*, 65; Ellis, 94; Frothingham's *Siege*, 385; Moore's *Ballad History*, 86, etc.). Gage wrote at the same time a private letter to Dartmouth. "The number," he says, "of killed and wounded is greater than we could afford to lose, and some extraordinary good officers have been lost. The trials we have had show that the rebels are not the despicable rabble too many have supposed them to be" (*London Gazette*, July 25; Force, iv.; *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, xiv. 353; Dawson, 363). Burgoyne wrote the same day (June 25) a "letter to a noble lord" (Stanley). He saw the action from Copp's Hill. We have the letter in two forms; the first in Burgoyne's letter-book, where he calls it the "substance" of the letter, and in this form it is printed by E. D. de Fonblanque in his *Political and Military Episodes derived from the life and correspondence of the Right Hon. John Burgoyne, General, Statesman, Dramatist* (London, 1876), p. 153. In this draft he says that the fight "establishes the ascendency of the king's troops, though opposed by more than treble numbers, assisted by every circumstance that nature and art could supply to make a situation strong." This and other paragraphs, as well as other forms of expression, do not appear in the letter as historians print it, as by Mahon (vol. vi.), for instance, who, as Fonblanque supposes, had access to the letter actually received by Stanley. In this latter form the letter appeared in London in the public prints (Sept.), and in a broadside with a plan of the battle. It came back to Boston in this shape, and was printed in Hall's *New England Chronicle* (Cambridge, Nov. 24), and in Edes's *Boston Gazette* (Watertown), and is now frequently met with (*Analectic Mag.*, 1815, p. 264; Ellis, p. 106, with comments from a London opposition journal; *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, xi. 125; Dawson, p. 363, and his *Battles*, p. 66; and in the Centennial publications of David Pulsifer and Samuel A. Drake). Fonblanque adds something more of Burgoyne's view in letters (pp. 147, 193) which he wrote to Lord Rochfort, without date, and to Lord George Germain (Aug. 20). In the former he said: "The defence was well conceived and obstinately maintained; the retreat was no flight; it was even covered with bravery and military skill."

Beside the Stanley letter of Burgoyne, we find also, written on June 25, two others: the first from Boston to a gentleman in Scotland (Force, iv.; Dawson, 364); the second from an officer in Boston (Force, iv.; Dawson, 365).

On the 26th, Gage wrote to the Earl of Dunmore in Virginia (Force, iv.; Dawson, 366).

On July 5th, there is a letter from an officer in Boston (*Detail and Conduct of the American War*, 3d ed., 1780, p. 12; Dawson, p. 367; Frothingham's *Siege*, 373).

A letter of Captain Harris, describing his receiving a wound and being taken from the field, is given without date in Lushington's *Lord Harris* (p. 54; also Dawson, 366; Drake, 37). The Bunker Hill letter is lacking in G. D. Scull's *Capt. Evelyn of the King's Own* (Oxford, 1879), but there is new matter in his *Evelyns in America* (pp. 166–171, 278).

[1] The book passed to a second edition the same year. It was privately printed in New York in 1868, and is included by S. A. Drake in his *Bunker Hill*, published in 1875 (Brinley, no. 1,786; Stevens, *Americana*, 1885, £3 3*s*).

NOTE. — The fac-simile on the following page is of a handbill, printed in Boston, giving the tory side of the fight at Bunker Hill, — after an original in the library of the Mass. Hist. Society.

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BOSTON, 26th of JUNE, 1775.

THIS Town was alarmed on the 17th Inſtant at break of Day, by a Firing from the Lively Ship of War; and a Report was immediately ſpread that the Rebels had broke Ground, and were raiſing a Battery on the Heights of the Peninſula of Charleſtown, againſt the Town of Boſton. They were plainly ſeen, and in a few Hours a Battery of Six Guns, played upon their Works. Preparations were inſtantly made for the landing a Body of Men; and ſome Companies of Grenadiers and Light Infantry, with ſome Battallions, and Field Artillery; amounting in the whole to about 2000 Men, under the Command of Major General HOWE, and Brigadier General PIGOT, were embarked with great Expedition, and landed on the Peninſula without Oppoſition; under Cover of ſome Ships of War, and armed Veſſels.

The Troops formed as ſoon as landed: The Rebels upon the Heights, were perceived to be in great Force, and ſtrongly poſted. A Redoubt thrown up on the 16th at Night, with other Works full of Men, defended with Cannon, and a large Body poſted in the Houſes of Charleſtown, covered their Right; and their Left was covered by a Breaſtwork, Part of it Cannon Proof, which reached from the Left of the Redoubt to the Myſtick River.

Beſides the Appearance of the Rebels Strength, large Columns were ſeen pouring in to their Aſſiſtance: but the King's Troops advanced; the Attack began by a Cannonade, and notwithſtanding various Impediments of Fences, Walls, &c. and the heavy Fire they were expoſed to, from the vaſt Numbers of Rebels, and their Left galled from the Houſes of Charleſtown, the Troops made their Way to the Redoubt, mounted the Works, and carried it. The Rebels were then forced from other ſtrong Holds, and purſued 'till they were drove clear of the Peninſula, leaving Five Pieces of Cannon behind them. Charleſtown was ſet on Fire during the Engagement, and moſt Part of it conſumed. The Loſs they ſuſtained, muſt have been conſiderable, from the vaſt Numbers they were ſeen to carry off during the Action, excluſive of what they ſuffered from the ſhipping. About a Hundred were buried the Day after, and Thirty found wounded on the Field, ſome of which are ſince Dead. About 170 of the King's Troops were killed, and ſince dead of their Wounds; and a great many were wounded.

This Action has ſhown the Bravery of the King's Troop who under every Diſadvantage, gained a compleat Victory over Three Times their Number, ſtrongly poſted, and covered by Breaſtworks. But they fought for their KING, their LAWS and CONSTITUTION.

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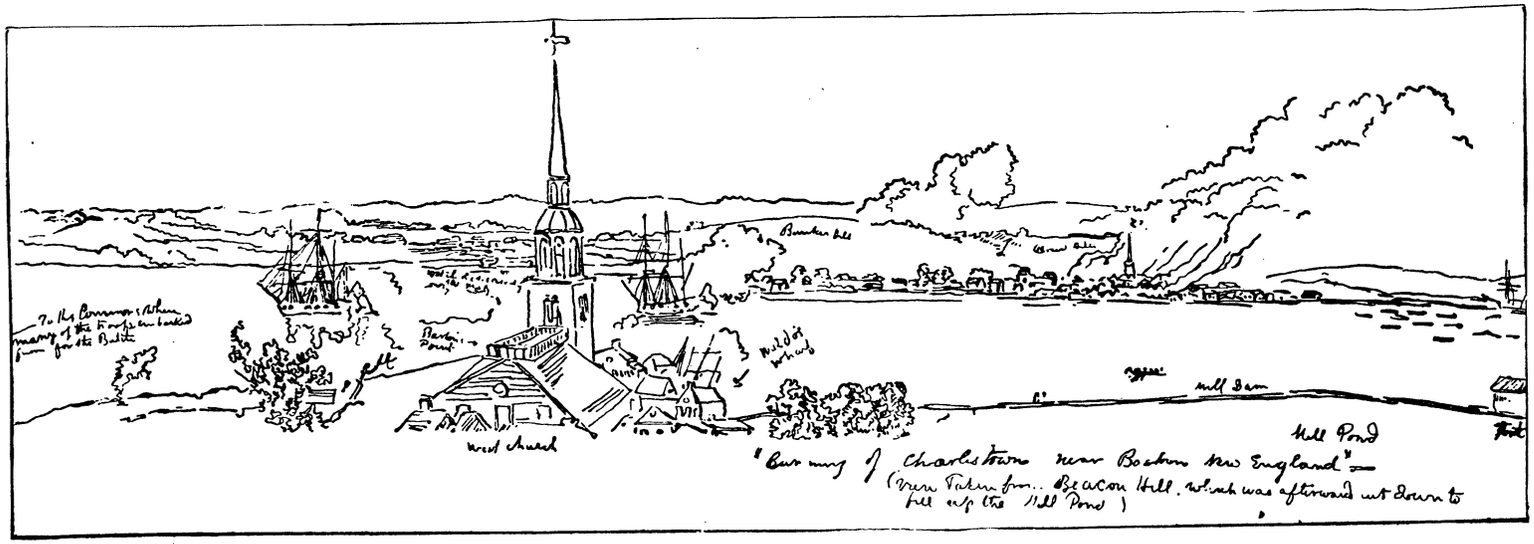
Bunker Hill
Mill Pond
mill Dam
West Church
Mill Pond
"Burning of Charlestown near Boston New England"—
(View Taken from... Beacon Hill. which was afterward cut down to
fill up the Mill Pond)

NOTE. — This sketch of Bunker Hill Battle, made for Lord Rawdon, follows a tracing of the original belonging to Dr. Emmet of New York, furnished to me by Mr. Benson J. Lossing. A finished drawing from this sketch is given in the *Mem. Hist. of Boston*, vol. iii. Cf. *Harper's Mag.* xlvii., p. 18. The spire in the foreground is that of the West Church, which stood where Dr. Bartol's church, in Cambridge Street, Boston, now stands, showing that the sketcher was on Beacon Hill, 138 feet above the water. The smoke from the frigate to the right of the spire rises against the higher hill where Putnam endeavored to rally the retreating provincials. This hill is 110 feet above the water, and about one mile and a half distant from the spectator. One hundred and thirty rods to the right of this summit is the crown of the lower or Breed's Hill, where the redoubt was, which is 62 feet above the sea. Dr. Emmet secured this picture and another of the slope of the hill, taken after the battle, and showing the broken fences (*Mem. Hist. of Boston*, iii. 88), at the sale of the effects of the Marquis of Hastings, who was a descendant of Lord Rawdon, then on Gage's staff (*Harper's Monthly Mag.*, 1875). The earliest engraved picture of the battle is one cut by Roman, which was published the same year, and appeared also in Sept., 1775, on a reduced scale, in the *Pennsylvania Magazine*. It has been reproduced in Frothingham's *Centennial: Battle of Bunker Hill* (1875), in Moore's *Ballad History*, and in other of the Centennial memorials. In 1781 a poem by George Cockings, *The American War* (London), had a somewhat extraordinary picture, which has been reproduced in Gay's *Pop. Hist. U. S.*, iii. 401, by S. A. Drake, and others. In 1786 Col. John Trumbull painted his well-known picture of the battle, which has been often engraved. (Cf. Trumbull's *Autobiography; N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, xv.; Tuckerman's *Book of the Artists; Harper's Magazine*, Nov., 1879.) Trumbull claimed that the following figures in his picture were portraits: Warren, Putnam, Howe, Clinton, Small, and the two Pitcairns.

In the *Mass. Magazine*, Sept., 1789, there is a view of Charlestown, showing Bunker's and Breed's hills, with their original contours. It is reproduced in *Mem. Hist. Boston*, iii. 554, with a note upon other early views. Frothingham (*Siege*, p. 121) gives one from an early manuscript which closely resembles the topography of the Rawdon sketch; and again (*Centennial*, etc.) another which is in fact the perspective sketch of the town at the edge of Price's view of Boston (1743), converted into a panoramic picture (*Mem. Hist. of Boston*, ii. 329).

The *Gentleman's Mag.*, Feb., 1790, has a view of Charlestown, with the tents of the British army on the hill, taken after the battle, and from Copp's Hill. It shows the wharves and ruins of the town. (Cf. note in *Mem. Hist. Boston*, iii. 88.)

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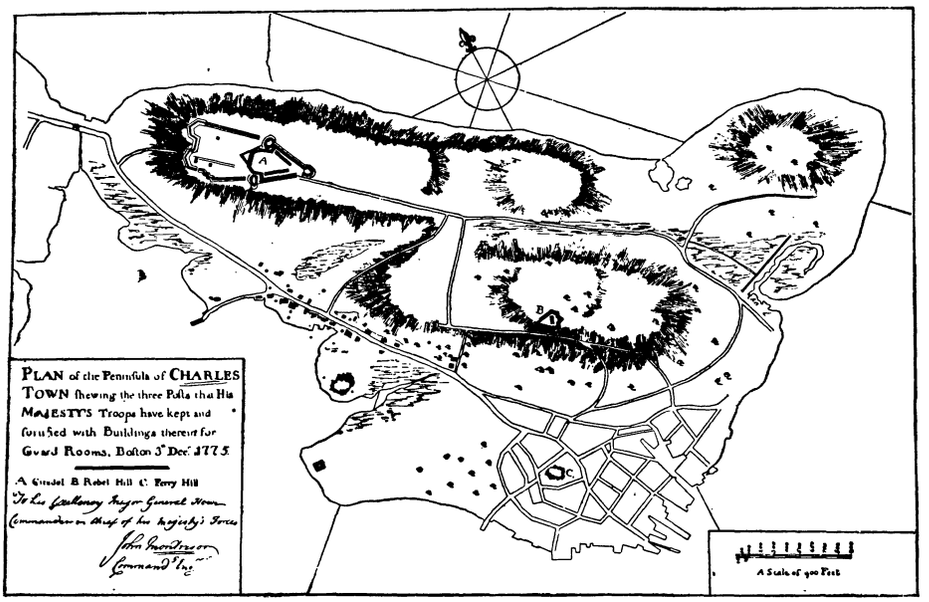
The account of the loyalist Jones (*N. Y. during the Rev.*, i. 52) has his usual twist of vision, though he is severe on Gage for "taking the bull by the horns" in making an attack in front.

The long list of general histories on the British side, detailing the events of the battle, begins with Murray's *Impartial Hist. of the War* (London, 1778; Newcastle, 1782), and is made up during the rest of that century by the *Hist. of the War* published at Dublin (1779–85); Hall's *Civil War in America* (1780); *The Detail and Conduct of the Amer. War* (1780); Andrews's *Hist. of the War* (1785, vol. i. 301, — quoted at length by Ryerson, *Loyalists*, i. 461); Stedman, *Hist. Amer. War* (London, 1794, vol. i. 125). The heights the incentive to the American occupation of the former. Edw. Bernard's *History of England* (London) has a curious "View of the Attack on Bunker's Hill, with the burning of Charlestown."

Something confirmatory, rather than of original value, can be gained from the histories of various regiments which took part in the battle, as detailed in the series of *Historical Records* of such regiments.[2]

The battle almost immediately found commemoration in British ballads (*Hist. Mag.*, ii. 58; v. 251; Hale's *Hundred Years Ago*, p. 7), and the slain were commemorated in elegiac verses,


PLAN of the Peninsula of CHARLES TOWN shewing the three Posts that His MAJESTY'S Troops have kept and furnished with Buildings thereon for Guard Rooms. Boston 3d Dec. 1775
A Citadel B Rebel Hill C Ferry Hill
A Scale of 300 Feet

CHARLESTOWN PENINSULA, 1775.[1]

best of the later historians is Mahon (*Hist. of England*, vi.), who was forced to admit, when pressed upon the question, that the American claims of victory, which he says they have always held, appear only in the reports of later British tourists (vol. vi., App. xxix.). Lecky, in his brief account (*England in the Eighteenth Century*, iii. 463), makes an intention of Gage to fortify the Charlestown and not the Dorchester as in M. M. Robinson's *To a young lady, on the death of her brother, slain in the late engagement at Boston* (London, 1776). The same year there appeared at Philadelphia *The Battle of Bunker's Hill, a dramatic piece in five acts, in heroic measure, by a gentleman of Maryland.* Its author is said to be Hugh Henry Brackenridge, and the frontispiece, "The Death of Warren," by Norman, is held to be the earliest engraving in Brit-

1 Sketched from a plan by Montresor, showing the redoubt erected by the British, after June 17, on the higher eminence of Bunker Hill. The original is in the library of Congress, where is a plan on a large scale of this principal redoubt.

2 Particular reference may be made to the more extended accounts in Moorsom's *Fifty-Second Regiment* (with a plate of uniforms); Lamb's *Journal of Occurrences* with the Welsh Fusiliers; E. Duncan's *Royal Artillery* (London, 1872, i. 302); R. G. A. Levinge's *Fifty-third Regiment Monmouthshire light infantry* (Lond., 1868, pp. 61–64); The *Case of Edward Drewe, late Major Thirty-fifth Regiment* (Exeter, 1782, — see Dawson, 368).

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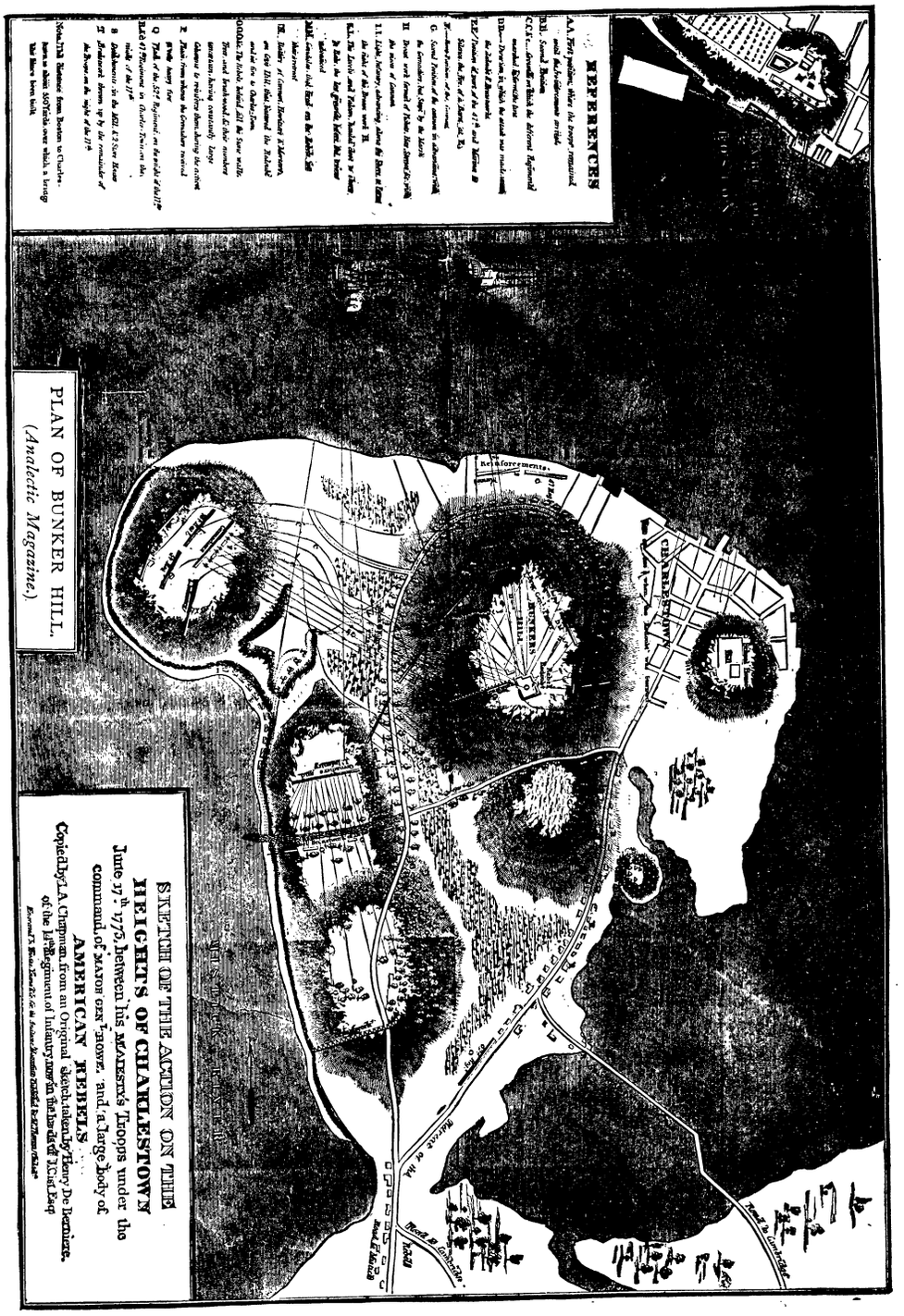
REFERENCES
Reinforcements
BUNKERS HILL
BREED'S HILL
Road to Lexington
Road to Cambridge
SKETCH OF THE ACTION ON THE HEIGHTS OF CHARLESTOWN
June 17th 1775, between his MAJESTY'S Troops under the command of MAJOR GEN.L HOWE, and a large body of AMERICAN REBELS
Copied by J.A. Chapman, from an Original Sketch taken by Henry De Berniere of the 1st Regiment of Infantry, now in the hands of T. Call Esq.

PLAN OF BUNKER HILL.
(*Analectic Magazine.*)

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ish America by a native artist (Hunnewell, p. 13; Brinley, no. 1,787; Sabin, ii. 7,184; xiv. 58,640). In 1779 there was printed at Danvers, *America Invincible, an heroic poem, in two books: a Battle at Bunker Hill, by an officer of rank in the Continental army* (Hunnewell, p. 13). In 1781 an anonymous poem was published in London, known later to be the production of George Cockings, and called *The American War, in which the names of the officers who have distinguished themselves during the war are introduced* (Brinley, no. 1,788; Hunnewell, p. 14). Of later use of the battle in fiction, it is only necessary to name Cooper's novel of *Lionel Lincoln* and O. W. Holmes's *Grandmother's Story of Bunker Hill Battle* (*Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, 1875, p. 33).

The chief enumerations which have been heretofore made of the plans of the battle of Bunker Hill are by Frothingham, in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, xiv. 53; by Hunnewell in his *Bibliog. of Charlestown*, p. 17; and by Winsor in the *Mem. Hist. of Boston*, iii. (introduction). The earliest rude sketches are by Stiles in his diary (Dawson, p. 393), and one formed by printer's rules in *Rivington's Gazetteer*, Aug. 3, 1775 (Frothingham's *Siege*, p. 397, and Dawson, p. 390). Montresor, of the British engineers, very soon made a survey of the field, and this was used by Lieutenant Page in drawing a plan of the action, which he carried to England with him when, on account of wounds received while acting as an aid to Howe, he was given leave of absence (*Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, June, 1875, p. 56). In the Faden collection (nos. 25–30) of maps in the library of Congress there are Page's rough and finished plans, drawn before the British works on the hill were begun, and also plans by Montresor and R. W., of the Welsh Fusiliers. Page's plan, as engraved, was issued in London in 1776, and called *A Plan of the Action at Bunker's Hill*.[1]

Page's, however, was not the first engraved. One "by an officer on the spot" was published in London, Nov. 27, 1775, called *Plan of the battle on Bunker's Hill. Fought on the 17th of June*, which was issued as a broadside, with Burgoyne's letter to Lord Stanley on the same sheet. The central position of the Americans is called "Warren's redoubt." This is reproduced in F. Moore's *Ballad History of the Revolution*.

Another contemporary British plan — discovered probably "in the baggage of a British officer," after the royal troops left Boston in March, 1776, but not brought to light till forty years later, when it was mentioned in a newspaper in Wilkesbarre, Penn., as having been found in an

NOTE. — The references in the corner of the cut on the preceding page, too fine to be easily read in this reduced fac-simile, are as follows: —

"*A A.* First position, where the troops remained until reinforcements arrived.

B B. Second position.

C C C. Ground on which the different regiments marched to form the line.

D D. Direction in which the attack was made upon the redoubt and breastwork.

E E. Position of a part of the 47th and marines, to silence the fire of a barn at E.

F. First position of the cannon.

G. Second position of the cannon in advancing with the grenadiers, but stopped by the marsh.

H. Breastwork formed of pickets, hay, stones, etc., with the pieces of cannon.

I I. Light infantry advancing along the shore to force the right of the breastwork *H*.

L L. The "Lively" and "Falcon" hauled close to shore, to rake the low grounds before the troops advanced.

M M. Gondolas that fired on the rebels in their retreat.

N. Battery of cannon, howitzers, and mortars on Copp's Hill, that battered the redoubt and set fire to Charlestown.

O O O. The rebels behind all the stone walls, trees, and brush-wood, and their numbers uncertain, having constantly large columns to reinforce them during the action.

P. Place from whence the grenadiers received a very heavy fire.

Q. Place of the fifty-second regiment on the night of the 17th.

R. Forty-seventh regiment, in Charlestown, on the night of the 17th.

S. Detachments in the mill and two storehouses.

T. Breastwork thrown up by the remainder of the troops on the night of the 17th.

Note. The distance from Boston to Charlestown is about 550 yards."

[1] In 1793, when Stedman used the plate in his *American War*, he only altered the title, as Frothingham says. In 1797 it was again reëngraved, but also with changes in the title, as *A plan of the action at Breed's Hill, etc.*, and, as then reduced by D. Martin, it constitutes the earliest American engraved plan. It appeared in C. Smith's *American War from 1775 to 1783* (New York, 1797), and Hunnewell (p. 18) gives a heliotype of it. Nathaniel Dearborn, in his *Boston Notions*, engraved it, on a very small scale, in 1848; and the next year (1849) Frothingham reproduced it in its original state in his *Siege*, and pointed out that the correspondence of Montresor's survey to a recent survey of Felton and Parker inspired one with confidence in its accuracy (*Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, xiv.). It is the basis of the best plans of the action, and is reproduced also in Irving's *Washington*, illus. ed., ii. 467.

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BOSTON AND BUNKER HILL.
(*Impartial History, etc.*, 1781.)

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old drawer — was one made by Henry de Bernière, of the Tenth Royal Infantry, on nearly the same scale as Page's, but less accurately. It was engraved in 1818 in the *Analectic Magazine* (Philad., p. 150), and a fac-simile of that engraving is annexed. The text accompanying it states that its general accuracy had been vouched for by Governor Brooks, General Dearborn, Dr. A. Dexter, Deacon Thos. Miller, John Kettell, Dr. Bartlett, the Hon. James Winthrop, and Mr. [Judge] Prescott. General Dearborn and Deacon Miller thought the rail fence too far in the rear of the redoubt, having been really nearly in the line of it. Judge Winthrop and Dr. Bartlett thought the map in this particular correct. There was the same division of belief regarding the cannon behind the fence, Dearborn and Miller believing there were none there, Brooks and Winthrop holding the contrary. Other witnesses represented to the editor of the *Magazine* that there was no interval between the breastwork and the fence, but that an imperfect line of defence connected the redoubt with the Mystick shore, as represented in Stedman's (Page's) map.[1]

In the *Portfolio* (March, 1818) General Dearborn criticised the plan (Dawson, p. 406), and, using the same plate in his separate issue of his comments, he imposed in red his ideas of the position of the works, and this was in turn criticised by Governor Brooks.[2] Mr. G. G. Smith made a (plan) *Sketch of the Battle of Bunker Hill by a British Officer* (Boston, 1843), which grew out of the plan and the comments on it. Bernière's plan was also used by Colonel Swett as the basis of the one which he published in his *History of the Battle of Bunker Hill* (1825, 1826, 1827), which has been frequently copied (Ellis, Lossing, etc.). The latest attempt to map the phases of the action critically is by Carrington in his *Battles of the Revolution* (p. 112), who gives an eclectic plan. Plans adopting the features of earlier ones are in the English translation of Botta's *War of Independence*, Grant's *British Battles* (ii. 144). A plan of the present condition of the ground, by Thomas W. Davis, superposing the line of the American works, is given in the Bunker Hill Monument Association's *Proceedings* (1876). A map of Charlestown in 1775 with a plan of the battle was prepared and published in 1875 by James E. Stone. A plan of the works as reconstructed by the British, and deserted by them in March, 1776, is given in Carter's *Genuine detail*, etc. (London, 1784), which is reproduced in Frothingham's *Siege*, p. 330. Other MS. plans of their works on both hills are in the Faden maps in the library of Congress.

Before the war closed a plan was engraved by Norman, a Boston engraver, which is the earliest to appear near the scene itself. This was a *Plan of the town of Boston with the attack on Bunker's Hill, in the peninsula of Charlestown, on June 17, 1775* (measuring $11\frac{1}{2} \times 7$ inches), which is, however, of no topographical value as respects the action. It appeared in Murray's *Impartial History* (1778), i. p. 430, and in *An Impartial History of the War in America* (Boston, 1781, vol. i.), and a reduced fac-simile of it is annexed.[3]

C. THE AMERICAN CAMP. — A variety of journals and diaries have been preserved, the best known of which is that of Dr. Thacher, a surgeon on Prospect Hill.[4]

[1] Dearborn was at the time a captain in Stark's regiment, at the rail fence. Winthrop was on the field unattached. Dr. Dexter looked on from the Malden shore of the Mystick. Kettell was a common soldier, at first in the redoubt; then at the rail fence. Miller was at the rail fence.

[2] *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, July, 1858. There is a portrait of Brooks, by Stuart, owned by Mr. Francis Brooks, of Boston. It has been engraved by A. B. Durand. Cf. Usher's ed. of Brooks' *Medford* (Boston, 1886.)

[3] The figures in the town denote the numbers of the wards. The letters signify, — A, Town Hall; B, Old meeting; C, the Chapel; D, Governor's house; E, Christ Church; F, Trinity Church: G, Faneuil Hall; H, Old North meeting; I, Old South meeting; L, Work-house; M, Prison. A map like it appeared in 1782 in a work of similar title to that published in Boston, but printed at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, being a second edition of one printed at London in 1779. (Cf. Henry Stevens's *Hist. Coll.*, i. no. 435.) The whole design seems, however, to be taken from a map which appeared in London, Sept. 2, 1775, whose main title is *Seat of War in New England, by an American Volunteer, with the marches of the several Corps sent by the Colonies towards Boston, with the Attack on Bunker Hill;* and which has in the margin a *Plan of Boston Harbor*, and is also the prototype of the one in the *Impartial History* (Boston, 1781). Modern reproductions are also given in Wheildon's *New History*, F. S. Drake's *Tea Leaves*, and in various other of the Centennial memorials of 1875.

[4] *Military Journal* (Boston, 1823). Others are the following: Diary of Jeremy Belknap, Chaplain, in *Life of Belknap* and *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, June, 1858. *Diary of David How*, ed. by H. B. Dawson (Morrisania, 1865). A journal of Solomon Nash (beginning Jan. 1, 1776) is included in the series (vol. i.) edited by C. I. Bushnell, called *Crumbs for Antiquarians*, 2 vols., 1862–66 (Sabin, iii. 9,538). Journal of David McCurlin, beginning at Cambridge, Aug. 9, 1775, and ending May, 1776, in *Papers relating to the Maryland line*, ed. by Thomas Balch (Philad., 1857). Diary of Lieut. Jonathan Burton, of Wilton, N. H., on Winter Hill, Dec., 1775, to Jan. 26, 1776, in *N. H. State Papers* (1885), vol. xiv., and *N. H. Rev. Rolls*, i. 667–689. Diary

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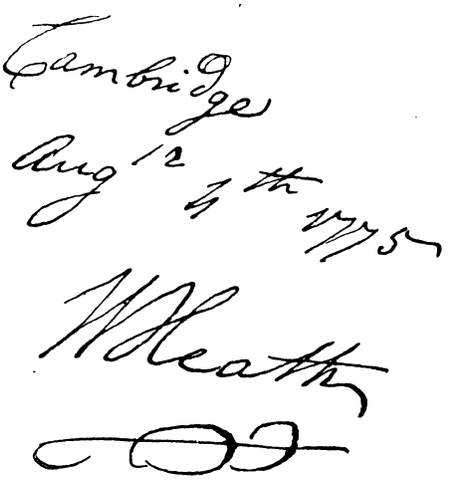
The daily life of the Cambridge camp is best seen in the letters sent from it, and foremost in interest among such are those of Washington.[1] From the Roxbury camp there are letters of General Thomas in the *Thomas Papers*, where is one of Dr. John Morgan, the medical director. Several from Jedediah Huntington are preserved in the Trumbull Papers, and are printed in the *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, xlix.[2] The principal letters from the Winter Hill camp are those of General Sullivan,[3] and a few have been printed written at the Prospect Hill camp.[4]

Something of the spirit prevailing in Watertown, where the Provincial Congress was sitting, can be seen in the letters of James Warren and Samuel Cooper.[5]

of Aaron Wright, June 29, 1775, to March 11, 1776, in *Boston Transcript*, April 11, 1862, and in *Hist. Mag.*, vi. 208. He was a private in a rifle company from the South. Diary of Lieut.-Col. Experience Storrs, June 13, 1775, to Feb., 1776, in *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, Feb., 1882, p. 124. Journal of Crafts, June 15, etc., in *Essex Inst. Hist. Coll.*, iii. Diaries in the *Hist. Mag.*, Oct., 1864; Aug., 1871, p. 128; March, 1874, p. 133, by Ensign Clap. Diaries in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, Nov., 1863 (by Ezekiel Price); Feb., 1872 (by Paul Lunt, May 10 to Dec. 23, 1775); March, 1876 (by Samuel Bixby); Sept., 1882 (by Paul Litchfield, at Cambridge and Scituate). A diary of Caleb Haskell, beginning May 5, 1775, was published at Newburyport in 1881. There are some rather vague reminiscences in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, xv. 390; and others in Elkanah Watson's *Memoirs*.

[1] In Sparks's *Washington;* in W. B. Reed's *Life of Reed;* in the Chas. Lee Papers (*N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, 1871); in Lee's *R. H. Lee* (vol. ii.). A letter to his brother, July 20, 1775, is in the *Penna. Mag. of Hist.*, x. 353. His appeals for powder are in the *N. H. Prov. Papers* (vii. pp. 571, 572, 581), as in other places. Two letters (July 23 and Dec. 4) are in the *Gen. Thomas Papers*. His correspondence with Josiah Quincy about fortifying the harbor is in the *Quincy Papers* in the Mass. Hist. Soc. Cabinet. John Adams tells of dining with Washington and the Caghnawaga sachems (*Familiar Letters*, p. 131). From near headquarters there are letters of Charles Lee (*N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, 1871; Lee's *Life of R. H. Lee*, i. 281; *Memoirs of Charles Lee;* one of July 23 in the *Gen. Thomas Papers*); of Horatio Gates (*N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, 1871; *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, xiv. 281; several in the *Thomas Papers*); of Gen. Ward (many in the *Thomas Papers*); of Lewis Morris (*N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, 1875, p. 433, etc.); of Joseph Trumbull (*Hist. Mag.*, vii. 22; Hinman's *Conn. in the Rev.*, 554); of Asa Fitch (*Hist. Mag.*, iii. p. 6); of Samuel B. Webb (*Conn. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, ii. 284; *Sparks MSS.* no. xxv.); of Thomas Brown (*Trumbull MSS.*, iv. no. 75) Other letters of more or less interest will be found in the *N. Jersey Archives*, x. 606–608; in the *Memoirs of General Heath;* Drake's *Life of Knox;* Bicknell's *Barrington, R. I.* (p. 190); and others of Richard Devens and Richard Gridley are in the *Thomas Papers*. Letters of Robert Magaw, in August, are in the *Mag. of West. Hist.*, Sept., 1886, p. 674.



[2] There are others in the *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, xiv. p. 282 (Joseph Ward to John Adams); in *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, March, 1884, p. 221 (by Stephen Johnson); and by W. T. Miller, of the Rhode Island camp, in the *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, 1857, p. 136.

[3] Amory's *Life of Sullivan; Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, xiv. pp. 275, 283; others from the Langdon papers are copied in the *Sparks MSS.* (no. lii., vol. ii.; see also *Ibid.*, no. xxi.). There are also letters of Scammel (*Hist. Mag.*, xviii. 129); of John Stark and others (*N. H. Prov. Papers*, vii. 528–29, 531, 557, 565, 581, 612, 616, 675; viii. 30; one of Aug. 23 is in the *Thomas Papers*); of Samuel Sweat (*Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, Dec., 1879); and some in R. A. Guild's *Chaplain Smith and the Baptists* (p. 166, etc.). Others from Medford are in *N. H. Prov. Papers*, vii. 530, 555, 565.

[4] There is a letter of Thomas Mifflin in the *Thomas Papers* (Aug. 26). Others of W. T. Miller in *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.* (1857, p. 137); and of William Thompson in the *Life of George Read of Delaware* (pp. 112, 128).

[5] *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, xiv. 277, 279, 280. Various letters of Joseph Warren, James Warren, and Mercy Warren are in the *Thomas Papers*. A book of contracts for supplies for the army, 1776, kept at Watertown and in part in the handwriting of Elbridge Gerry, is in the Boston Public Library [H. 90 a, 7].

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There are in the library of the Amer. Antiq. Soc. at Worcester several orderly-books of the siege,[1] and others are preserved elsewhere.[2]

D. THE BRITISH CAMP. — The condition of Boston during the siege must be learned from various sources. The *Boston News-Letter* was still published, but numbers of it are very scarce for this period, and no other of the Boston newspapers continued to be published in the town.[3] It was a convenient vehicle for the British generals, and any morsel of news likely to be distasteful to the patriots, like the intercepted correspondence of Washington and John Adams, was pretty sure to reach the American lines through its columns. The correspondence of the generals is preserved in the British Archives and in the papers at the Royal Institution (London), and occasionally some few letters, like those of Percy in the Boston Public Library, have been found elsewhere. It is charged that Gage's papers were stolen in Boston.[4] Some new glimpses were got when Fonblanque published his *Life of Burgoyne*.[5] The best accounts of the succession of events in the town and the daily life are found in Dr. Ellis's "Chronicles of the Siege,"[6] and in Mr. Horace E. Scudder's "Life in Boston during the Siege," a chapter in the *Memorial Hist. of Boston*, vol. iii.,[7] which may be consulted (p. 154) for various sources respecting the details of the privations and amusements of the people and the garrison, and of the vicissitudes of its buildings and landmarks.[8] An account of the British works in Boston is given in Frothingham's *Siege of Boston*, and the *Mem. Hist. Boston*, iii. 79. The current record of the outposts, etc., is noted in Moore's *Diary of the Rev.*, 109, etc. Carrington (*Battles*, 154) refers to a MS. narrative of experiences in the town by one Edw. Stow. Some of the correspondence of the Boston selectmen with Thomas, at Roxbury, is in the *Thomas Papers*. It is, however, to the diaries, letters, and orderly-books which have been preserved that we must go for the details of life in the beleaguered town.[9]

[1] Col. Ephraim Doolittle's, April 22 to Aug. 19, 1775; an anonymous one, Sept.–Oct., 1775; and another, written at Roxbury and Cambridge, July 29, 1775, to Jan. 12, 1776; Sergeant Isaac Nichols's, Sept. 5 to Dec. 11, 1775, and Col. William Henshaw's, Oct. 1, 1775, to March 12, 1776, and March 19–27, 1776. A book of Henshaw's, preceding this one, and covering April 20 to Sept. 26, 1775, as edited by C. C. Smith, was printed in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, Oct., 1876, and separately with additions (Boston, 1881).

[2] In the library of the Mass. Hist. Society, and unprinted, Maj. William Lee's orderly-book (Cambridge); and, in Harvard College library, that of Jeremiah Fogg (Winter Hill), Oct. 28, 1775, to Jan. 12, 1776. In the Penna. Hist. Society is one kept at Cambridge, July 3 to Sept. 11, 1775; and another, also at Cambridge, Nov. 5, 1775, to Jan. 1, 1776, is in the Boston Public Library [H. 90 a, 9]. Two were sold in F. S. Drake's sale, Boston, Nov., 1885, nos. 1,073, 1,074: one covering Feb. 1 to March 31, 1776; the other, Nov. 5 to Dec. 31, 1775. Glover's (June 29, etc.) is printed in the *Essex Inst. Hist. Coll.*, v. 112. That of Col. Israel Hutchinson, Cambridge and Winter Hill, Aug. 13, 1775, to July 8, 1776, is in the *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, November, 1879. Baldwin's, Jan. 5 to March 28, 1776, is at the State House, Boston, with a large mass of rolls, commissary and other papers. Sullivan's brigade-book is in the library of the Mass. Hist. Soc. (*Proc.*, Oct., 1884, p. 250). There are in the *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, iv. 67, papers on the rank of the field-officers at Cambridge, Nov., 1775; and in *Ibid.*, xxviii. 259, a list of the bodies of troops near Boston in 1775. The state of affairs in and about Boston in 1774–75 is cleverly sketched in Winthrop Sargent's *Life of André*, ch. iv., — that young British officer being there at the time.

[3] *Mem. Hist. Boston*, iii. 130.

[4] *Evelyns in America*, 273. Some of Gage's letters, however, are preserved in the Haldimand Papers in the British Museum, and their substance is given in the *Calendar of the Haldimand Papers* (p. 52, etc.), published by the Canadian Archivist, Brymner, in 1884. They end, however, in March, 1775. There are letters of Gage and Howe to Dartmouth and Germaine in the *Sparks MSS.* (no. lviii., Part 2).

[5] Given in synopsis by Dr. Ellis in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, March, 1876, p. 233.

[6] *Boston Evacuation Memorial*, 1876.

[7] Cf. his *Men and Manners in America one hundred years ago* (N. Y., 1876).

[8] The liberty-tree was cut down Sept. 1, 1775 (Moore's *Diary*, i. 131). There is a picture of it in *Mem. Hist. of Boston*, iii. p. 159. The various houses occupied by the British generals are traced in *Ibid.*, iii. 155, with references. Within our day, a cannon-ball imbedded in the tower of the Brattle Square Church has attracted attention. A ball from the American lines struck there, and was afterwards fastened in the hole it made, as a memorial. When the church was taken down, the ball was transferred to the cabinet of the Historical Society (Loring's *Hundred Boston Orators*, 108; *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, xx. 189; *Catal. Cab. Hist. Soc.*, p. 141). The house of John Hancock was rather roughly used (*Mem. Hist. of Boston*, iii. 155).

[9] Newell's diary in *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, xxxi.; that of "a British officer in Boston in 1775," edited by R. H. Dana, in *Atlantic Monthly*, April and May, 1877. (Cf. *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, xvi. 307.)

We have also the diaries of some American prisoners in the town: Peter Edes's, which was printed at Bangor in 1837; and John Leach's, June 29 to Oct. 4, printed in the *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, July, 1865 (see also Oct., 1865). On the imprisonment of James Lovell, see Loring's *Hundred Boston Orators*, p. 33.

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E. BOSTON EVACUATED. — The letters of Washington[1] best enable us to follow the movements, but they may be supplemented by other contemporary accounts.[2]

Howe's despatch to Dartmouth, dated Nantasket Roads, is in Dawson, i. 94.[3] His conduct of the siege is criticised in *A view of the evidence relative to the Conduct of the American War* (1779). Contemporary dissatisfaction was expressed in an ironical congratulatory poem published in London (Sabin, iv., 15,476).

One Crean Brush,[4] acting under orders of Howe, endeavored to carry off the merchandise from the stores of the town, so far as he could, on a vessel put at his disposal. Howe's proclamation in his favor is in fac-simile in the *Mem. Hist. of Boston*, iii. 97. Brush's vessel was later captured by Manly (*Evacuation Memorial*, 166). Similar experience in trying to escape with his merchandise was suffered by Jolley Allen, as portrayed in his *Account of a part of his sufferings and losses*, ed. by C. C. Smith, given in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, Feb., 1878, and separately. Allen's narrative was reprinted in the spelling of the original MS. in ***An Account of a part of the sufferings and losses of Jolley Allen, a native of London, with a preface and Notes by Mrs. Frances Mary Stoddard*** (Boston, 1883) An inventory of the stores left by the British is in the *Siege of Boston*, 406.[5] In the cabinet of this society is a handbill adopted by the freeholders of Boston, Nov. 18 [1776?], calling upon all who had suffered in property in Boston since March, 1775, to report the same to a committee.[6]

Washington's instructions (April 4, 1776) to Ward are in the printed *Heath Papers*, p. 4. The Mass. legislature, April 30, 1776, ordered beacons to be set at Cape Ann, Marblehead, and Blue Hill, ready to be fired in case of the enemy's reappearing, which was for a long time dreaded. Ward writes to Washington of his measures in progress.[7]

The correspondence of John Adams and John Winthrop (*Mass. Hist. Coll.*, xlv.) shows constant anxiety lest the defences should not be prepared in case of need.[8]

Much of interest is found in the *Memoir and letters of Captain W. Glanville Evelyn, from North America, 1774–1776, ed. by G. D. Scull*, Oxford, privately printed, 1879. (Cf. *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, 1879, p. 289.) The letters were reprinted in Scull's *Evelyns in America* (1881). Letters of Peter Oliver and others in P. O. Hutchinson's *Diary and letters of Thomas Hutchinson* (vol. i., 1884; vol. ii., 1886). The letters of John Andrews, in the *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, July, 1865, are scant in the period from June, 1775, to April, 1776. The passing of news in and out of Boston is illustrated in letters, edited by W. P. Upham, printed in the *Essex Institute Hist. Coll.* (July, 1876), vol. xiii. 153, etc. Letters addressed to Gardiner Greene are in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, June, 1873. Samuel Paine, Oct., 1775, in *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, July, 1876. *American Hist. Record*, Dec., 1872. Andrew Eliot remained for pastoral duty in the town during the siege. His letters to friends without, April, 1775, to Feb., 1776, are in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, xvi. 182, 288–306. Letters on the last days of the siege, in Almon's *Remembrancer*, iii. 106–8, quoted in the *Evacuation Memorial*, 175. Letters of Maj. Francis Hutcheson are in the Haldimand Papers (*Calendar*, p. 177).

A MS. orderly-book of Adjutant Waller is in Mass. Hist. Soc. Library. A fac-simile of the order for the attack at Bunker Hill is given from it in *Mem. Hist. of Boston*, iii.

The log-book of the British ship "Preston," lying in the harbor, April–Sept., 1775, is printed in the *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, Aug., 1860.

[1] Sparks, iii. 319, 320, 330; Dawson, i. 96; *Life of Jos. Reed*, i. ch. 8; *N. H. Prov. Papers*, viii. 86.

[2] Force's *Amer. Archives*. A letter by Eldad Taylor, Sunday, March 18, 1776, in *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, viii. 231; Edmund Quincy's, in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, April, 1858, p. 27, etc.; John Winthrop to John Adams, in *Heath Papers, etc.* (*Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*); Abigail Adams, in *Familiar Letters*, p. 148. See *Mem. Hist. of Boston*, iii., with references; and *Potter's Amer. Monthly*, vi. 166; and Chief Justice Oliver's diary, in P. O. Hutchinson's *Thomas Hutchinson*, ii. 46.

[3] It appears from Hutchinson's *Diary* (ii. 44) that while Dartmouth had directed the evacuation, Lord George Germain, in coming into office, had rescinded the order, but for some reason the despatch was not forwarded.

[4] There is a description of Crean Brush in a letter from Ebenezer Hazard (Feb. 18, 1775) in the *Conn. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, ii. 201.

[5] The royal arms carried off from the old State House are now in St. John, N. B. (*Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, xx. 231).

[6] Edmund Quincy wrote at the time: "The tories, they say, have been equal plunderers with the military." *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, 1859, p. 231. Washington wrote to Lee, "The destruction of the stores at Dunbar's camp, after Braddock's defeat, was but a faint image of what was seen in Boston" (*N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, 1872, p. 32). For the contributions of the Friends of Philadelphia to the poor of Boston, see the *Penna. Mag. of Hist.*, i. 168.

[7] Sparks's *Corresp. of the Rev.*, i. 191, 200. There is an orderly-book of Colonel Francis's regiment, at Dorchester Point, Aug.–Dec., 1776, among the *Moses Greenleaf MSS.* (Mass. Hist. Soc.) Various castle and harbor rolls, sea-coast defence rolls, etc., are in the *Mass. Archives; Rev. Rolls*, vols. xxv., xxxvi., xxxvii.

[8] Similar letters are in John Adams's *Works*, ix. 381, etc. Abigail Adams constantly informed her husband

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SIEGE OF BOSTON, 1776.[1]

The cut on the title of the present volume represents one side of the medal given by Congress to Washington, to commemorate his raising the siege of Boston.[2]

of the condition of affairs (*Familiar Letters*, 78, 85, 91, 111, 124, 129, 137, 138, 141, 156). There is a diary of Chief Justice Oliver at Halifax, after the refugees had reached there, in P. O. Hutchinson's *Hutchinson*, ii. 50.

[1] The westerly half of the map in the octavo atlas of Marshall's *Washington*, which is a reduction of the map in the earlier quarto atlas (1804). It is reproduced in the French translations of Marshall and of Botta.

[2] It was not procured from Paris till four years after the peace (Colonel Humphrey's letter, Nov., 1787, in

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F. MAPS OF THE SIEGE OF BOSTON. — Plans of Boston and its neighborhood, including its harbor, for the illustration of the siege of Boston, are numerous, and the account of them given in the *Mem. Hist. of Boston* (iii., introd.) is in the main followed in the present enumeration, which divides them into those of American, English, French, and German origin, and adheres as far as possible to the order of publication in each group.

The earliest American is the 1769 (or last) edition of what is known as Price's edition of Bonner's map of Boston, which had done service since 1722 by successive changes in the plate, this last issue showing Hancock's Wharf, and "Esqr. Hancock's seat" on Beacon Street.[1] This map sufficed for local use till the events of 1775 induced new interest in the topography, when the earliest response came from Philadelphia, where C. Lownes engraved *A new plan of Boston Harbour from an actual survey*, for the *Pennsylvania Magazine*. It presented a reminder of the great event of the year in its "N. B. Charlestown burnt, June 17, 1775, by the Regulars." There is another *Draught of the Harbour of Boston and the adjacent towns and roads*, a manuscript, dated 1775, among the *Belknap Papers*, i. 84, in the cabinet of the Mass. Hist. Society. The same *Pennsylvania Magazine*, the next month (July, 1775), gave as engraved by Aitkins *A new and correct plan of the town of Boston and Provincial Camp*. The town seems to be taken from a plan which had appeared in the *Gentleman's Magazine* (London) the previous January; but in one corner was added a plan of the circumvallating lines of the besieging army.[2] Later in the season two other plans were made, showing the American lines, which were not published, however, till long after. One is given in Force's *American Archives*, 4th series, vol. iii.,[3] and the other was made by Col. John Trumbull, in Sept., 1775, which was published in his *Autobiography* in 1841.[4] Of about the same time is another very small *Plan of Boston and its environs*, showing the circumvallating lines, which is in one corner of a large *Map of the Seat of Civil War in America*, engraved by B. Romans, and dedicated to Hancock. There is also, in the library of the Mass. Hist. Society, a rude plan of the harbor and vicinity, showing the positions of the provincials, which are reckoned at 20,000, while the royal forces are put at 8,000. I find no other American plan till Norman's, in 1781, reproduced on another page; and not another till *The Seat of the late War at Boston* appeared in the *Universal Asylum and Columbian Magazine*, July, 1789, p. 444, but this is a rather scant map of the country as far inland as Worcester. Gordon had the year before this given a map in his *American Revolution* (London, 1788) based on English sources; but it has been the foundation of most of the eclectic maps since published in this country.[5]

In 1822 a Mr. Finch printed in *Silliman's Journal* an account of the traces then remaining of the earthworks of the siege, both American and British.[6] There is an enumeration of the different sections of the lines, within and without Boston, in the *Mem. Hist. Boston* (vol. iii. 104).[7]

The earliest English plan of this period is one called *A plan of Boston and Charlestown from a drawing made in 1771*, which occupies the mar-

Amer. Museum, ii. 493). John Adams (*Familiar Letters*, 210) describes a device proposed for it, as early as 1776. It was purchased for the city of Boston in 1876, and is now preserved in the Boston Public Library. Its history is given in the *Boston Evacuation Memorial*. It has been described and delineated, obverse and reverse, several times, as in Sparks's *Washington*, i. 174, iii. 356; in Frothingham's *Siege* (cover); *Mem. Hist. of Boston*, iii. 100; *Amer. Journal of Numismatics* (July, 1880), xv. 1, 38; Snowden's *Medals of Washington;* Loubat's *Medallic Hist. of the United States; Nat. Port. Gallery* (N. Y., 1834); Johnston's *Orig. portraits of Washington*, p. 235; Guizot's *Atlas to his Washington*. Baker (*Medallic Portraits of Washington*, p. 27) says the artist made in it the earliest use of Houdon's bust. See Washington's letter in Force's *Archives*, v. 977. On one side are the words "Hostibus primo fugatis," and Mahon (vi. 85) seizes upon them to show that they plainly renounce all "the idle vaunts of Lexington," that the British had there fled.

1 There is a reduction of this issue in the *Mem. Hist. of Boston*, iii. p. lv.

2 It is reproduced in Wheildon's *Siege, etc., of Boston;* in Moore's *Ballad History*, etc.

3 Reproduced by Wheildon (p. 32).

4 This is reproduced in the *Mem. Hist. of Boston*, vol. iii.

5 Like those in Marshall's *Washington* (1806); in Sparks's *Washington* (iii. 26, also in the Boston *Evacuation Memorial*, 1875); in Frothingham's *Siege* (1849), p. 91; and in Carrington's *Battles*, p. 154, — to say nothing of those in Guizot's *Washington*, Lossing's *Field-Book* (p. 154), Gay's *Pop. Hist. U. S.* (iii. 427), etc

6 This is reprinted in Frothingham's *Siege* (p. 409).

7 There is among the Washington plans a plan of the works on Winter Hill. Cf. *Sparks's Catal.*, p. 207. It is not at Cornell. It is understood that nos. 1–11 of this set of plans, as per catalogue, were not sent to the Cornell University library. They do not appear to be among the *Sparks MSS.* in Harvard College library. This aspect of the siege of Boston is particularly studied in Lossing's *Field-Book of the Revolution* (also in *Harper's Monthly*, vol. i.), and in S. A. Drake's *Landmarks of Middlesex*, and *County of Middlesex* (ch. 19).

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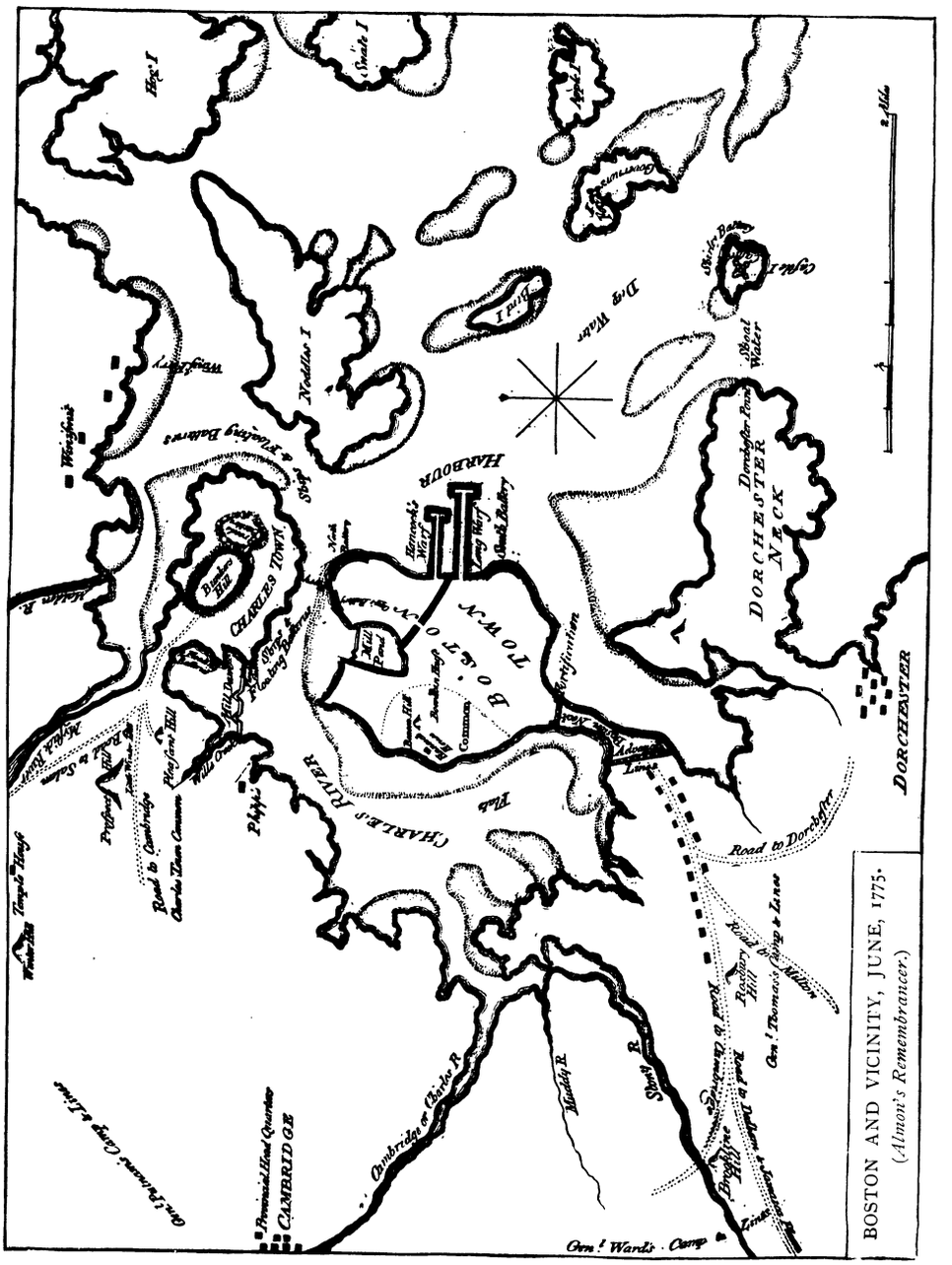
BOSTON
TOWN
HARBOUR
CHARLES TOWN
CHARLES RIVER
CAMBRIDGE
DORCHESTER
DORCHESTER NECK
Noddle's I
Hog I
Spectacle I
Great Water
Road to Dorchester
Gen! Wards Camp
Gen! Thomas's Camp & Lines
Gen! Lee's Camp & Lines
Provincial Head Quarters
Cambridge or Charles R
Muddy R
Stony R
Powder Horn
Windmill
Meeting House
Common
Fort Hill
Beacon Hill
Copp's Hill
Long Wharf
Castle Wharf
Long Bridge
Boston Neck
Roxbury Neck
Dorchester Point
Dr Thos Hancock's House
Governor's House
Old South Meeting House
Old North Meeting House
Christ Church
Faneuil Hall
Province House
Hancock's House
Mill Pond
Mill Creek
Charles R
Back Bay
Road to Cambridge over Charles River Common
Road to Cambridge over Charles River Neck
Road to Roxbury
Road to Dorchester
Road to Dorchester over the Neck
Road to Roxbury over the Neck
Lines
Redoubt
Battery
Ferry
Ferry Way
Ferry to Charlestown
Ferry to Noddle's I
Ferry to Hog I
Ferry to Spectacle I
Ferry to Dorchester Point
Ferry to Dorchester Neck
Ferry to Roxbury
Ferry to Roxbury Neck
Ferry to Cambridge
Ferry to Cambridge over Charles River Neck
Ferry to Cambridge over Charles River Common
Ferry to Cambridge over Charles River

gin of a larger map, engraved for *The Town and Country Magazine* in 1776, later to be mentioned. The *Catalogue of the King's Maps* (British Museum) shows a colored plan of Boston and vicinity (1773) in the centre of a large sheet, with marginal views (later to be described).[1]

In 1774 a *Plan of the town of Boston* made part of a *Chart of the Coast of New England*, which appeared in the *London Magazine*, April, 1774, and in *The American Atlas*, issued by Thomas Jefferys in London, in 1776. This map seems to be the model of a *New and accurate Plan of the town of Boston*, which is engraved in the corner of *A map of the most inhabited part of New England, by Thomas Jefferys, Nov. 29, 1774*, usually also found in *The American Atlas* (1776, nos. 15 and 16). This map is found with the date 1755, even after changes of a later date had been made in the plate.[2] The original map has also a marginal plan of Boston harbor (*Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, September, 1864).

The earliest English map of 1775 is one which appeared in the *Gentleman's Magazine* (January, 1775), though it is dated Feb. 1, 1775. It shows the town and harbor.[3]

In the June number of the *Gentleman's Magazine* is a "map of the country one hundred miles round Boston, in order to show the situation and march of the troops, as well provincial as regulars, which are now within sight of each other, and are hourly expected to engage."

In June, 1775, was also made a not very accurate map of the town and its environs, which was published in London, Aug. 28, to satisfy the eagerness for a map of the region to which the news of the battle of Bunker Hill had turned all eyes. It is to be found in the first volume of *Almon's Remembrancer*, and is reproduced herewith. A few weeks after the fight at Charlestown there was probably made in Boston the MS. plan of *Boston and circumjacent Country*, showing the present situation of the king's troops and the rebel intrenchments. It is dated July 25, 1775, and is owned by Dr. Charles Deane.[4]

The largest chart which we have of Boston harbor of this period is dated August 5, 1775, and was the work of Samuel Holland, the surveyor-general of the Northern colonies, who was for some years employed on a coast survey.[5] It takes in Nahant, Nantasket, and Cambridge, and was based principally on the surveys of George Callendar (1769).[6] When Des Barres included it in his *Atlantic Neptune* (part iii., no. 6, 1780–1783), he marked in the besieging lines, and dated it Dec. 1, 1781, and in this state Des Barres also used it in his *Coast and Harbors of New England*.[7]

A map showing thirty miles round Boston, and bearing date Aug. 14, 1775, is in the king's library (British Museum), and is signed by M. Armstrong. It has marginal statistical tables, and in the upper right-hand corner is a plan of the "action near Charlestown, 17 June, 1775."[8] There is among the Force maps in the library of Congress the MS. original of the map (sketched herewith as *Boston and Charlestown*, 1775), which is called *A Draught of the Towns of Boston and Charlestown and the circumjacent country, shewing the works thrown up by his Majesty's Troops, and also those by the Rebels during the campaign of 1775. N. B. The rebel entrenchments are expressed as they appear from Beacon Hill.*

On August 28th the British town-major in Boston, James Urquhart, licensed Henry Pelham to make a *Plan of Boston with its environs*. It was engraved in aquatints in London, on two sheets, and not published till June 2, 1777. Dr. Belknap, who was much troubled to find a correct plan of the town for this period, thought Pelham's was the best.[9]

There are among the Faden MSS. in the library of Congress two MS. maps. One is prob-

1 There are photographs of this sheet in the Boston Public Library, the Mass. Hist. Soc. library, and in the State Library of Massachusetts. Cf. map of Boston, 1750–1773, in Brit. Mus. MSS., 21,686, fol. 70, in the *Index to Brit. Mus. MSS.* (1880).

2 The whole map was reëngraved and published at Augsburg by T. C. Lotter, and the plan of the town was reproduced in Boston in 1875 by A. O. Crane. The whole map was reëngraved in Paris (1777) by Le Rouge, and makes part of the *Atlas Ameriquain* (1778).

3 It is reduced in the *Mem. Hist. of Boston*, iii. (Cf. *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, May, 1860.)

4 It has been reproduced in the *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, vol. xvii.

5 Sabine's *Amer. Loyalists*, i. 537.

6 Cf. *Boston Harbor, [with] nautical remarks and observations by G. Callendar*, London, 1775. *Brit. Mus. Maps* (1885), col. 491.

7 Cf. the Rawdon map in *Harper's Mag.*, xlvii. 20.

8 There are photographs of it in the Mass. Hist. Soc. Library, Boston Public Library, and State Library. *Brit. Mus. Map Catal.*, 1885, col. 493.

9 *Belknap Papers*, ii. 115; *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, xix. 93, 94. A tracing is given in the *Boston Evacuation Memorial* (1876), and it is reduced, but not in fac-simile, in Frank Moore's *Diary of the Revolution*, i. p. 213, and given in reduced fac-simile in S. A. Drake's *Old Landmarks of Middlesex*, and in the *Mem. Hist. of Boston* (vol. iii.; introduction).

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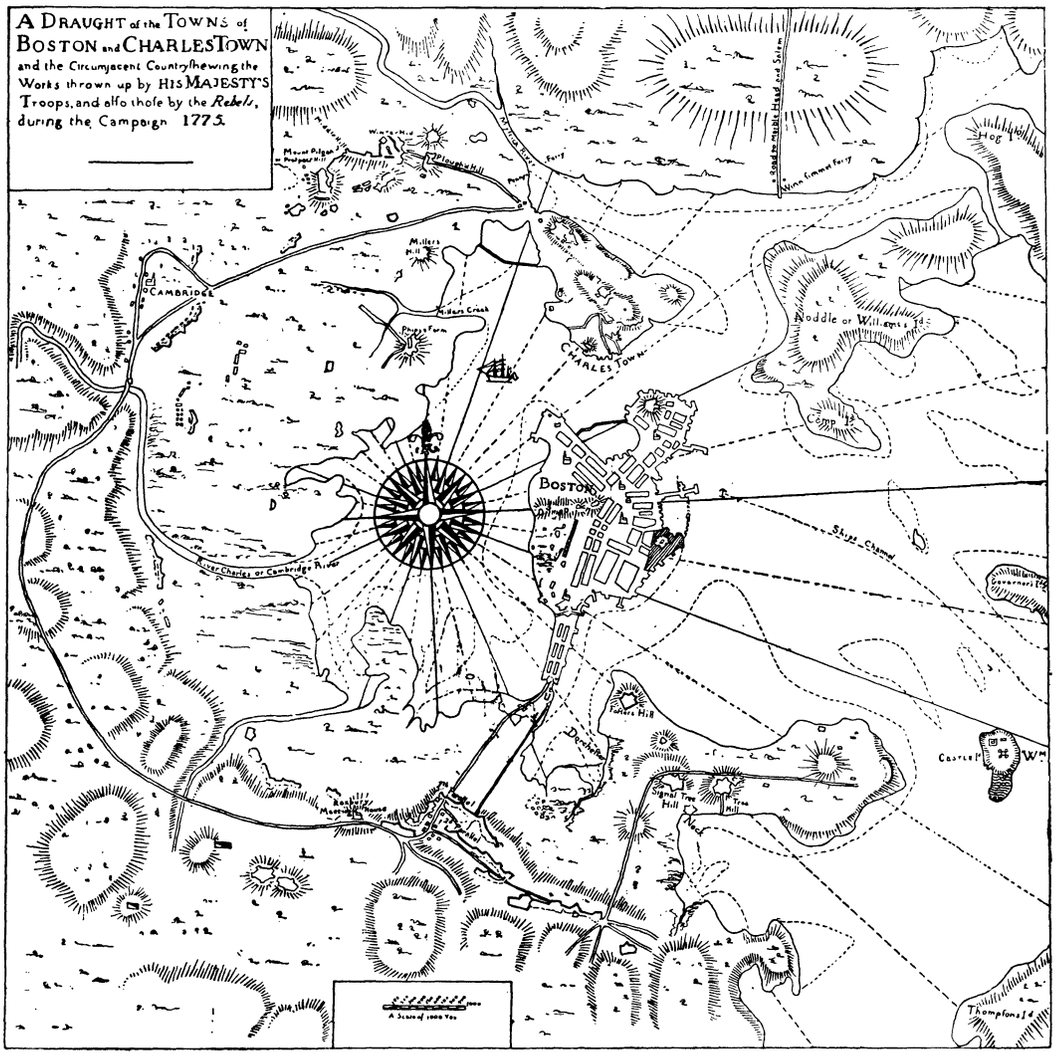
ably the best plan of Boston itself of this period, and the other the best of those of the vicinity.[1] They represent the conditions of 1775, though they were not engraved and published by William Faden in London till Oct. 1, 1777, and Oct. 1, 1778, respectively. They are both, in the main, after a survey by William Page, of the British engineers. The first is called *A Plan of the Town of Boston, with the Intrenchments, etc., of his Majesty's forces in 1775, from the observations of Lieut. Page and from the plans of other gentlemen.* It gives the peninsula only, with a small portion of Charlestown, and was again issued in Oct., 1778.[2] The second is *Boston, its environs and harbour, with the Rebels' works raised against that town in 1775, from the observations of Lieut. Page, and from the plans of Capt. Montresor.* It includes Point Alderton,



BOSTON AND CHARLESTOWN, 1775.

[1] These Faden maps are numbered, for the finished and rough drafts in E. E. Hale's *Catal. of the Faden Maps*, nos. 32–36, and include one by Lieutenant Hill, of the Welsh Fusileers.

[2] Frothingham reproduces it in his *Siege*, and it is reduced in the *Mem. Hist. of Boston*, vol. iii., introduction.

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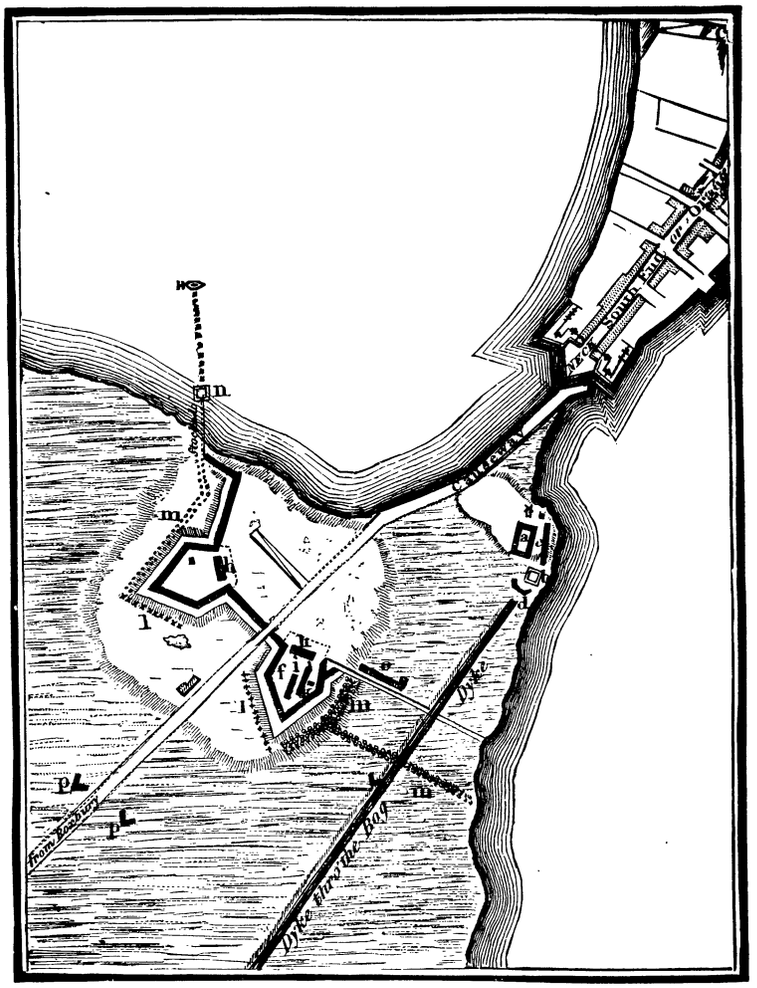

BRITISH LINES ON BOSTON NECK, 1775–76.[1]

[1] This is from Page's *Plan of the Town of Boston*, published in London in 1777, and is accompanied by the following Key: — *a*, redoubt; *b*, block-house for cannon; *c*, six 24-pounders, 2 royals; *d*, four 9-pounders; *e*, six 24-pounders; *f*, left bastion; *g*, right bastion; *h*, *h*, guard-houses; *i*, *i*, traverses; *k*, *k*, magazines; *l*, *l*, abattis; *m m*, *m*, routes-du-pols; *n*, block-house for musketry; *o*, floating battery, 2 guns; *p*, *p*, fleches, 1 sub. and 20 men. The building beyond the outer lines and near the edge of the upland is Brown's house, the scene of skirmishes during the siege (*Mem. Hist. of Boston*, iii. 80; Heath's *Memoirs*). The narrowest part of the neck was at the present Dover Street where it intersects Washington Street. The foundations of the main works at this point were laid bare in digging a drain in March, 1860. The outer works were just within Blackstone and Franklin squares. There are views of these lines in the Faden Collection in the library of Congress, dated August, 1775, probably the original of the engraved views which accompany Des Barres' coast survey, and of which there are reproductions in the *Mem. Hist. of Boston*, iii. 80. Cf. also Frothingham's *Siege*, p. 315. The same Faden Collection has a pen-and-ink plan of the lines, dated Aug., 1775 (no. 37 of the *Catal.*).

During the summer of 1775, John Trumbull, then an aid to General Spencer, crawled up, under cover of the tall grass, near enough to the British lines to sketch them; but a continuance of the hazardous exploit was soon rendered unnecessary by the desertion of a British artilleryman, who brought with him a rude plan of the entire work. So Trumbull says in his *Autobiography*, p. 22. Washington, on comparing this surreptitious sketch with the deserter's plan, found them so nearly to correspond that Trumbull thinks his own future promotion probably arose from it. Trumbull's sketch and the memorandum of the deserter "from the Welsh

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Chelsea, Cambridge, and Dorchester, and there is a copy in the library of the Mass. Hist. Society.

In October, 1775, an "Engineer at Boston," Lieut. Richard Williams, made and sent over to England a plan showing the "redoubt taken from the rebels by General Howe," the British camp on the higher summit of Bunker Hill, together with the American lines at Cambridge and Roxbury. In London it was compared with "several other curious drawings," from which additions were made, when it was published by Andrew Dury, March 12, 1776, as engraved by Jno. Lodge for the late Mr. Jefferys, and called *Plan of Boston and its environs, showing the true situation of his Majesty's Army, and also those of the rebels.*[1] In the same month (Oct., 1775) a *Plan of Boston*, with Charlestown marked as in ruins, appeared in the *Gentleman's Magazine* (p. 464). Another *Map of Boston and Charlestown, by an English officer present at Bunker Hill*, was published in London, Nov. 25, 1775. The last map made during the British occupation of Boston was *An accurate map of the Country round Boston in New England, published by A. Hamilton, Jr., near St. John's Gate, Jan. 16, 1776*, appearing in the *Town and Country Magazine*. It measures $11\frac{1}{2} \times 12\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and extends from Plymouth to Ipswich, and inland to Groton and Providence.

The evacuation of Boston in March, 1776, removed the centre of interest elsewhere, but there was for some time an apprehension of the return of the British for a naval attack; and while the Americans were fortifying the harbor, the English were publishing in London several maps of its configuration. The earliest was a *Chart of Massachusetts Bay and Boston Harbour*, published April 29, 1776. With the date changed to Dec. 1, 1781, it was subsequently included by Des Barres in the *Atlantic Neptune*, and in the *Charts of the Coast and Harbors of New England*, 1781.[2] Another *Chart of Boston Bay*, whose limits include Salem, Watertown, and Scituate, following Holland's surveys, was published Nov. 13, 1776, and later appeared, dated Dec. 1, 1781, in the *Atlantic Neptune*, and in the *Coast and Harbors of New England*. A chart of the harbor, with soundings, was also included in the *North American Pilot for New England* (London, 1776), showing a solitary tree on the peninsula marked "Ruins of Charlestown." There was a second edition of the *Pilot* in 1800. A small plan of the harbor is also in the margin of Carrington Bowles's *Map of the seat of war in New England* (London, 1776).

The first eclectic map was that published by Gordon in his *Amer. Revolution* (London, 1788), which he based on Pelham's map for the country, and Page's for the harbor.[3]

The French maps published in Paris were almost always based on English sources. Such were the *Carte de la baye de Baston* (no. 30), and *Plan de la ville de Baston* (no. 31), in *Le Petit Atlas maritime, vol. i., Amérique Septentrionale, par le S. Bellin, 1764*. There are several other French maps without date, but probably a little antedating the outbreak of hostilities. Such are a *Plan de la ville et du port de Boston*, published by Lattré in Paris;[4] and a small map, *Plan de la ville de Boston et ses environs*, engraved by B. D. Bakker. An engraved map, without date, is in the British Museum, called *Carte des environs de Boston, capitale de la Nlle Angleterre en Amérique*.[5] It carries the coast from below Plymouth to above the Merrimac. There is in the Poore collection of maps in the Mass. State Archives a *Carte de la baye de Baston* (marked Tome i. no. 30).

fusileers" seem to have been the basis of a careful drawing of the British lines, prepared apparently at headquarters in Cambridge, as it bears in the handwriting of Washington's aid, Thomas Mifflin, an explanatory table of the armament in the works. This found its way into that portion of the Papers of Arthur Lee which went to the Amer. Philosophical Society in Philadelphia, and from it a reduced heliotype is given in the *Mem. Hist. of Boston*, iii. p. 80. Washington sent a copy of the plan, nearly duplicate, to Congress, and this is given in Force's *Amer. Archives*, 4th ser., i. p. 29, and is reproduced on a smaller scale in Wheildon's *Siege and Evacuation of Boston*, p. 34. (Cf. *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, April, 1879, p. 62.) There are two other American drawings of the lines, of less importance. One is in the *Pennsylvania Magazine* for Aug., 1775, and is called *An exact plan of Gen. Gage's lines on Boston Neck in America, July 31, 1775*. The other is a small marginal view of *The Lines thrown up on Boston neck by the ministerial army*, making part of the *Seat of the Civil War*, by Romans. A rude powder-horn plan is noted in the *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.* (Nov., 1881), xix. 103. One of the Faden MS. plans shows a proposed star redoubt at a point outside the lines.

[1] *Brit. Mus. Map Catal.*, 1885, col. 493.

[2] A reproduction of the harbor map was issued in Boston by W. P. Parrott, in 1851. It is also reproduced as no. 5 in the *Neptune Americo-Septentrional*, 1780.

[3] Dr. Thomas A. Emmet, of New York, owns several interesting, graphic memorials of the seat of war round Boston, one of which, a *Map of Boston and vicinity*, made during the British occupancy, is given by Benson J. Lossing in *Harper's Magazine*, July, 1873.

[4] *Labanoff Catalogue*, no. 1,576; copy in Amer. Geog. Soc. library.

[5] There are photographs of it in the Boston Public Library, Mass. State Library, and Mass. Hist. Society library.

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The only dated map of this period is a *Carte du porte et havre de Boston, par le Chevalier de Beaurain* (Paris, 1776). The corner vignette shows a soldier bearing a banner with a pine-tree. Frothingham, who reëngraved this picture, could find no earlier representation of the pine-tree flag.

The English (1774) map of the "most inhabited part of New England" was reproduced "after the original by M. Le Rouge, 1777," under the title of *La Nouvelle Angleterre en 4 feuilles;* and it was again used in the *Atlas Ameriquain Septentrional, à Paris, chez Le Rouge* (1778), repeating the map of Boston, with names in English and descriptions in French. Another reproduction from the English appeared in the *Carte particulière du Havre de Boston, reduite de la carte anglaise de Des Barres par ordre de M. de Sartine* (1780). It belongs to the *Neptune Americo-Septentrional, publié par ordre du Roi.*

There is among the Rochambeau maps (no. 14), in the library of Congress, a *Plan d'une partie de la rade de Boston*, done in color, about eight inches wide by sixteen high, showing the forts and giving an elaborate key.

There is a curious map of Boston and its harbor, with names in Latin, but apparently of German make, *Ichnographia urbis Boston* and *Ichnographia portus Bostoniensis*, which make part of a larger map, perhaps the *Nova Anglia* of Homann of Nuremberg. The *Geschichte der Kriege in und ausser Europa*, published also at Nuremberg in 1776 (erste theil) has a map of Boston. Of the same date (1776), and belonging to the *Geographische Belustigungen für Erläuterung der neuesten Weltgeschichte* (Zweytes Stück), published at Leipsic, is a *Carte von dem Hafen und der Stadt Boston*, following the French map of Beaurain even to reproducing the group with the pine-tree banner. It embraces a circuit about Boston of which the outer limits are Chelsea, Cambridge, Dorchester, Long Island, Deer Island, and Pulling Point.

G. The Capture of Ticonderoga, 1775. — It is in dispute who planned and who conducted the capture of Ticonderoga. On Feb. 21, 1775, Col. John Brown had suggested it to Warren (*Force's Archives*). Arnold made a statement of the post's defenceless condition to the Committee of Safety in Cambridge, April 30, 1775 (*Mass. Archives*, cxlvi. p. 30; *Amer. Bibliopolist*, 1873, p. 79). On the 2d of May he was given a money credit and munitions, and on the 3d he was definitely instructed to organize his party (*Mass. Archives*, cxlvi. p. 39). It is claimed that some purpose of acting on the suggestion of Brown prompted in part, at least, the Massachusetts provincial congress to appoint early in April a committee to proceed to Connecticut and the other New England colonies. Whether it was by their instigation, by certain movements in Connecticut, or by the direct agency of Arnold that the plan was formed, it is difficult to say. It is also claimed that the plan grew out of a conference with the Massachusetts delegates to the Philadelphia Congress, when, on their way, they stopped at Hartford and held a session with Governor Trumbull and his council (*Force's Archives*, ii. 507; Wells's *Sam. Adams*, ii. 298). Bancroft and the Connecticut antiquaries find the beginning rather in the impulses of one Parsons, who had just returned from Massachusetts, and had got from Benedict Arnold, whom he met on the way, a statement of the plunder to be obtained there, and, without any formal consent of the governor and council, proceeded in the organization of a committee in Connecticut (Bancroft, orig. ed., vii. 338; final revision, iv. 182). Official sanction was first evoked when Massachusetts, a few days later, commissioned Arnold (*Mass. Archives*, cxlvi. 130, 139; *American Bibliopolist*, 1873, p. 79; *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, 1844, p. 14). The Connecticut antiquaries have mainly set forth the claims of their colony for leadership of the affair in the papers which constitute vol. i. (pp. 163–185) of the *Conn. Hist. Soc. Collections*, in which is the journal of Edward Mott,[1] the chairman of the Connecticut committee, edited by J. H. Trumbull.[2]

The part taken in the movement in Western Massachusetts arose from confidence reposed in Brown and others of Pittsfield, by the Connecticut men who passed through that town on their way to the New Hampshire Grants.[3] Brown had, during the previous winter, notified the Massachusetts committee that Ticonderoga would receive the attention of Ethan Allen and Green Mountain boys as soon as the outbreak came. The credit which attaches to this commander is complicated by the relations which Arnold bore to the final capture, and has in turn given rise to controversy. The most compre-

[1] Cf. his letter to the provincial congress of Massachusetts in their journals, and various letters from him in the *Trumbull Papers*, vol. iv.

[2] Dr. Trumbull also stated the Connecticut case in the *Hartford Daily Courant*, Jan. 9, 1869, likewise printed separately. Cf. further Hollister's *Connecticut*, ii. ch. 7; Hinman's *Connecticut in the Revolution*, p. 29.

[3] Holland's *Western Mass.;* Barry's *Mass.;* Smith's *Pittsfield;* letters of Thomas Allen, May 4 and 9, 1775, in *Hist. Mag.*, i. p. 109, etc.

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hensive examination of the question on the Vermont side is L. E. Chittenden's Addresses before the Vermont Historical Society, Oct., 1872 (published at Rutland by the society), and at the unveiling of Allen's statue at Burlington, July 4, 1873. We have Allen's own statements in his *Narrative of his captivity, etc.*[1]

Dawson thinks that the merit of originating the active measures cannot be taken from Benedict Arnold, and in his chapter (*Battles of the United States*, i. ch. 2) on the subject traces minutely the sources of each step in the progress of events, and in his Appendix (p. 38) prints the protest (May 10th, p. 38) of the Connecticut committee against Arnold's interference and Arnold's report (May 11th, p. 38) to the Massachusetts Congress.[2] There are some of the current reports preserved in Moore's *Diary of the Amer. Revolution* (i. pp. 78–80), and the account, which ignores Arnold, of the *Worcester Spy* (May 16th) is given in the *Amer. Bibliopolist* (1871, p. 491). There are other contemporary accounts in the *American Archives* (vols. ii. and iii.); a journal by Elmer is in the *New Jersey Hist. Soc. Proc.*, vols. ii. and iii.; a Tory account in Jones's *New York during the Revolutionary War* (vol. i. pp. 47, 546), with a letter of May 14th.[3] Narratives by Caldwell and Beaman are in the *Historical Magazine*, August, 1867, and May, 1868, respectively.[4]

[1] The original edition, *A narrative of Col. Ethan Allen's Captivity, Sept. 25, 1775, to May 6, 1778, containing his voyages and travels, with the most remarkable occurrences respecting himself, . . . particularly the destruction of the prisoners at New York by Gen. Sir William Howe, in 1776 and 1777. Written by himself* (Philad., 1779), was reprinted the same year in Philad., and also in Boston; again at Newbury, for publication in Boston, 1780; at Norwich in 1780; at Philadelphia in 1799; in the Appendix of the second volume of Ira Allen's *Particulars of the Capture of the ship Olive Branch*, etc. (Philad., 1805); with notes, at Walpole, N. H., 1807 (Stevens, *Hist. Coll.*, ii. no. 6); at Albany, 1814; at Burlington, 1838; as *Ethan Allen's Captivity, being a Narrative, etc.* (Boston, 1845); as *A Narrative of Col. Ethan Allen's Captivity* (Burlington, 1846, and, with slightly changed title, in 1849); as *Ethan Allen's Narrative of the Capture of Ticonderoga and of his Captivity*, etc. (Burlington, 1849); as *Narrative of the Captivity*, etc. (Dayton, 1849). Cf. Sabin, i. 793–800, 821. Allen's letter (May 11th) to the Massachusetts Congress is in Dawson's *Battles*, i. 38; and another (May 10th) to Seth Warner is in the *Mag. of Am. Hist.*, 1885, p. 319. Various letters of Ethan Allen at this time are among the *Trumbull Papers* (vol. iv.): to the Conn. Assembly, from Crown Point, May 26, 1775, covering a copy of his letter to the Indians (p. 96); to Governor Trumbull, July 6th and Aug. 3d. His letter from Crown Point, June 2d, to the N. Y. Congress, is in Sparks's *Gouverneur Morris*, i. p. 54. Cf. Lives of Allen by Sparks and by Hugh Moore; De Puy's *Ethan Allen and the Green Mountain heroes;* Williams's *Vermont.* Dr. De Costa having, in the *Galaxy*, Dec., 1868 (also in his *Fort George*, p. 10), disputed Allen's claim to the sole credit of the surprise, he was answered by Hiland Hall in a pamphlet, *The Capture of Ticonderoga* (Montpelier, 1869; also in the *Vermont Hist. Soc. Proc.*, Oct. 19, 1869). Cf. Ira Allen's *Vermont;* Goodhue's *Shoreham, Vt.*

[2] Cf. Lives of Arnold by Sparks and by Isaac N. Arnold (ch. 2). The regimental memorandum-book of Benedict Arnold, written while at Ticonderoga and Crown Point, is printed in the *Penna. Mag. of History* (Dec., 1884), viii. 363, and separately. It begins May 10th and ends June 24th, and is published from a copy made by W. H. B. Thomas before the original was lost. The *Sparks MSS.* (lii. vol. ii. p. 27) contain letters from Arnold between 1775 and 1780, beginning with a letter from Crown Point, May 23, 1775, and ending with a letter dated at Philadelphia, July 17, 1780, to Governor Huntington. There is a letter of Arnold from Crown Point, June 13, 1775, in the *Trumbull Papers* (vol. iv. p. 111). Arnold was accused of countenancing the robbery of Skene's house a few days before the capture, and some papers in his defence are given in Stevens's *Bibliotheca Historica* (1870), no. 96. The original list of trophies of Ticonderoga, in Arnold's handwriting, is in Dr. T. A. Emmet's Collection (Carrington's *Battles*). Cf. "Who took Ticonderoga?" in *Hist. Mag.*, vol. xv. (Feb., 1869) p. 126. Arnold's appointment of May 3d, and his report of May 14th, are given from the original documents in the possession of Jonathan Edwards, of N. Y., in Jones's *N. Y. during the Rev.*, i. pp. 546–7.

[3] Jones (p. 49) sets forth the tergiversations of Duane and other New Yorkers (who had assisted a few months before in proclaiming Allen an outlaw) as soon as the capture of Ticonderoga had made him the hero of the hour. Depositions and other documents in the *Doc. Hist. N. Y.*, iv., touch the riotous proceedings of Allen, which had caused a price to be set on his head by the New York authorities. Cf. also Jones, *N. Y. during the Rev.*, i. note xx.

[4] Cf. also Schuyler's letters in Sparks's *Correspondence of the Amer. Revolution* and Lossing's *Life of Schuyler*, i. 310. Lossing also deals with the subject in his *Field-Book of the Revolution*, and in *Harper's Monthly*, vol. xvii. p. 721. Chas. Carroll (*Journal to Canada*, 1876, p. 75) describes the ruinous condition of Ticonderoga a year later. Reference may be made to Sparks's *Gouverneur Morris* (vol. i. ch. 4), and to the general historians: Bancroft (orig. ed., vii. 338); Gay's *Pop. Hist. U. S.* (iii. ch. 17); Irving's *Washington* (i. 404); and local histories, like Watson's *Essex County* (ch. 9); Palmer's *Lake Champlain;* Holden's *Queensbury* (p. 405); Bourne's *Wells and Kennebunk, Me.;* Van Rensselaer's *Essays;* Poole's *Index*, etc. A letter of Joseph Warren congratulating Connecticut on the event is in Frothingham's *Warren*, p. 490.

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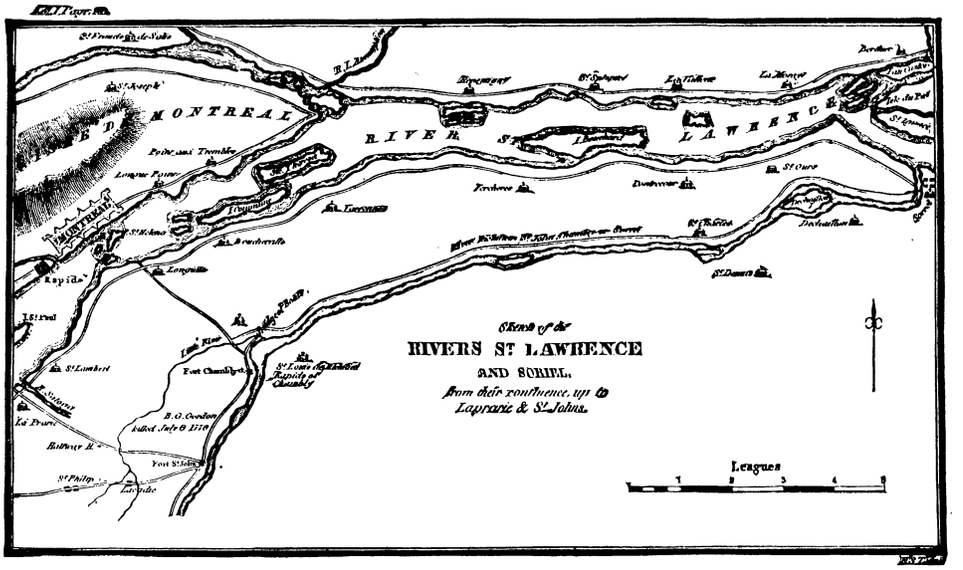
H. THE CANADA CAMPAIGN, 1775–1776. — Washington in New York, June 25th, entrusted to Schuyler the command in the North (Lossing's *Schuyler*, i. 330; Jones's *N. Y. during the Rev. War*, 58), and Congress issued (May 29, 1775) an address to the Canadians (*Journal of Congress;* Pitkin's *United States*, i. App. 19). In August it was reported that this address was left at the door of every house in Canada. Schuyler reached Ticonderoga July 18th (Lossing's *Schuyler*, i. ch. 21; Palmer's *Lake Champlain*, ch. 6; Irving's *Washington*, ii.), and pushed on to the foot of Lake Champlain in September (Lossing, i. ch. 23).

Among the early reports, inducing the project of invading Canada, were the letters of Maj. John Brown (Aug. 14, 1775) and Ethan Allen (Sept. 14th) respecting the condition of the Canadians (Sparks's *Corresp. of the Rev.*, i. 461, 464). There are other letters on the state of Canada at this time in the *N. H. Prov. Papers*, vii. 515, 547, 561–62, 569. The Schuyler Papers, with the letters which they contain of Montgomery, Arnold, Wooster, and Sullivan, are a main source of information respecting the whole campaign.[1]

Schuyler's health preventing his taking the field in person, the interest in the campaign cen-



FROM THE ATLAS OF WILKINSON'S MEMOIRS.[2]

Another letter of Joseph Warren (Watertown, May 17, 1775) to John Scollay, being captured by Gage, gave the British general the first intimation of the fall of Ticonderoga (*Sparks MSS.*, xxxii.). Governor Franklin communicates a diary at Ticonderoga, May 11–19, to Dartmouth (*N. Jersey Archives*, x. 608). Respecting the condition of Ticonderoga after the capture, see Eliphalet Dyer's letter, May 31, 1775, in *Hist. Mag.*, vii. 22; and the letters of Governor Trumbull and the Connecticut committee to the New Hampshire authorities, in the *N. H. Prov. Papers*, vii. 489–501.

[1] Sparks caused copies to be made of some of the most important parts, which are in the *Sparks MSS.*, no. lx.

[2] A modern eclectic map is given in Carrington's *Battles*, 171. The most considerable contemporary map for the illustration of the movements during the Revolution in Canada is one published by Jefferys, in 1776, of the *Province of Quebec, from the French Surveys and those made by Capt. Carver and others after the War, with much detail of names, plan of Quebec and heights of Abraham, Montreal and isles of Montreal* (27 × 19 inches). On Feb. 16, 1776, Sayer and Bennett published in London *A new map of the Province of Quebec according to the royal proclamation of 7 Oct., 1763, from the French surveys, corrected with those made after the war by Captain Carver and other officers in his majesty's service.* There was a French reproduction of it in Paris in 1777, included in the *Atlas Ameriquain* (1778), called *Nouvelle Carte de la Province de Québec selon l'édit du Roi d'Angleterre du 7 8bre, 1763, par le Capitaine Carver, traduites de l'Anglois, à Paris chez le Rouge, 1777.*

Jefferys also issued in 1775 *An exact Chart of the River St. Lawrence from Fort Frontenac to Anticosti* (37 × 24 inches), which is usually accompanied by a *Chart of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, 1775* (24 × 20 inches).

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tres in Montgomery up to the time of his death.[1] We have despatches of his (Nov. 3, 1775) on the capture of St. Johns,[2] on the taking of Chamblée,[3] and on the capitulation of Montreal,[4] with his letters from before Quebec (Sparks, *Corresp.*, i. 492, etc.). A letter from one of his aids at this time (Dec. 16, 1775) is in *Life of George Read*, p. 115.

The principal Life of Montgomery is that by J. Armstrong, in Sparks's *Amer. Biography* (i. p. 181), which may be supplemented by other minor accounts.[5]

The connection of Benedict Arnold with the campaign is illustrated in his letters, beginning with those before he left the column advancing by Lake Champlain, and then following his prog-

Cf. *North Amer. Pilot*, nos. 11, 20, 21, 22. There is in the *Geschichte der Kriege in und ausser Europa* [Nuremberg], 1776, a "Karte von der Insel Montreal und den Gegenden umher," following a plan by Bellin.

A map of Canada in 1774 is embraced in Mitchell's *Map of the British Colonies*, and in Wright's ed. of *Cavendish's Debates in the Commons* (1774) *on the Canada bill*, London, 1839. There are other maps in the *American Atlas* and Hilliard d'Auberteuil's *Essais*.

[1] The orderly-book of Sergeant Aaron Barlow, under Montgomery, June 2 to Dec. 6, 1775, was preserved in 1848, when a copy was made for the New York Historical Society (*Proc.*, 1849, p. 279).

[2] Dawson, i. p. 116, who points out some errors in Leake's *Life of Lamb* (p. 374), or *4 American Archives*, iii. p. 1343. Cf. Lossing's *Schuyler*, i. 444; Sargent's *Major André*, p. 79; Alex. Scammel's letter in *Hist. Mag.*, xviii. 136; accounts in Gen. John Lacy's papers in the N. Y. State Library; Samuel Mott's letters in the *Trumbull Papers* (iv. p. 174); and others of Timothy Bedel in *N. H. Prov. Papers*, vii. 637, 670. There are in the Archives at Ottawa a Mémoire of Amable Berthelot, of Quebec, on the war of 1775; a journal at Three Rivers, May 18, 1775, etc.; and a journal of the siege of St. John, 1775 (Brymner's *Report on the Canadian Archives*, 1881, p. 46). These are printed in Verreau's *Invasion du Canada* (Montreal, 1873). Carroll (*Journal to Canada*, 1876, p. 89), describing the works at St. John, says they were not injured by Montgomery's siege of them. There is a view of the works in Lossing's *Field-Book*, i. 172.

[3] Dawson, i. p. 115, etc.

[4] Sparks's *Corresp. of the Rev.*, i. 477. Montgomery's letter to the inhabitants is given in fac-simile in *4 Force's Archives*, iii. 1596, and his demand for its surrender, *Ibid.*, v. 312. The articles of capitulation were printed in broadside. Sabin, xii. p. 314. Copies of Montgomery's letters are in the *Sparks MSS.* (lii. vol. ii.). Lareau, *Littérature Canadienne*, p. 240, says that L'Abbé Perrault intended a book, *Le Siège de Montreal en 1775*. See various documents in Verreau's *Invasion du Canada*.

[5] Dennie's *Portfolio*, xx. 75. A paper by Louise L. Hunt in *Harper's Monthly*, vol. lxx. (Feb., 1885), in which the story of the preservation of Montgomery's sword is told. Cf. *Living Age*, no. 1,017, p. 428; *Biog. Notes concerning Richard Montgomery*, by L. L. Hunt (1876); *A Sketch of Montgomery* (1876), by General Geo. W. Cullum, and an article by him in the *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, April, 1884, with interesting illustrations, including (p. 277) a view of Montgomery Place, on the Hudson, which was building at the time of his death, and was afterwards the home of his widow. There are other views of this well-known estate in Lamb's Homes of America, *Harper's Mag.*, lxx. 354, etc. General Cullum's paper has also a fac-simile of a letter sent by Montgomery to Colonel Bedel, Oct. 2, 1775. For the ancestry of Montgomery, see *N. Y. Geneal. and Biog. Record*, July, 1871, p. 123. The memory of Montgomery suffered for a long time in Canada from the belief that he was the officer of that name who was charged with atrocities during the siege of Quebec in 1759 (*Quebec Lit. and Hist. Soc. Trans.*, 1870–71, p. 63).

On his death and burial, see, beside the usual accounts, a paper among the Belknap papers in Mass. Hist. Soc. library (*Proc.*, x. 323), called "A true account of Gen. Montgomery's death and burial at Quebec" (cf. *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, i. p. 111); *Life of Geo. Read*, p. 140; Hilliard d'Auberteuil's *Essais*, with a stately picture of his funeral; *Niles's Register*, xiv. 371; Sparks's *Washington*, iii. 264, on the identification and burial of his remains; a picture of the house to which his body was carried in Grant's *Picturesque Canada* (Toronto, 1882, vol. i. p. 28); the final removal of his remains to New York, when his widow, forty-three years after his death, watched the barge which bore them as it slowly floated down the Hudson in front of Montgomery Place (Dennie's *Portfolio*, xxi. 134; *Harper's Mag.*, lxx. 357; *Quebec Lit. and Hist. Soc. Trans.*, 1870–71, p. 63; Dr. W. J. Anderson's paper was reprinted in *Hist. Mag.*, xiii. 97); and a paper on the hundredth anniversary of his death in the *New Dominion Monthly* (Montreal), xvii. 397.

The tributes of Congress to Montgomery are recorded in the *Journals of Congress*, i. 247. Public services took place before that body Feb. 19, 1776, when an address was delivered which was published as *An Oration in Memory of General Montgomery, and of the Officers and Soldiers who fell with him, December 31, 1775, before Quebec; drawn up (and delivered February 19th, 1776). At the Desire of the Honorable Continental Congress. By William Smith, D. D., Provost of the College and Academy of Philadelphia* (Phila., 1776) It was reprinted in Norwich, Conn., and in London twice in the same year.

Franklin was commissioned to procure in France a monument to Montgomery's memory. One was finally erected in Trinity Church in New York (*Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, April, 1884, p. 297; *Harper's Mag.*, Nov., 1876, p. 876; *Penna. Mag. of Hist.*, iii. 473).

Of some interest are a contemporary tragedy by H. H. Brackenridge, *The Death of Montgomery* (Norwich

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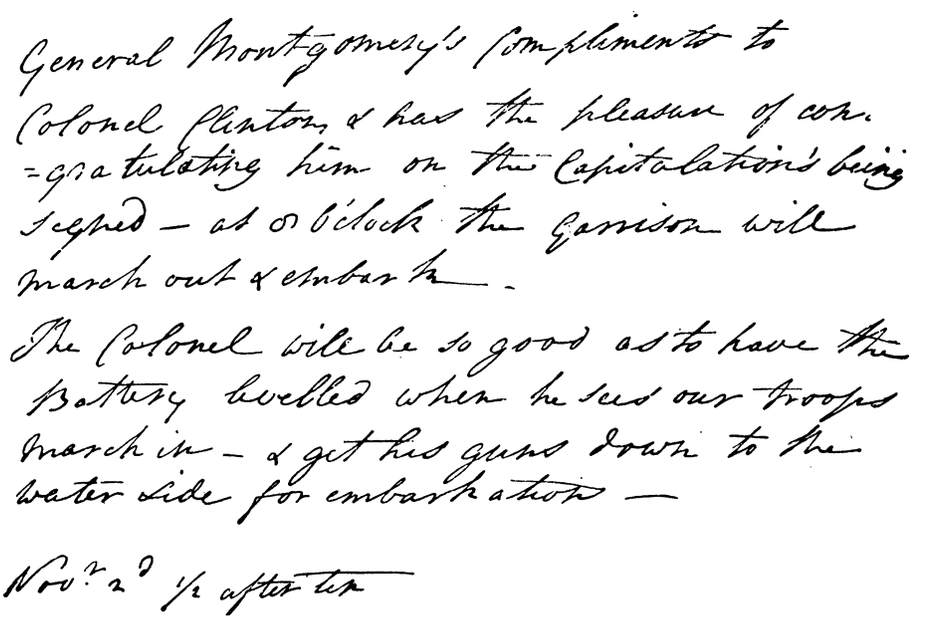
ress on the expedition to coöperate by the Kennebec route, which Washington proposed to Schuyler in a letter of Aug. 20, 1775 (Sparks's *Washington*, iii. 63). On Sept. 14th Washington sealed his instructions to Arnold (Sparks, iii. 86; Dawson, 113; Henry's *Journal*, ed. 1877, p. 2). It is said that the route to be taken was suggested to Arnold by the journal of an exploration in that direction by Montresor in 1760.[1] That engineer had, by order of General Murray, made a survey of this route in 1761.[2] There are maps to illustrate Arnold's route in the *Atlantic Neptune*, *London Mag.*, 1776, Marshall's Atlas to his *Washington*, and in the 1877 edition of Henry's *Journal*.[3] All the general histories and a few biographies and local records necessarily cover the story.[4] Arnold himself is the best contemporary authority. A number of his let-


General Montgomery's Compliments to
Colonel Clinton & has the pleasure of con-
=gratulating him on the Capitulation's being
Signed — at 8 o'Clock the Garrison will
march out & embark —

The Colonel will be so good as to have the
Battery levelled when he sees our Troops
march in — & get his guns down to the
water side for embarkation —

Nov.r 2d ½ after ten

CAPITULATION OF ST. JOHNS.[5]

and Providence), with an engraving of the death scene by Norman (Sabin, ii. no. 7,185; *Sparks' Catal.*, no. 337); and Thomas Paine's *A Dialogue between the ghost of general Montgomery just arrived from the Elysian fields; and an American delegate, in a wood near Philadelphia.* [*Anon.*] [Phila.], 1776. [N. Y.: privately reprinted, 100 copies, 1865.]

1 Printed in the *Maine Hist. Soc. Coll.* (i. 343), at Portland, in 1831; Sabin, xii. 50,221. Cf. *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, 1881, p. 117, for an account of the Montresors, father and son, and G. D. Scull's *Mem. and letters of Capt. W. G. Evelyn* (1879), enlarged as *The Evelyns in America* (1881). Cf. also *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, Jan., 1882, p. 104.

2 *Catal. of King's Maps*, Brit. Mus., i. 608. Cf. also the *Map of New Hampshire*, by Col. Joseph Blanchard and Rev. Samuel Langdon, engraved in Jefferys, dated Oct. 21, 1761.

3 Lossing's *Field-Book*, i. 193.

4 *Lives of Arnold*, by Sparks (ch. 3 and 4) and Isaac N. Arnold (ch. 3); Irving's *Washington* (ii. ch. 5 and 8); Graham's *Morgan* (ch. 4); Lossing's *Schuyler* (i. ch. 26); B. Cowell's *Spirit of Seventy-Six in Rhode Island;* North's *Hist. of Augusta;* Gay's *Pop. Hist. U. S.*, iii. 441; a paper by William Howard Mills, describing the route, in *Mag. of Amer. Hist.* (Feb., 1885), xiii. 143; and William Allen's "Account of Arnold's Expedition" in the *Maine Hist. Soc. Coll.*, vol. i. p. 387, derived mainly from the journals of Meigs and Henry.

The conduct of Enos in deserting Arnold has been extenuated in *General Roger Enos — a lost Chapter of Arnold's Expedition to Canada, 1775*, by Horace Edwin Hayden (1885), reprinted from *Mag. of Amer. Hist.* (May, 1885). The papers of the court-martial which acquitted Enos are in the State Department at Washington, and have been printed by Force and Allen, and also in Henry's *Journal* (ed. of 1877), p. 59.

5 Fac-simile, slightly reduced, of the reproduction in Smith's *Amer. Hist. and Lit. Curios.*, 2d series, p. xl., from the original in the collection of Ferdinand J. Dreer, of Philadelphia.

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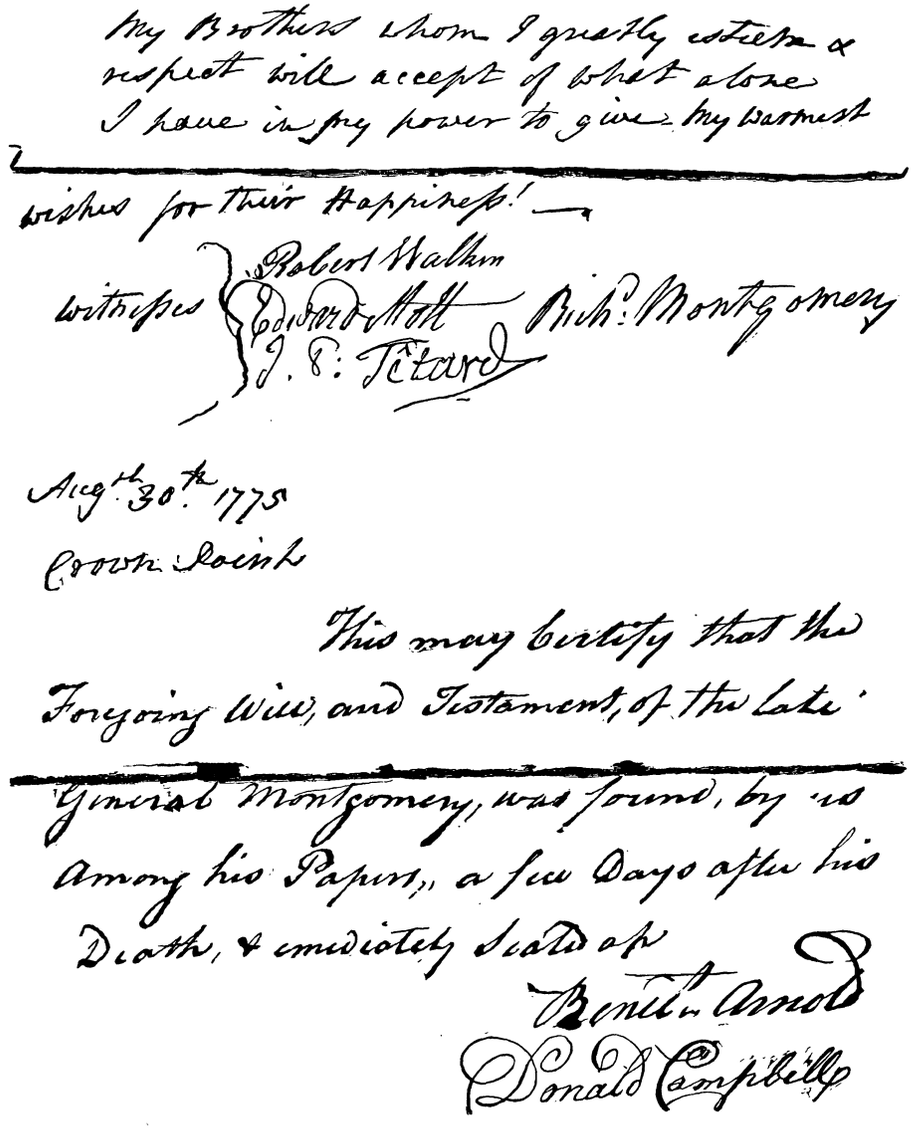
ters respecting the expedition are in Bowdoin College library,[1] and they and others will be found in print in the *Maine Hist. Soc. Collections* (1831), vol. i. 357, etc., and in Sparks's *Corresp. of the Revolution*, i. 46, 60, 88, 475, etc.[2] His journal of his progress is unfortunately rather meagre, and covers but a few weeks, Sept. 27 to Oct. 30, 1775. The original manuscript was left by Arnold at West Point when he fled, and extracts from it are printed in S. L. Knapp's *Life of Aaron Burr*, 1835; it is now owned by Mr. S. L. M. Barlow, of New York, and a copy, made from it when owned by Judge Edwards, of New York, is in the *Sparks MSS.* (lii. vol. ii.). Vari-


My Brothers whom I greatly esteem & respect will accept of what alone I have in my power to give — my warmest wishes for their Happiness! —
Robert Walkm
witnesses Edward Holt Richd. Montgomery
J. B. Ticard
Augt. 30th 1775
Crown Point
This may certify that the Foregoing Will, and Testament, of the late
General Montgomery, was found, by us Among his Papers, a few Days after his Death, & emidiately Sealed up
Benedict Arnold
Donald Campbell

CONCLUSION AND ATTESTATION OF MONTGOMERY'S WILL.[3]

1 Described by G. T. Packard in the *N. Y. Independent*, 1881. Cf. *Good Literature*, 1881, p. 239.

2 Dawson (i. 118) also gives his Quebec despatch of Dec. 31, 1775. Sparks preserved copies of various of Arnold's letters in the *Sparks MSS.* (lii. vol. ii.); and in *Ibid.* (no. lvii. 10) are letters of Arnold on his early trading visits to Quebec, when he acquired a knowledge of the region.

3 Cf. *Harper's Mag.*, vol. lxx. p. 356.

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ous other journals of the actors in the expedition have been preserved.[1]

Arnold's letters at the Point-aux-Trembles and before Quebec are in Sparks's *Corresp. of the*

[1] *Journal of the march of a party of Provincials from Carlyle to Boston and from thence to Quebec, begun the 13th of July and ended the 31st of Dec., 1775. To which is added an account of the Attack and Engagement at Quebec, the 31st of Dec., 1775* (Glasgow, 1775, pp. 36). It is, says Sabin (ix. no. 36,728), the journal of a company of riflemen under Captains William Hendricks and John Chambers, and it was sent from Quebec to Glasgow by a gentleman who appended the "account."

Henry Dearborn's is in the Boston Public Library, and is called *Journal of the proceedings, and particular occurrences, which happened, within my knowledge, to the troops under the command of Benedict Arnold, in 1775, which troops were detached from the American army lying before Boston for the purpose of marching to, and taking possession of Quebec.* [*From Sept. 10th, 1775, to July 16th, 1776.*] It has been printed by Mellen Chamberlain in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, April, 1886, and separately.

Caleb Haskell's diary, May 5, 1775, to May 30, 1776, — a revolutionary soldier's record before Boston and with Arnold's expedition (Newburyport, 1881, 8vo, pp. 23). It is edited by L. Withington. Haskell belonged to Ward's company.

John Joseph Henry's *Accurate and interesting account of the hardships and sufferings of that band of heroes, who traversed the wilderness in the Campaign against Quebec in 1775* (Lancaster, Pa., 1812). *Campaign against Quebec, being an accurate*, etc. (Watertown, N. Y., 1844). *Account of Arnold's Campaign against Quebec, and of the hardships, etc.* (Albany, 1877). This last edition has a memoir of Judge Henry by his grandson, Aubrey H. Smith. (Cf. Brinley, ii. no. 4,026; Murphy, no. 1,192.) Mr. Smith says that the *Account* was dictated by Henry to his daughter in his latest years, with the aid of casual notes and memoranda, and was published without any revision and proper press-reading. (Cf. Sabin, viii. 31,400–1.)

Lieut. William Heth's journal is referred to in Marshall's *Washington*, i. pp. 53, 57, and is still preserved in Richmond, Va.

A journal of Sergeant McCoy, of Hendricks's company, is referred to by Henry in his *Account*.

Major Return J. Meigs's *Journal of the expedition against Quebec under Col. Benedict Arnold in the year 1775*. (Cf. Almon's *Remembrancer*, Part ii., 1776, p. 294.) This is in vol. i. of Chas. I. Bushnell's *Crumbs for Antiquarians* (New York, 1859). This series is recorded in Sabin, iii. no. 9,538; *Boon Catal.*, p. 591. The journal is also in the *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, xii., and notices of Meigs are in Jones's *N. Y. during the Rev. War*, i. 180, 668, and in the *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, April, 1880, iv. 283 (with a portrait taken in his later years), by H. P. Johnston. There is also a life of Meigs in John W. Campbell's *Biographical Sketches* (Columbus, O., 1838). There appeared at Cincinnati in 1852 *Biographical and Historical Memoirs of the early Pioneer settlers of Ohio, with narratives of incidents and occurrences in 1775, by S. P. Hildreth, M. D., to which is annexed a journal of occurrences which happened in the circles of the author's personal observation in the detachment commanded by Colonel Benedict Arnold, consisting of two battalions of the United States Army at Cambridge in 1775. By Colonel R. J. Meigs.* The Meigs journal thus called for in the title was never included in the book (Field, *Ind. Bibliog.*; Thomson's *Bibliog. of Ohio*, no. 551).

J. Melvin's *Journal of the Expedition to Quebec in the year 1775, under the command of Col. B. Arnold.* In the "Publications of The Club," New York, 1857 (100 copies). The introduction is signed with the initials of William J. Davis. The Club was a preliminary organization which became the Bradford Club. The journal was also printed in a small edition by the Franklin Club, in Philadelphia, in 1864 (Alofsen, *Catalogue*, nos. 12, 13). Melvin was attached to Dearborn's company.

John Peirce's journal of daily occurrences, Sept. 8, 1775, to Jan. 16, 1776, is that of an engineer with the pioneers. It is defective at the beginning and end, and has not been printed. Stone refers to it.

Journal of Isaac Senter, Physician and Surgeon to the Troops on a Secret Expedition against Quebec, under command of Col. Benedict Arnold, in Sept., 1775 (Phila., 1846). This journal, which begins at Cambridge, Sept. 13, 1775, and ends at Quebec Jan. 6, 1776, made part of the *Bulletin*, vol. i., of the Penna. Hist. Society. There is an account of Senter, with extracts from his journal, in Stone's *Invasion of Canada in 1775*, p. 65.

The Diary of Ephraim Squier, Sept. 7 to Nov. 25, 1775, preserved in the Pension Office in Washington, is printed in the *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, ii. 685.

Capt. John Topham's Journal of the expedition to Quebec through the wilderness of Maine in Sept., Oct., and Nov., 1775. Stone reports it as being in the hands of David King, of Newport, as not published, and not being legible before the date of Oct. 6th.

Invasion of Canada in 1775, including the Journal of Cap. Simeon Thayer, describing the Perils and Sufferings of the Army under Col. B. Arnold. With Notes and Appendix, by E. M. Stone (Providence, 1867). This has a bibliography, and made part of the *R. I. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, vol. vi.

Journal of an Expedition against Quebec in 1775, under Col. Benedict Arnold, by Joseph Ware, of Needham, Mass. Published by Joseph Ware, grandson of the journalist (Boston, 1852). The journal begins Sept. 13, 1775. The writer was taken prisoner during the attack of Dec. 31st, and his journal ends on a cartel at sea, Sept. 6, 1776. The notes are by Justin Winsor, and the journal was first printed in the *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, April, 1852. A question has been raised as to Ware's authorship of this journal (Whitmore's *Amer. Genealogist*, p. 84).

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Rev. (i. App.), together with those addressed to Wooster,[1] Schuyler, and Washington after the failure of the assault on Quebec, Dec. 31, 1775.[2]

The great resource for original material on the siege of Quebec, beside the letters given by Sparks and Lossing, are in the gatherings of

MONTGOMERY.[3]

There is in Harvard College library a copy of the MS. journal of Ebenezer Wild, beginning at Cambridge Sept. 13th, and ending at Quebec, while he was a prisoner, June 6, 1776. It was printed by Justin Winsor with a note on similar records, in the *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, April, 1886, and separately (75 copies).

Of Christian Febiger, the adjutant of the expedition, a Dane, but resident in Massachusetts, there is an account and portrait in *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, March, 1881.

An orderly-book of the expedition, Nov. 8, 1775, to Feb. 26, 1776, is in the Pension bureau of the War Department at Washington. There is in the *Sparks MSS.* (lii. vol. ii. p. 25) a list of officers and volunteers on the expedition and at Quebec, furnished to Sparks at New York, Feb., 1831, by Col. Samuel Ward, of whom a letter describing his experiences on the march is also preserved (*Sparks MSS.*, no. xxv.). There are in the *Mass. Archives: Revolutionary Rolls*, vol. xxviii., lists of officers of the reinforcements for Ticonderoga and Canada, and in a separate volume a list of soldiers under Colonel Arnold, and of the killed, wounded, and prisoners at Quebec, Dec. 31, 1775. (Cf. list in *Ware's Journal.*) The N. Y. Continental line (four regiments and one artillery company) was organized, under a vote of the N. Y. provincial congress, June 28, 1775, and served on this campaign. Capt. John Lamb's artillery company left New York with seventy enlisted men, and (March 30, 1776) were reduced to thirty-one rank and file. The term of service of the N. Y. line expired in April, 1776; but a large part reënlisted (Asa Bird Gardiner in *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, Dec., 1881). The service of New Hampshire is shown in the *N. H. Rev. Rolls*, i. pp. 209, 311, 339, etc. Cf. *Quebec Lit. and Hist. Soc. Trans.*, 1871–73, 1876–77; *Potter's Amer. Monthly*, Dec., 1875.

[1] Wooster's share in the campaign was not a happy one. "His defect was his age," says C. F. Adams. "Few of the brave officers in the French war sustained their reputation in the revolutionary struggle" (*Life and Works of John Adams*, iii. 44). Lossing's *Schuyler* and Hollister's *Connecticut* have somewhat opposing sympathies respecting Wooster's character. Cf. much in *4 Force's Archives*, iv., v., vi., and *5 Ibid.*, i. The opinion upon Wooster of the Commissioners to Congress is shown in their letter of May 27th (*Force's Archives*, vi. 589). There is a letter of Wooster from Montreal, Feb. 11, 1776, addressed to Roger Sherman, in *Letters and Papers, 1761–1776* (MSS. in Mass. Hist. Soc., p. 167). In this he speaks of his disagreements with Schuyler, and says that his persuasion had prevented Montgomery from resigning.

[2] Sparks's *Corresp., etc.*, vol. i. 116, 154, and App. (Dec. 31, 1775; Jan. [1776] 2, 11, 12, 24; Feb. 1, 27; April 20, 30; May 8, 15; June, etc.). Arnold's letter of Dec. 31 is in the *N. H. Prov. Papers*, vii. 719. Cf. Lossing on Arnold in *Harper's Monthly*, xxiii. 721.

[3] After the only original portrait preserved at Montgomery Place, and representing him at about twenty-five. Cf. *Harper's Mag.*, lxx. p. 350; Irving's *Washington*, illus. ed., vol. ii.

The study of Trumbull's well-known picture of "The Death of Montgomery" is on a card less than four inches square, now owned by Major Lewis, of Virginia, and is marked "J. Trumbull to Nelly Custis, 1790" (Johnston's *Orig. Portraits of Washington*, p. 72).

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RICHARD MONTGOMERY.[1]

4 Force's Archives, vols. iv., v., and vi.; Almon's *Remembrancer*, vol. ii.; *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, viii. 663, etc.; and in a large number of diaries and other contemporary records, which may readily be classed as American or British, with a few emanating from the French Canadians.[2]

[1] From *An Impartial History of the War in America*, vol. i. p. 392 (Boston), engraved by J. Norman. Cf. the engraving in Murray's *Impartial Hist. of the Present War*, ii. 193. Neither of these copper-plates are probably of any value as likenesses. They show the kind of effigy doing service at the time.

[2] AMERICAN. — Report, Jan. 24th, to Congress, in *Secret Journal*, i. 38.

Letters from Point-aux-Trembles in App. of Henry's *Journal* (ed. of 1877).

Donald Campbell's despatch to Wooster, Dec. 31, 1775, in Dawson, i. 116; and in *N. H. Prov. Papers*, vii. 718.

Letters of Wooster to Schuyler and Warner (Jan. 5th and 6th), and Schuyler to Washington (Jan. 13th), in *N. H. Prov. Papers*, vii. 720–22. Cf. *Sparks MSS.*, lviii. 12.

Lieut. Eben Elmer's diary of the Canada expedition in *N. Jersey Hist. Soc. Proc.*, ii. and iii.

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On Jan. 19, 1776, a report was made in Congress that the army in Canada be reinforced (*Secret Journals*, i. 241). In April Arnold returned to Montreal, and Wooster took command before

General Irvine's diary, beginning May, 1775, in *Hist. Mag.*, April, 1862.

The journal of Col. Rudolphus Ritzema, first N. Y. regiment, Aug. 8, 1775, to March 30, 1776, now in the N. Y. Hist. Soc., and printed in *Mag. of Amer. Hist.* (Feb., 1877), i. p. 98. Under date (Montreal) of Jan. 3, 1776, he gives an account of the failure at Quebec, news of which had just reached there by Mr. Antell, an express (from N. Y. Archives in *Sparks MSS.*, xxix.).

Journal of the Rev. Ammi Ruhamah Robbins, chaplain in the American army, in the northern campaign of 1776 (New Haven, 1850).

The Shurtleff manuscript, No. 153. Being a narrative of certain events in Canada during the invasion by the American army, in 1775, by Mrs. Thomas Walker, with notes and introd. by Silas Ketchum (Contoocook, 1876), making part no. 2 of the *Collections of the N. H. Antiquarian Soc.*

Some of the diaries noted under the Kennebec expedition cover the attack on Quebec. Cf. Moore's *Diary of the Rev.*, i. 185. A letter of Samuel Ward, Philad., Jan. 21, 1776, gives the news as it reached Congress (*Sparks MSS.*, xxv.; cf. *N. H. Prov. Papers*, viii. 49).

A letter of Samuel Hodgkinson, before Quebec (April 27, 1776), is in the *Penna. Mag. of Hist.*, July, 1886, p. 158.

Wilkinson joined the army in May, 1776, and his *Memoirs* (i. p. 39) has accordingly a personal interest.

The *Memoirs of Charles Dennis Rusoe d'Eres, a native of Canada* (Exeter, 1800), begins with the attack on Quebec.

More or less of reference to original sources is made in the lives of Washington by Marshall (i. 329) and Irving (ii. ch. 4, 5, 8, 12, 13, 15, 20, 22, 23); Lossing's *Schuyler* (i. ch. 28, 29); Leake's *Lamb* (ch. 7 and 8); Read's *Geo. Read* (i. 141); and the lives of Montgomery and Arnold already referred to. Intercepted letters from Arnold to Montgomery and Washington are in the *Haldimand Papers*.

Daniel Morgan, the commander of the Virginia riflemen, was a conspicuous actor in the attack. Rebecca McConkey, in her *Hero of Cowpens* (New York, 1881), claims that Morgan deserves the credit which Arnold usually receives. A description by Morgan of his part in the attack is among some papers gathered by Sparks for a life of Morgan (*Sparks MSS.*, lii. vol. ii. p. 99), and this same autobiographic letter is printed at greater length in the *Hist. Mag.*, xix. 379, as from the *Pittsburgh Gazette* of July 10, 1818, where it is said to have been found among some papers once belonging to Gen. Henry Lee, and is supposed to have been addressed to Lee by Morgan about 1800, two years before Morgan died. The copy made by Sparks is given as from a paper then (1831) in the possession of General Armstrong. Cf. Graham's *Life of Morgan* (ch. 5); Dennie's *Portfolio*, viii. p. 101; *Southern Lit. Messenger*, xx. p. 559.

The principal general accounts on the American side are in Bancroft (viii. ch. 52–54, or final revision, iv. ch. 19 and 24); Ramsay's *Amer. Rev.;* Hollister's *Connecticut* (ii. ch. 9); Dawson's *Battles* (ch. 7); Carrington's *Battles* (ch. 20, 21); Gay's *Pop. Hist. U. S.*, ix. 133; Dennie's *Portfolio*, ix. 133.

Sullivan rehearses the news as it reached the Cambridge camp (*N. H. Prov. Papers*, viii. 36). There are in the *Aspinwall Papers* (ii. 772) various items of intelligence respecting "the defeat of the rebels" in Canada, gathered in New York in Feb., 1776.

BRITISH. — Carleton's despatch to Howe (Dawson, 118; also see *Gent. Mag.*, June, 1776). The letters which passed from Dartmouth to Carleton, Dec. 10, 1774 to Sept. 9, 1777, are noted in the Chalmers MSS. (Thorpe's *Supplement*, 1843, no. 622). Other papers are in the Haldimand Papers (Brit. Mus.), of which a calendar has been printed (p. 207) by the Dominion archivist at Ottawa. The volumes in the Public Record Office, London, marked "Quebec, xiv., xv., vols. 348, 349," cover this period.

Journal of the Siege of Quebec, by Hugh Finlay, in *Quebec Lit. and Hist. Soc. Docs.*, 4th series. (The bibliography of this society is given in Sabin, xvi. no. 67,015, etc.)

Account of the siege, beginning Nov., 1775, dated on board sloop-of-war "Hunter," June 15, 1776, addressed by Col. Henry Caldwell to Gen. Jas. Murray, has been printed in the *Transactions* of the Quebec Lit. and Hist. Soc., and in *Hist. Mag.*, xii. 97 (1867).

A *Journal of the Siege*, Dec. 1, 1775, to May 7, 1776, is noted in the Chalmers MSS. (Thorpe's *Supplement*, 1843, no. 623). This MS. is now in the *Sparks MSS.* (xlii. no. 1). Its earliest entry is really Dec. 5th. It gives a particular account of the share taken by the journalist in the defence of Dec. 31st, calling it "a glorious day for us, and as complete a little victory as was ever gained." The last entry is, in fact, May 9, 1776.

In Thorpe's *Supplement* (no. 624) there is also noted a *Journal of the Siege, by Capt. Thomas Ainslee, written on the spot, Sept., 1775, to May* 6, 1776. This is also now in the *Sparks MSS.*, i.

Journal of the Siege of Quebec in 1775–76, collected from some old manuscripts originally written by an officer, to which are added a preface and illustrative notes by W. T. P. Short (London, 1824). It begins Dec. 1, 1775, and ends May 6, 1776; but the editor continues the narrative, briefly, through the campaign (*Menzies's Catal.*, no. 1,107).

Journal of the most remarkable occurrences in Quebec, from the 14th of Nov., 1775 to the 7th of May 1776, by an officer of the garrison. It is printed in the *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, 1880, p. 175.

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Of the British general accounts, mention may be made of the *Annual Register*, xix. ch. 1, 5; xx. ch. 1; Andrew's *Late War* (ch. 19, 20); Stedman's *Amer. War* (ch. 2, 10); Adolphus's *England* (ii. 237); Bisset's *George the Third* (i. ch. 15); Mahon's *England* (vi. 76); W. Lindsay's *Invasion of Canada by the American provincials* (1826). Sir James Carmichael-Smythe's *Précis of the War in Canada* criticises the plan of Montgomery's attack. Cf. *Canadian Antiquarian*, v. 145; Lemoine's *Maple Leaves*, pp. 84, 95; his *Picturesque Quebec*, pp. 120, 231; J. Lesperance's *Bastonnais: tale of the American invasion of Canada in 1775–76* (Toronto, 1877).

Lossing has a paper on the local associations of Quebec in *Harper's Monthly*, xviii. 176; and similar detail is also given in his *Field-Book of the Am. Rev.*

FRENCH. — There are three records in the Lit. and Hist. Soc. of Quebec: 1. *Le témoin oculaire de la guerre des Bastonnais durant les années 1775* et *1776 par M. Simon Sanguinet.*

2. *Journal contenant le récit de l'invasion du Canada en 1775–1776, redigé par M. Jean B. Badeaux*, printed in their Hist. Documents, 3d series. For Nos. 1 and 2 see Verreau's *Invasion du Canada* (Montreal, 1873).

3. *Journal tenu pendant le Siège du fort St. Jean en 1776 par M. Antoine Foucher.*

The principal general French history on the subject is Garneau's *Histoire du Canada.*

Cf. *Centenaire de l'assaut de Québec par les Américains 31 Décembre, 1775. Compte-rendu de la Séance solennelle donnée par l'Institut Canadien, 30 Déc., 1875.* Quebec, 1876 (Sabin, xvi. 66,997).

[1] From an engraving of full length in *An Impartial Hist. of the War in America*, Lond., 1780, p. 249. A mezzotint similar to this was published in London, 1776, as "Col. Arnold, who commanded the provincial troops sent against Quebec" (J. C. Smith, *Brit. Mez. Portraits*, iv. 1714–1717). The portrait in profile, by W. Tate, — a handsome face, — was engraved in line by H. B. Hall in 1865, and etched by him in 1879 for Isaac N. Arnold's *Life of B. Arnold.* Cf. Jones's *Campaign for the Conquest of Canada*, p. 168. Other portraits of Arnold are given later in the present volume.

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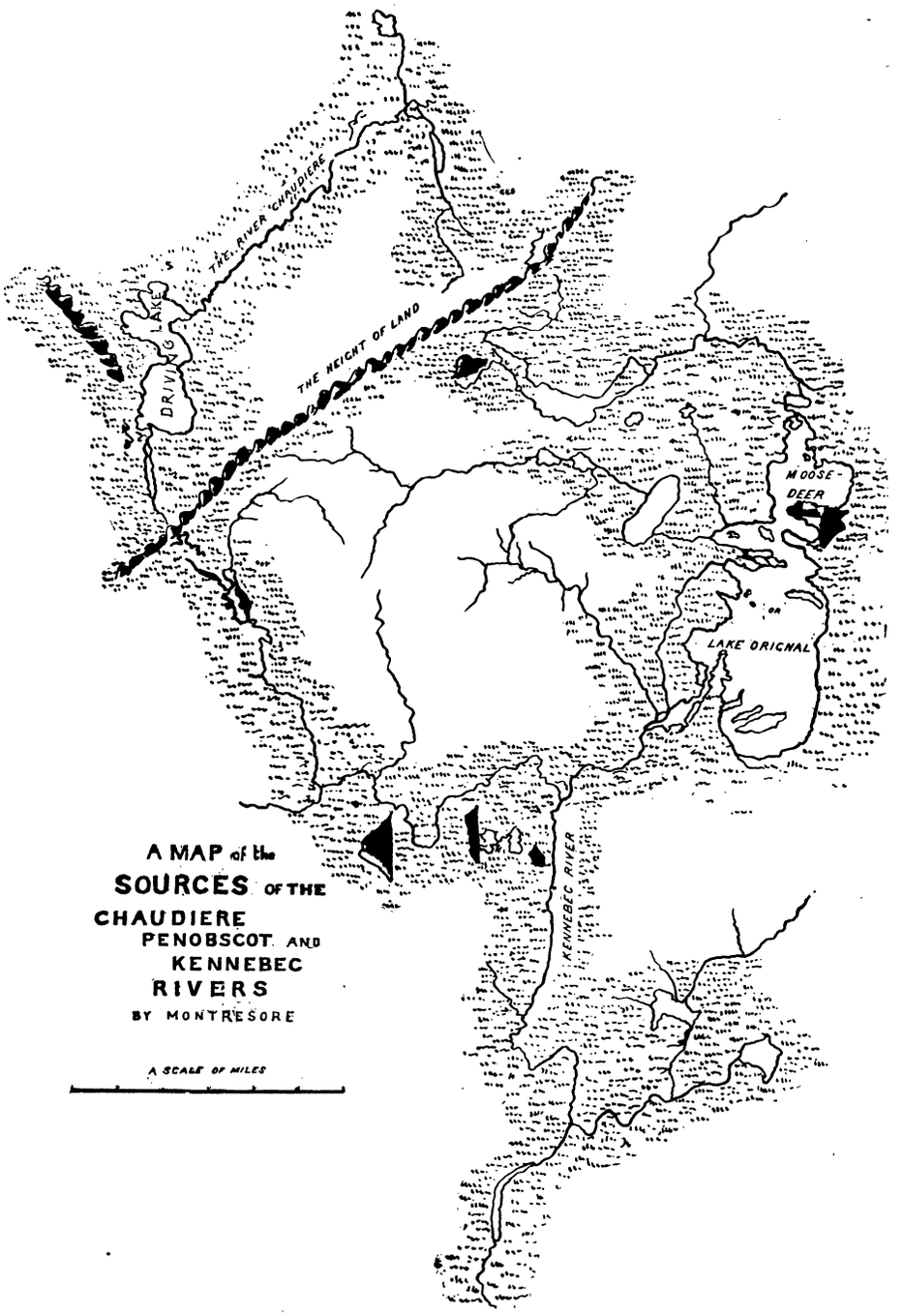

MONTRESOR'S MAP.[1]

[1] Sketched from the original (1760) among the Peter Force maps in the Library of Congress. There is a copy in the library of the N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Society.

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Quebec,[1] to be superseded by General Thomas, who reached the camp May 1st. Upon Carleton's being reinforced, Thomas began to retreat.[2] Burgoyne arrived with additional troops in June (Fonblanque's *Burgoyne*, 211). The affair at the Cedars took place May 19, 1776.[3] The movement against Three Rivers had been begun by orders of Thompson, who was in command upon the death of Thomas (June 2d), and remained so for a few days till Sullivan arrived. Smith, in the *St. Clair Papers*, i. 17, collates the authorities on this movement,[4] calling in question the state-

Dav. Wooster[5]

1 A letter of Samuel Hodgkinson, April 27th, is in the *Penna. Mag. of Hist.*, July, 1886, p. 162.

2 Sparks's *Corresp. of the Rev.*, i. 185, 189, 196; Force's *Archives*, 4th, v., vi.; 5th, i. Among the General Thomas papers, beside drafts of his own letters at this time, there are letters to him from Arnold (May 1, 11, 14); from Schuyler (May 17); and from Baron de Woedtke (May 11, 12, 18, 19). Some memoranda from Thomas's letters are in a collection of *Letters and Papers, 1761–1776* (p. 165), in the Mass. Hist. Soc. cabinet. Cf. also Lossing's *Schuyler* (ii. ch. 1, 2); I. N. Arnold's *Arnold* (ch. 5); Read's *Geo. Read*, 150; Bancroft's *United States* (orig. ed., viii. ch. 67); Irving's *Washington* (ii. ch. 20, 22); Stone's *Brant*, i. 154.

3 See the general narratives, and specially Sparks's *Washington* (iv. 56), for the capitulation; Resolutions of Congress, July 10, 1776, in Sparks's *Corresp. of the Rev.* (i. 258); S. E. Dawson in *Canadian Monthly*, v. 305; and *Authentic narrative of facts relating to the exchange of prisoners taken at the Cedars, with original papers* (London, 1777—*Brinley Catal.*, ii. no. 3,967). Cf. *John Adams's Life and Writings*, ix. 407; *N. H. Rev. Rolls*, i. 477; and Force's *Archives*, 4th, vi. (p. 598), and 5th, i. The Agreement (May 27, 1776) of Arnold and Foster about the prisoners is in *Sparks MSS.*, xiii. and xlv. Jones recounts the disputes arising over the fulfilment of Arnold's agreement for an exchange of the prisoners. *N. Y. during the Revolution*, i. 93. There is a French edition of the *Authentic Narrative*, by Marcel Ethier (Montreal, 1873).

4 Sparks's *Corresp. of Rev.*, i. 525, 531; Force's *Archives*, 4th, vi.; Colonel Irvine's account in *Hist. Mag.*; vi. 115; *Life of George Read* (ch. 3, with memoir of Thompson at end of ch. 2); Lossing's *Schuyler* (ii. 85); Marshall's *Washington* (ii. 362); Amory's *John Sullivan;* Bancroft's *United States*, original edition, viii. p. 415, etc.

5 From *An Impartial History of the War in America*, Lond., 1780, p. 400, where the cut represents his full length. Cf. prints published in London in 1776 (*Brit. Mez. Portrait*, by J. C. Smith); Hollister's *Connecticut*, i. 390; Jones's *Campaign for the Conquest of Canada*, 28; *Geschichte der Kriege in und ausser Europa* (Nürnberg, 1778).

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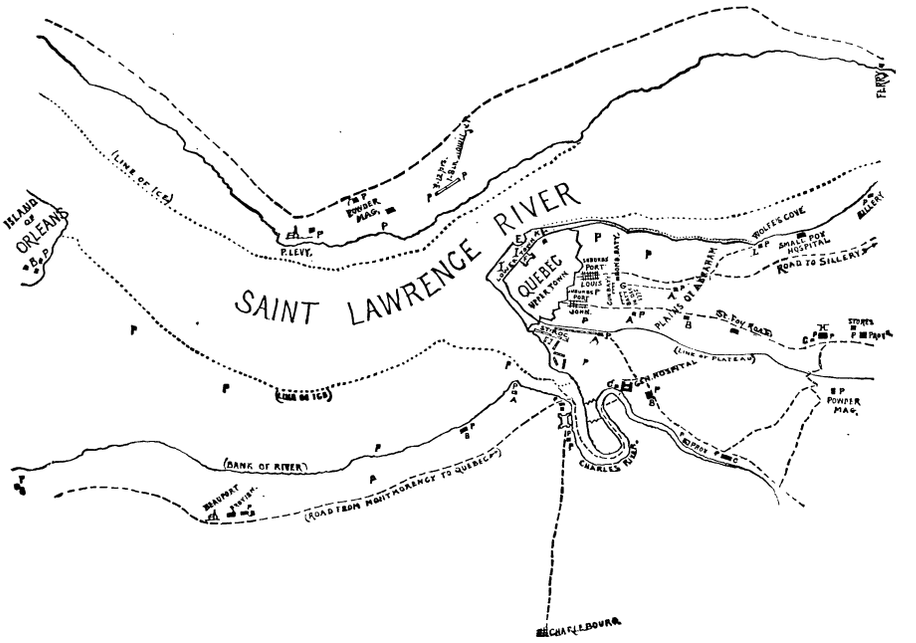
ments given by Bancroft. Sullivan's Irish precipitancy and over-confidence did not mend matters as the retreat went on, and raised delusive hopes which were more welcome than Arnold's gloomy views.[1] The retreat continued to Crown Point, and in July Sullivan was relieved by Gates; and the campaign was over, — nothing accomplished. On July 26th Governor Trumbull



SIEGE OF QUEBEC, 1775–76.[2]

[1] Sparks's *Washington*, iii. 423; *Corresp. of the Rev.*, i. 211, 216, 231, 237, 239, 241; *John Adams's Life and Writings*, ix. 43. Letters of Sullivan, with some from Arnold during the retreat from Canada, are among the Sullivan papers (*Sparks MSS.*, xx.). A letter from Arnold to Gates, Chamblée, May 31, 1776, is among the Gates Papers (copies in *Sparks MSS.*, xx.). A letter of Thompson to St. Clair from Sorel, June 2, 1776, is in the *St. Clair Papers* (i. 367), with notes on the retreat.

[2] Sketched from a manuscript plan noted in the *Sparks Catalogue* (p. 208), which belongs to Cornell University, and was kindly communicated to the editor. The original (18½ × 15 inches) is marked as "on a scale of 30 chaines to an Inch," and is signed "E. Antill ft." in the corner. Mr. Sparks has marked it "Siege of Quebec, 1776." It is endorsed on the outside, "Gen[l] Arnold's plan of Quebec, with y[e] Americans besieging it, y[e] winter of 1776." It bears the following Key: "H, Headquarters. A, A, A, advanced guards. B, B, B, main guards. C, C, C, quarter guards. D, Capt. Smith's riflemen. E, cul-de-sac, where the men-of-war lay, F, governor's house. G, where all materials are carried to build our batteries, out of view of the town. I, lower town. K, the barrier, near which General Montgomery fell. K L, the dotted line shews the route the troops took under the general, thro' deep snow without any path." The dotted line in the river marks the extent of ice from the shore, and in the open stream are the words: "(Unfrose) Ice driving with y[e] Tide." The roads are marked by broken lines — — — — — — —. The position of patrols are marked by the letter P.

The principal engraved map is a *Plan of the city and environs of Quebec with its siege and blockage by the Americans from the 8th of December, 1775, to the 13th of May, 1776. Engraved by Wm. Faden, London; published 12 Sept., 1776.* The original MS. draft is among the Faden maps (no. 20) in the library of Congress. There are other plans as follows: *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, April, 1884, p. 282; Leake's *Life of Lamb*, p. 130; Atlas to Marshall's *Washington*; Carrington's *Battles*, p. 138; Stone's *Invasion of Canada*, p. xvii.; a marginal plan in Sayer and Bennett's *New Map of the Province of Quebec*, published Feb. 16, 1776; and a German "Plan von Quebec" in the *Geschichte der Kriege in und ausser Europa*, Nuremberg, 1777, Dritter Theil. There is a marginal map of Quebec in an edition of Carver's map of the Province of Quebec, published by Le Rouge in Paris in 1777, and included in the *Atlas Ameriquain* (1778).

For views of Quebec and the points of attack, see Moore's *Diary of the Rev.*, i. 185; Lossing's *Field-Book*, i. 198; and *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, April, 1884, p. 274. A view of the plains of Abraham is in *Ibid.*, p. 296.

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reviews the condition of the army in a letter in Hinman's *Conn. during the Rev.* (p. 560).[1] The letters of Ira Allen and John Hurd express the uneasy state of mind along the frontier, which now took possession of the exposed settlers (*N. H. Prov. Papers*, viii. pp. 301, 306, 311, 315–317, 405). Insecurity was felt at Ticonderoga (*N. H. State Papers*, viii. 576, 581).

Congress twice appointed commissioners to proceed towards Canada. In Nov., 1775, Robert R. Livingston, John Langdon, and Robert Treat Paine were sent, with instructions dated Nov. 8th,[2] to examine the fortifications of Ticonderoga and the highlands, and "to use their endeavors to procure an accession of the Canadians to a union with these colonies;" and their report (Nov. 17th), with a letter to Montgomery (Nov. 30th), is in the *Sparks MSS.* (lii. vol. ii.). In March, 1776, Benj. Franklin, Samuel Chase, and Charles Carroll were instructed (*Journals of Congress*, i. 289; Force, v. 411) to proceed to Canada to influence, if possible, the sympathies of the Canadians. Carroll was a Roman Catholic, and he was accompanied by his brother, John Carroll, a priest.[3] Much was expected of the mission on this account (Adams's *Familiar Letters*, 135). Franklin, delayed at Saratoga (April), began to feel that the exposures of the expedition were too much for one of his years, and sat down to write "to a few friends by way of farewell."[4] Carroll kept a diary, which has been since printed.[5] There are papers appertaining to the mission in Force's *Archives*, 4th, iv., v.; Sparks's *Washington* (iii. 390), and his *Corresp. of the Rev.* (i. 572), and Lossing's *Schuyler* (vol. ii.).[6] On Jan. 31, 1850, Mr. William Duane delivered an address on *Canada and the Continental Congress* before the Penna. Hist. Soc., which is printed among their occasional publications.

Mr. Brantz Mayer's introduction to the Centennial ed. of Carroll's journal is largely concerned with the question of the Catholic pacifi-

[1] There are several personal records and diaries of these final months of the campaign. Dr. S. J. Meyrick, a surgeon of a Massachusetts regiment, wrote, June 1, 1836, to J. Trumbull, his recollections of the retreat, drawn up from contemporary minutes, beginning May 21, 1776 (Trumbull's *Autobiography*, 299).

Diary of Joshua Pell, Jr., beginning at Quebec, May 29, 1776, giving an account of Three Rivers defeat, ending Nov. 22d, is printed in *Mag. of Am. Hist.*, ii. 43.

Letters of Colonel Bond (July, Aug., 1776) in *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, iv. 71.

In the *Sparks MSS.* (lii. vol. ii. p. 69, etc.) are copies of papers belonging to the Amer. Philosophical Society (Feb., 1831), which contain a journal of Jacob Shallus, beginning in the camp before Quebec, May 6, 1776, and ending at Crown Point, July 1st. A journal of Lieut. Jona. Burton, Aug. 1 to Nov. 29, 1776, is in the *N. H. State Papers*, vol. xiv.

There are local aspects and connections of the campaign to be got from Watson's *Essex County* (ch. 10); Dunlap's *New York* (ii. ch. 1, 4); Mrs. Bonney's *Hist. Gleanings*, i.; Smith's *Pittsfield, Mass.* (ch. 15); Temple and Sheldon's *Northfield*, etc.

[2] Sedgwick's *Livingston*. There is also a copy in the *Langdon Papers*, and a copy from that in the *Sparks MSS.* (lii. vol. ii.). A letter of Paine is in *Ibid.* (xlix. ii.).

[3] A letter of John Carroll, describing his journey, and written from Montreal, May 1, 1776, is in Force's *Archives*, v. 1,158.

[4] *Memoir of Josiah Quincy, Jr.*, 418. Lives of Franklin by Sparks, Parton, and Bigelow.

[5] *Journal of Charles Carroll to Canada, with notes by B. Mayer* (Baltimore, 1845). *Journal of Charles Carroll of Carrollton during a visit to Canada in 1776, as one of the Commissioners from Congress* (Baltimore, 1876—the Centennial volume of the Maryland Hist. Soc). On Carroll, see Boyle's *Marylanders; Annals of Annapolis;* Niles's *Register*, xxx. 79; J. C. Carpenter in *Mag of Amer. Hist.*, ii. 101; J. M. Finotti in *Cath. World*, xxiii. 537; S. Jordan in Potter's *Amer. Monthly*, vii. 401. Poole's *Index* gives other references upon John Carroll. The Commissioner Charles Carroll was reputed to be the wealthiest man in America. Views of his mansion are in *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, ii. 101; Lamb's *Homes of America;* Brotherhead's *Signers* (1861, p. 81); and in *Appleton's Journal*, xii. 321. For a Carroll medal, see *Amer. Journal of Numismatics*, v. 8, xv. 45; *Cath. World*, July, 1876, p. 537. The best known portrait of Carroll is that painted by Chester Harding, which for a while was deposited in the cabinet of the Mass. Hist. Soc. (*Proc.*, i. 500). It has been engraved by A. B. Durand (*National Portrait Gallery*, N. Y., 1834), H. B. Hall (in Carroll's Journal, 1876), and J. B. Longacre. A portrait by Thomas Lally, formerly belonging to Governor Swann, of Maryland, is now in the Mass. Hist. Soc. Gallery (*Proc.*, 2d ser., ii. 261). Cf. McSherry's *Maryland*.

[6] A letter of Chase and Carroll from Montreal, May 26, 1776, to General Thomas, is in the *Mass. Archives*, and is copied in the *Sparks MSS.* (lii. vol. iii.).

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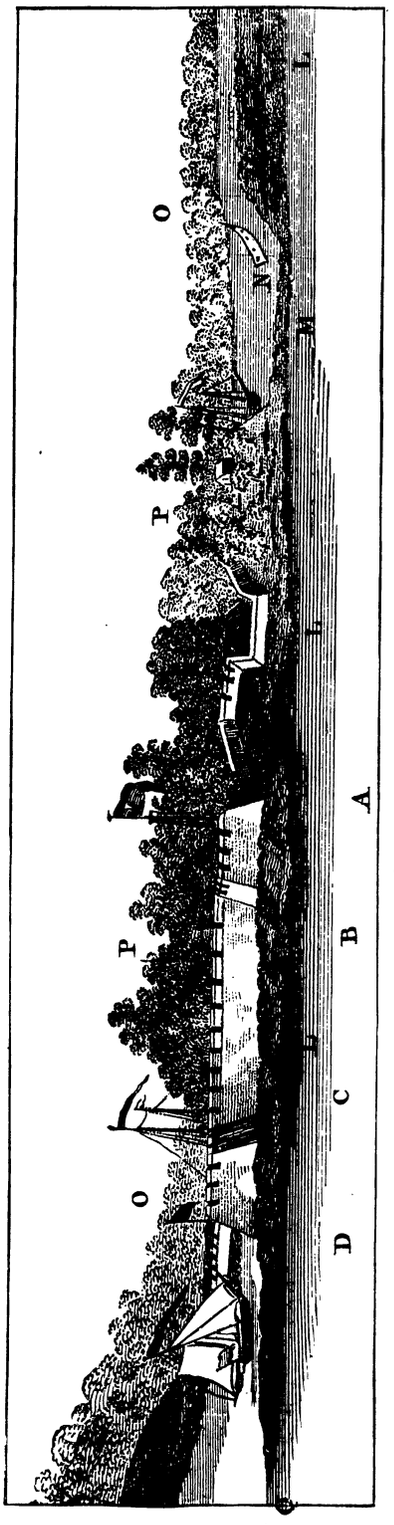

SULLIVAN'S ISLAND.[1]

[1] A part of a view published in London, August 10, 1776, and made by Lieut.-Col. Thomas James, of the Royal Regiment of Artillery, June 30, 1776. It represents the position of the fleet during "the attack on the 28th of June, which lasted nine hours and forty minutes." The position of the ships is designated by A, "Active," 28 guns; B, "Bristol," flagship, 50 guns; C, "Experiment," 50 guns: D, "Solebay," 28 guns. The "Syren," 28 guns, and "Acteon," 28 guns, and the "Thunder," bomb-ketch, were nearer the spectator as was the "Friendship," of 28 guns. L is Sullivan's Island; M, a narrow isthmus, defended by an armed hulk, N; the mainland is O; myrtle-grove, P.

Faden also issued at the same time, as made by Col. James, a long panoramic view of Sullivan's and Long islands, showing the American and British camps on the opposite sides of the dividing inlet.

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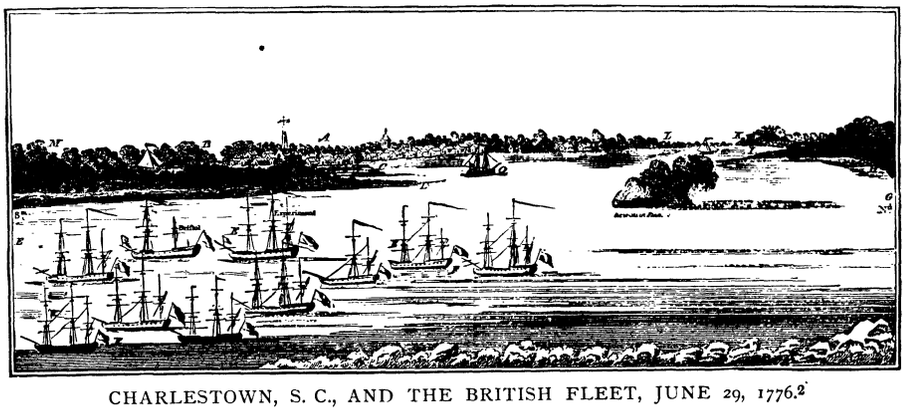
cation of Canada. Cf. Brent's *Life of Archbishop Carroll;* and B. W. Campbell's "Life and Times of Archbishop Carroll" in *U. S. Cath. Mag.*, iii. The unfortunate comments (Oct. 21, 1774) of the Continental Congress on the Quebec Act was much against the persuasions of the commissioners, and it was soon evident that all their efforts, on this side at least, were futile. (Cf. Force's *Am. Archives*, ii. 231.)

After Franklin and John Carroll had left Montreal, Charles Carroll and Chase remained, endeavoring to support the military councils.[1]

I. THE ATTACK ON SULLIVAN'S ISLAND, JUNE, 1776. — Clinton's proclamation to the magistrates of South Carolina, June 6, 1776, is in Ramsay's *Revolution in South Carolina*, i. 330. Lee's report to Washington (July 1, 1776) is in Sparks's *Correspondence of the Revolution*, i. 243; to Congress (July 2d), in *Ibid.*, ii. 502; in Lee's *Memoirs*, p. 386; in Force's *American Archives*, 5th ser., i. p. 435; *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, 1872, pp. 100, 107; and in Dawson (p. 139). John Adams (*Familiar Letters*, 203) notes the exhilaration which the news caused in Philadelphia.

There are other contemporary accounts in Gen. Morris's letter in the *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, 1875, p. 438; in R. W. Gibbes's *Doc. Hist. of the Amer. Rev.*, 1776–1782, pp. 2–19; in Force's *Archives;* in Frank Moore's *Diary of the Rev.*, i. p. 257; in Moore's *Laurens Correspondence*, p. 24. A "new war song" of the day, referring to the battle, is given in Moore's *Songs and Ballads of the Rev.*, p. 135. A broadside account was printed in Philadelphia, June 20, 1776 (Hildeburn's *Bibliog.*, no. 3342). A plan of the attack after a London original was published in Philadelphia in 1777, with a "Description of the attack in a letter from Sir Peter Parker to Mr. Stephens, and an extract from a letter of Lieut. Gen. Clinton to Lord Geo. Germaine" (Hildeburn, no. 3539).

The earliest general account is by Moultrie himself in his *Memoirs of the American Revolution.* Cf. Gordon's *Amer. Rev.;* and John Drayton's *Memoirs of the American Revolution* [through 1776] *as relating to the State of South Carolina* (Charleston, 1821, two vols.). Of the later general historians, reference may be made to Bancroft (orig. ed.), vol. viii. ch. 66, and final revision, iv. ch. xxv., a full account; to Dawson, i. ch. 10; to Carrington, ch. 27, 28; to Gay, iii. 467; Irving's *Washington*, ii. ch. 29; Lossing's *Field-Book*, ii. p. 754. Something can be gleaned from Garden's *Anecdotes of the Revolu-*



CHARLESTOWN, S. C., AND THE BRITISH FLEET, JUNE 29, 1776.[2]

1 Their letters, written in May, are in *Force's Archives*, and the originals are preserved in the Archives at Washington; but Brantz Mayer says (*Carroll's Journal*, 1876, p. 37) that their report of June 12, 1776, could not be found. Their last letter, however, of May 27th, which Mayer prints (p. 38), gives their results. It is also in Force (vi. 589). The papers of General Thomas show their letters addressed to him of May 6, 12, and 15.

2 After a print published in London by Faden, August 10, 1776, taken by Lieut.-Col. James, the day after the fight.

KEY. — A, Charlestown; B, Ashley River; C, Fort Johnston; D, Cummins Point; E, part of Five-Fathom Hole, where all the fleet rode before and after the attack; F, station of the headmost frigate, the "Solebay," two miles and three quarters from Fort Sullivan, situated to the northward of G; H, part of Mt. Pleasant; I, part of Hog Island; K, Wando River; L, Cooper River; M, James Island; N, breakers on Charlestown Bar; O, rebel schooner of 12 guns.

There is "An exact prospect of Charlestown, the metropolis of South Carolina," in the *London Mag.*, 1762, a folding panoramic view, which shows the water-front with ships in the harbor.

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tion; Memoirs of Elkanah Watson; the life of Rutledge in Flanders's *Chief Justices;* and from such occasional productions as William Crafts's address (1825), included in his *Miscellanies;* Porcher's address in the *South Carolina Hist. Coll.*, vol. i.; C. C. Jones, Jr.'s address on Sergeant Jasper in 1876, and the *Centennial Memorial* of that year; and the paper in *Harper's Monthly*, xxi. 70, by T. D. English.

On the British side we have Parker's despatch (July 9th) in Dawson, p. 140; a letter of Clinton (July 8th) in the *Sparks MSS.*, no. lviii., Clinton's *Observations on Stedman's History;* the reports in the *Gent. Mag.* and *Annual Register;* the early historical estimate in Adolphus's *England*, ii. 346. Jones, *New York in the Revolutionary War*, i. 98, gives the Tory view. There is a contemporary letter by a British officer given in Lady Cavendish's *Admiral Gambier*, copied in *Hist. Mag.*, v. 68. Hutchinson (*Life and Diary*, ii. 92) records the effects of the fight in England.[1]

[1] Maj.-Gen. Robert Howe's report on the defences of Charlestown, some months later (Oct. 9th), is in the *Amer. Archives*, iii. 49.

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CHAPTER III.

THE SENTIMENT OF INDEPENDENCE, ITS GROWTH AND CONSUMMATION.

BY GEORGE E. ELLIS, D. D., LL. D.,
President Mass. Hist. Society.

THE assertion needs no qualification that the thirteen colonies would not in the beginning have furnished delegates to a congress with the avowed purpose of seeking a separation from the mother country; and we may also affirm, that, with a possible forecast in the minds of some two or three members, such a result was not apprehended. If any deceptive methods — as was charged at the time — were engaged in turning a congress avowedly called to secure a redress of grievances into an agency for securing independence, they will appear in the sharp scrutiny with which we may now study the inner history of the subject. And if an explanation of the course of the Congress can be found, consistent with its perfect sincerity, we must then seek to trace the influences alike of the new light which came in upon the delegates, and of successive aggravating measures of the British government, in substituting independence as its object. Though it is certain that Samuel Adams, fretting under the hesitations of Congress, had proposed to an ardent sympathizer that the four New England colonies should act in that direction by themselves, his own clear judgment would have satisfied him that that step would have been futile unless the other colonies followed it. If there were but a single colony from which no response could be drawn, the consequences would have been obstructive. That different sections of the country should have furnished leaders so in accord as Samuel Adams, Richard H. Lee, and Gadsden was a most felicitous condition. A congress, then, composed of delegates from all the colonies was the indispensable and the only practicable method for working out the scheme of independence, and even such a congress must avoid basing its action on local grievances. The reserve which the delegates from Massachusetts found it politic to practise, in not obtruding their special grievances, was well decided upon from the first, and proved to be effective. That the circumstances required patience in such men as the Adamses is abundantly evident from the frankness with which they wrote outside of Congress of the temporizing and dilatoriness of what went on in it.

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There is no general assertion which comes nearer to the truth on this subject than that, from the first colonization of America by the English, the spirit of independence was latent here, and was in a steady process of natural development. George Chalmers, with the opportunities of a clerk of the Board of Trade, made an inquisitive private study of State Papers, and reached the full conviction that the colonists from the start, not only quietly assumed, but really aimed at an independence. He quotes abundant warnings, and charges the successive crown officials here and at home with culpable negligence in not acting on these warnings when they might have done so.[1] The pages of Chalmers confirm and illustrate the fact that the colonists lived in the enjoyment of a more real autonomy, and a do-as-you-please enfranchisement, than was shared by home subjects. There went with this a sort of assumption, a bold conceit, a sturdy truculency, which could be easily trained into defiance.[2]

Large allowance also must be made on account of the fact that the colonies had mastered their most critical perils wholly from their own resources. English benevolence in private individuals had generously fostered some enterprises of learning and charity here. But government had left the exiles to fight their own battles against the savages and the earliest French enemies. Far back in colonial times Governor Winthrop records that, in some emergent strait of the exiles, a suggestion was made of turning to England for help. The suggestion was shrewdly put aside, lest, having asked such aid, they might incur obligations.

It was of course admitted that the colonists had come under some form of obligation to the home government during the exhausting campaigns of the French and Indian wars. A question, however, soon came under debate, as to what that obligation involved. Great Britain assumed that it justified a demand upon the colonists for revenue. The colonists roused themselves to repudiate any obligation to be enforced by the payment of a tax imposed by a Parliament in which they had no representation. It was just here that the latent spirit of independence led the colonists to examine

[1] *An Introduction to the History of the Revolt of the American Colonies, being a comprehensive view of its origin derived from the State Papers contained in the public offices of Great Britain* (Boston, 1845).

[2] It is to be remembered that these positive statements as to the spirit of independence latent in the colonies were written after the achievement of the fact. It is but fair to say that it has been objected against the positiveness of Chalmers's statements that he presents no specific evidence of their truth from written authorities. (See Sparks's *Washington*, vol. ii. Appendix x., and his Preface to the American edition of Chalmers.) Viscount Bury, in his *Exodus of the Western Nations* (i. 395, 412), repeats the opinion of Chalmers as positively, yet also without authorities. On the other side, as illustrating how general statements may be affirmed, as if not to be qualified or challenged, we read in Governor Hutchinson's volume of his *History* written during his exile in England this sentence (vol. iii. p. 69), as of date 1758: "An empire, separate or distinct from Britain, no man then alive expected or desired to see," — an assertion more rhetorical than true. In the debate in the Commons on the Boston Port Bill and the infraction of the charter of Massachusetts, Sir Richard Sutton said "that even in the most quiet times the disposition to oppose the laws of this country was strongly ingrafted in the Americans, and all their actions conveyed a spirit and wish for independence. If you ask an American who is his master, he will tell you he has none, nor any governor, but Jesus Christ" (Adolphus, ii. 108).

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to the root their relations of allegiance, and, on the other hand, their natural rights. The General Court of Massachusetts, in 1768, had admitted "that his Majesty's high court of Parliament is the supreme legislative power over the whole empire." It took less than ten years to bring it about that Massachusetts either had not understood what it said, — at least, had not meant to say exactly that, — or had come to think differently about it.

In the Bill of Rights coming from the first Congress the committee say: "In the course of their inquiry they find many infringements and violations of rights, which they pass over for the present." These previous impositions and disabilities came in, however, afterwards for their full share of rhetoric and argument. As we trace the method in which the controversy with government matured, we mark these stages of it. Objection and forcible resistance found their first occasion when, at the close of the French war, government devised the policy of the Stamp Act. The colonists came to distinguish this as creating an *internal* tax, in contrast to the previous *external* taxes, through the laws regulating commerce, to which heretofore they had not objected. Vindicating their resistance to the new internal tax, they came to find similar grievances in the former external taxes. So they were teaching themselves first to define and then to assert independence.

We have become accustomed to associate with the term Congress the idea of a legally constituted organic body, with defined powers authoritatively assigned to it, the exercise of which is binding on its constituents. Our Continental congresses were of quite another sort, and had no authority save what might be granted to the wisdom and practicability of the measures they advised. Most certain it is that only a very small minority of the people of the colonies were concerned in calling the early congresses. As certain, also, is it that a very large preponderance of the people of all classes were then strongly opposed to any violent measures, to sundering ties of allegiance, or to seeking anything beyond a peaceful redress of grievances. On the whole, while it must be admitted that Congress was generally in advance of its constituency, it knew how to temporize and to give intervals of pause in steadily working on to its ultimate declaration. "Natural leaders" always start forth in such a cause, and they learn their skill by practice.

When it became evident that, instead of any healing of the breach, the whole activity of the Congress tended to widen it, a regret was expressed in some quarters that, by the connivance and consent of the royal governors, and through the regular legislative processes, a more legal and conservative character had not been secured to this meeting of delegates, — as if dangerous plotting might thereby have been averted. But the patriot leaders of the movement were too well advised to look for any such official coöperation. The very life of their scheme depended upon its wholly popular conception. Nor could the consent of governors and formal assemblies

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have been won to it. The whole method of the steady strengthening of the spirit of alienation from Great Britain was a working of popular feeling in channels different from those of ordinary official direction and oversight.

It was but fair to assume that the objects of the first Congress would be defined by the instructions furnished by those who sent or commissioned its members. The delegates from New Hampshire were bid "to consult and adopt such measures as may have the most likely tendency to extricate the colonies from their present difficulties, to secure and perpetuate their rights, liberties, and privileges, and to restore that peace, harmony, and mutual confidence which once happily subsisted between the parent country and her colonies." Massachusetts bade her delegates "deliberate and determine upon wise and proper measures, to be by them recommended to all the colonies, for the recovery and establishment of their just rights and liberties, civil and religious,[1] and the restoration of union and harmony between Great Britain and the colonies, most ardently desired by all good men." Rhode Island's charter governor empowered the delegates "to join in consulting upon proper measures to obtain a repeal of the several acts of the British Parliament, &c., and upon proper measures to establish the rights and liberties of the colonies upon a just and solid foundation." Connecticut authorized its delegates "to consult and advise on proper measures for advancing the best good of the colonies." The delegates from New York were trusted without any particular instructions, having merely a general commission "to attend the Congress at Philadelphia." So, also, New Jersey appointed its delegates "to represent the colony of New Jersey in the said General Congress." Pennsylvania sent a committee from its own Assembly in behalf of the province "to consult upon the present unhappy state of the colonies, and to form and adopt a plan for the purposes of obtaining redress of American grievances, ascertaining American rights upon the most solid and constitutional principles, and for establishing that union and harmony between Great Britain and the colonies which is indispensably necessary to the welfare and happiness of both." The deputies from the three Lower Counties were "to consult and determine upon all such prudent and lawful measures as may be judged most expedient for the colonies immediately and unitedly to adopt, in order to obtain relief for an oppressed people, and the redress of our general grievances."

It will be observed that the instructions from these eight colonies are moderate and pacific in terms, without menace, or a looking to any other results than harmony. Something a little more emphatic appears in what follows. The Maryland delegates were to use all efforts in their power in the Congress "to effect one general plan of conduct operating on the commercial relations of the colonies with the mother country." Virginia bade her delegates "consider of the most proper and effectual manner of so oper-

[1] This last word recognized the jealousy and apprehension felt in Massachusetts about the sending over of bishops to the province.

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ating on the commercial connection of the colonies with the mother country as to procure redress for the much-injured province of the Massachusetts Bay; to secure British America from the ravage and ruin of arbitrary taxes; and speedily to procure the return of that harmony and union so beneficial to the whole nation, and so ardently desired by all British America." The delegates of South Carolina are instructed "to concert, agree to, and effectually prosecute such legal measures as shall be most likely to obtain a repeal of the said acts and a redress of those grievances." The deputies of North Carolina were authorized "to deliberate upon the present state of British America, and to take such measures as they may deem prudent to effect the purpose of describing with certainty the rights of Americans, repairing the breach made in those rights, and for guarding them for the future from any such violations done under the sanction of public authority."

Now it is true that one may read as between the lines of these instructions intimations of reserved purposes, and possibly menaces that something more will be required if what is suggested in them fail of effect; but as they stand, their tone is not hostile or menacing. They limit the terms and measure of what they exact. Several very pregnant suggestions present themselves. Men of a large variety of opinions and purposes might take part in a congress so constituted. If the measures proposed had been restricted, so to speak, to the programme, there might have been substantial accord among the delegates, and no one could have been startled and offended with what they soon regarded as rebellious manifestations in the Congress.

The case of Joseph Galloway, at first esteemed a most resolute patriot, and then committing himself to extreme loyalty, presents us an example. He was a lawyer of great abilities, a gentleman of wealth and of high social position. He had made many strong protests against the oppressive measures of government. He was a member of the Pennsylvania Assembly eighteen years, and twelve years its speaker. He says[1] that when he was chosen as a delegate to the first Congress he positively refused to serve unless he was allowed to draw his own "instructions." He was permitted to do so, and he himself signed them as speaker. They contain this injunction: "You are strictly charged to avoid everything indecent and disrespectful to the mother state." Chosen a delegate to the second Congress, he positively declined to serve, though importuned to do so by Dr. Franklin. The instructions given to the eight associates named with him for this second Congress contained the stringent words, "We strictly enjoin you that you, in behalf of this colony, dissent from and utterly reject any propositions, should such be made, that may cause or lead to a separation from the mother country, or a change of the form of government." The removal of this restriction on June 14, 1776, enabled a majority of the delegates to give the vote of the province for independence.

[1] *Examination before Committee of Parliament.*

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No man in this first Congress marked a stronger contrast to Galloway than Samuel Adams, the "man of the people." Compared with what Joseph Reed called "the fine fellows from Virginia," Adams was not what is conventionally called a gentleman; but while John Hancock brought from Massachusetts money and ambition, his colleague carried the hardier brains of the two. The odious epithet of "demagogue" attached to Adams, not because of any beguiling arts, but from his plain simplicity of garb, preferred associates, manners, and mode of life. In his cheap and homely attire, dispensing with any other mode of influence than that of an honest heart and a vigorous mind, he had made himself the familiar companion of the mechanics, artificers, and craftsmen of North Boston, the shipbuilders, joiners, and calkers, — the rough, honest, and thrifty democracy, — with whom, sitting on a spar or loitering in a workshop, he would spend long and instructive hours. He was puritanically religious and rigidly observant of solemnities, prayed in his family, and asked a blessing at each meal of his simple fare. He neglected his own business to devote himself to public interests. Of his own poverty he was neither ashamed nor proud. It would not have been seemly for him to have presented himself to the courtly gentry of the Congress as he appeared in the streets of Boston. It would doubtless have confirmed the prejudice which many entertained of him as an ill-bred mass-leader. For deep and wide learning in legal, political, and economical science, added to his college culture, and for debating powers, he was the peer of any of his associates. If he had been left to himself in his straits he would have gone on his high errand clad as he was; but before he was to go his friends had done the best they could for him. The tailor, the hatter, bootmaker, and haberdasher, appearing at his house from anonymous friends, had furnished him a complete outfit, not, however, of the full sumptuousness of Hancock's. As for the rest, Adams was well prepared in bodily presence to meet for the first time his warm friend in correspondence, Richard Henry Lee. No truly lineal citizen of the old Puritan colony will ever be ashamed of this characteristic representative of its traditions and its people at the first Congress, — this prophet of independence.

The fact, without any fulness of detail, is assured to us that there was much of discordance and dissension in this Congress of 1774. Probably there was scarcely a single proposition or speaker that did not find an antagonist. Certainly it appeared that Congress was not ready to break from the mother realm. Results, however, were reached of a sort to prompt just such further measures from the British government as to insure some livelier work in its next session. The most decisively contumacious act of the Congress was the adoption and approval of the resolves passed by the daring Suffolk County (Massachusetts) meeting, which most clearly endorsed rebellion, and took steps in initiating it.[1] It is to be remembered, moreover, that in this first Congress, Washington, whose frank sincerity stands

[1] See *ante*, chapter i.

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unimpeached, denied that the colonies wished for, or could safely, separately or together, set up for independence. Before Congress again met in May, the first blood had been shed at Lexington and Concord; and Massachusetts, as the first colony to set up as a consequence its own autonomy, sought and received the ratification of its conduct by Congress, after it had assembled.

The instructions to the delegates still held them to seeking a redress of grievances and the restoration of harmony, as "desired by all good men," and in pursuit of this object a second letter or petition to the king, which John Adams calls "Dickinson's letter," was prepared and adopted by Congress. It was respectful, earnest, tender in its professions and appeals. It besought the king himself to interpose between his much-abused and long-enduring subjects and the oppressive measures of his ministers, as if he himself was misled and imposed upon by them. The bearing which this most remarkable letter has upon the charge of insincerity and hypocrisy in the action of Congress is apparent. It is enough to say here that Richard Penn, the messenger who bore the letter, was not permitted to see the king, whose only recognition of it was a violently toned proclamation for suppressing rebellion and sedition among his American subjects. Startling was the effect on the Congress of this royal declaration of an unrelenting purpose, which arrived on November 1st, coupled with the intelligence of a large reinforcement of the British army and navy, and with the purposed employment of seventeen thousand German mercenaries. The same day brought an account of the burning of Falmouth, now Portland, by Captain Mowat, reasonably exciting an alarm in all the settlements on the seaboard. What might be lacking in the final resolution of some of the leading members of Congress to come to the issue was well supplied by these last measures of government, which could work only in the direction of an implacable rupture. Still it is a matter of fact, now attested by full evidence, that the majority of Congress, either held by their lingering hope of some scheme of conciliation, or even doubtful if their constituents would reinforce their own resolution now, would not entertain a motion for independence.[1] A recess of the Congress from August 5th to September 5th gave to some of the members an opportunity to try the pulse of their constituents. The king in his speech, October 26, 1775, reiterated his stern purposes. It is noticeable that in the comments made upon it by speakers in the opposition, the avowals of members in the Congress were confidently

[1] This Congress issued a very strong declaration "of the causes and necessity of taking up arms." It sought by clear statements "to quiet the minds of our friends and fellow-subjects. We do not mean to dissolve the union. Necessity has not driven us into that desperate measure. We have not raised armies with the ambitious designs of separation from Great Britain, and establishing independent states." This hesitating and vacillating course of the first two congresses would naturally encourage the British ministry in the belief, first, that the colonists were by no means of one mind as to valid reasons for a united opposition to government; and second, that the strength of the existing feelings of loyalty and attachment, backed by efficient policy, would withstand any looking towards independence.

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quoted as repelling the charge that they were aiming for independence; but General Conway said significantly, "They will undoubtedly prefer independence to slavery."

The delegates of the thirteen colonies — Georgia being now represented — met in Philadelphia, May 12, 1776, having now the whole bearings of the struggle fully before them. The members had found their way to the assurance that their professed loyalty to the constitution of the realm consisted with, and might even require, a defiance of its monarch. There were those who still held back. We note that personal alienations declared themselves between members, starting from differences of opinion or strength of resolve, as they faced the final question. Perhaps it is well that oblivion has been allowed to settle over the attitudes and words of some of the actors of the time, whether in or out of Congress. Gadsden, Lee, the Adamses, and Patrick Henry were ready and eager for the boldest venture, supported by Chase of Maryland, Ward of Rhode Island, Wolcott and Sherman of Connecticut, and at last by Wyeth of Virginia. Wilson of Pennsylvania held back. So did the strongly patriotic Dickinson, restrained by Quaker influence. He was yet to be reassured, and his ballot was to be the decisive one. Massachusetts should have been a unit; but Samuel Adams and Hancock were alienated, and Paine and Cushing were not yet full-strung, but the last-named was soon superseded by Gerry, who was in entire sympathy with the Adamses. Congress recommended the colonies whose governors had deserted their posts to set up governments of their own, if only for a temporary purpose, till constitutional rule should be reëstablished. Then, after an emphatic but calm restatement of grievances, and the failure of all efforts to secure a redress, Congress engaged with the question whether all the colonies might not be forced to set up such a government of their own. The dastardly conduct of Lord Dunmore, governor of Virginia, in following his own flight for refuge on board a frigate with a proclamation to stir an insurrection among the slaves, might well have left it to R. H. Lee, by direct instruction from his constituents, early in May, to announce that on an appointed day he should move for a declaration of independence. He did so on Thursday, the 7th of June. His motions were for such a declaration, with a complete dissolution of all political connection between the colonies and Great Britain; for the forming of foreign alliances, and a plan of confederation. John Adams seconded the motions. They were discussed on Saturday in a committee of the whole. On Monday, after a long debate, Rutledge moved a postponement of the question for three weeks. Up to this point Jefferson says that New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and South Carolina were not ready for the decision, and thought it prudent to wait, though fast stiffening for the issue.

On June 10th Congress resolved that the consideration of Mr. Lee's first proposed resolution — that declaring independence — be postponed to the 1st of July; but that no time should be lost in the interval, it appointed, on June 11th, a committee to prepare such a declaration. This committee

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was Jefferson, John Adams, Franklin, Sherman, and Robert R. Livingston.[1] This postponement was in deference to the unreadiness of the delegates of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, and South Carolina to take the decisive step. Some unnamed member had procured the passage of a vote that on whichever side the majority should turn, the decision should be pronounced unanimous, for or against the resolutions. The vote of each colony was to count for one, whatever the number of its delegates, the majority in each delegation pronouncing for its colony. The debate was sharp and intensely earnest. The vote of Pennsylvania was divided. Those of the six colonies just named being in opposition, there was no decision. Two of the halting Pennsylvania delegates being induced to absent themselves on the next day, fifty delegates being present, the resolutions prevailed by a majority of one province.[2] They had been bit-

[1] For an explanation of the reasons why R. H. Lee, the mover, was not made chairman of this committee, see Randall's *Life of Jefferson*, vol. i. 144–159.

[2] There is a slight conflict of testimony in private records — for we have none that are official — as to some of the details in the preparation of the Declaration. John Adams, trusting to his memory, wrote in his *Autobiography* (cf. *Works*, ii. 512), twenty-eight years after the transaction, and again in a letter to Timothy Pickering, forty-seven years after it (cf. *Life of Pickering*, iv. 463), and when he was in his eighty-eighth year, substantially to the same effect, namely, that Jefferson and himself were appointed by their associates a sub-committee to make the draft. Jefferson (*Mem. and Corresp.*, iv. 375), on reading this letter, published in 1823, wrote to Madison denying this statement, and making another, relying on notes which he had made at the time. He says there was no sub-committee, and that when he himself had prepared the draft he submitted it for perusal and judgment separately to Dr. Franklin and Mr. Adams, each of whom made a few verbal alterations in it. These he adopted in a fair copy which he reported to the committee, and on June 28th to Congress, where, after the reading, it was laid on the table. On July 1st Congress took up for debate Mr. Lee's resolution for independence. Nine colonies — New Hampshire, Connecticut, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, New Jersey, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, and Georgia — voted for the resolution. The two delegates of Delaware were divided. South Carolina and Pennsylvania voted against it. The New York delegates affirmed that they approved it, but that their instructions at present did not warrant their voting for it; but on July 9th a New York convention ratified it. Rutledge moved for a day's delay, which being granted, South Carolina accorded. A third delegate coming by post from Delaware turned that colony to the affirmative. Two substituted delegates from Pennsylvania carried that province. The roll of the thirteen colonies was now in union. On the same day, July 2d, and the two days following, Jefferson's draft was under debate, and was amended in committee of the whole. The author of the instrument leaves us to infer that he sat in an impatient and annoyed silence through the ordeal of criticism and objection passed upon it. The two principal amendments were the striking out a severe censure on "the people of England," lest "it might offend some of our friends there," and the omission of a reprobation of slavery, in deference to South Carolina and Georgia. When the committee reported to Congress, such notes of the debates as we have inform us, that, with much vehemence, discordance, remonstrance, and pleadings for delay, with doubts as to whether the people were ready for and would ratify the Declaration, it secured a majority of one in the count of the delegates. Jefferson said that John Adams was "the colossus" in that stirring debate.

There is no occasion here for a critical study or estimate of the Declaration, either as a political manifesto or as a literary production. Its rhetoric, as we know, was at the first reading of it regarded as excessive, — needlessly, perhaps harmfully, severe. That has ever since been the judgment of some. But Jefferson, Franklin, and John Adams, men of three very different types of mental energy and styles of expressing themselves, accorded in offering the document. The best that can be said of it is, that it answered its purpose, was fitted to meet a crisis and to serve the uses desired of it. Its terse and pointed directness of statement, its brief and nervous sentences, its cumulating gathering of grievances, its concentration of censure, and its resolute avowal of a decided

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terly opposed by Livingston of New York, Dickinson and Wilson of Pennsylvania, and Rutledge of South Carolina. Argument, persuasion, and appeal were diligently pressed to draw the hesitating to acquiescence. Meanwhile several of the colonies were anticipating the action of Congress in taking their stand for independence: North Carolina, in April, 1776, and also Massachusetts, at the same date; Virginia, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New Hampshire, and New Jersey followed; and New York, as we shall see, soon came into line.

The proposed measures of Congress, associated with the leading one of independence, were most sagaciously devised for dignifying the primary resolve and elevating the action which should sustain it above the character of a mere rebellion. Those measures assumed the rights and responsibilities of nationality. The issuing of letters of marque and reprisal, the making free of all the ports for commerce with all the world except Great Britain, and the inviting of foreign alliances, were exercises of the prerogatives of sovereignty, and were the reasons assigned by France for regarding the United States as a nation at war with another nation. On July 12th Congress appointed a committee of one delegate from each colony charged with reporting a plan of confederation, and another committee of five to propose a plan for foreign alliances.

The Declaration marked a crisis alike in the forum and for the people. It was read to Washington's army, and drew wild plaudits from officers and from the ranks. As rapidly as panting couriers could disperse it over the country it was formally received with parade and observance, and read in town and village. It gave life and inspiration for every successive measure to turn a purpose into an accomplished fact.[1]

Many of our writers, in tracing the working of the various opinions which aided in fostering the spirit of independence, have found reason to ascribe

purpose, not admitting of temporizing or reconsideration, were its effective points. Dating from its passage by the Congress, and its confidently assured ratification by the people, it was to announce a changed relation and new conditions for future intercourse between a now independent nation and a repudiated mother country. The resolve was sustained. Henceforward, whatever proffers, threats, appeals of amity, for readjustment of quarrels, or for harmony, might come from king or Parliament, or through commissioners, must proceed after the diplomatic fashion, on the admission that the negotiation was no longer between a government and its revolted subjects, but between two distinct sovereignties.

[1] It might be regarded as a matter of course that no parliamentary or other official proceeding or document of the British government would recognize, by way of examination or controversy, the crowning state paper of the American Congress. Chagrin, contempt, vengeful feelings, or a simple regard for its own dignity, may have induced the government to assume indifference. As yet the Declaration was a paper assertion of what was not then secured. But the English press was neither silent nor respectful about the Declaration. An able pamphlet appeared as *An Answer to the Declaration of the American Congress* (London, 1776). Another pamphlet, at first privately circulated, afterwards published, was written by Governor Hutchinson, then in England, entitled *Strictures on the late Declaration of Congress*. It is reprinted anonymously in Almon's *Remembrancer*, iv. 25. The writer says that the reasons given in the Declaration to justify it are "false and frivolous." He sent a copy of this pamphlet to the king, with an obsequious letter. Adolphus, after saying "that at no preceding period of history was so important a transaction vindicated by so shallow and feeble a composition," adds that "some passages are remarkable for low and intemperate scurrility" (vol. ii. 405, 406).

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much influence to strong religious animosities, especially to hostility to the state religion of England. It might perhaps be difficult to trace sharply and directly through all the colonies any lines of division of this character attributable to such an agency, as distinct and positive as those which manifested themselves in secular affairs, but there can be no question that sectarian influences had an important part in the animosities of the time. It would have been but natural that in this matter the line between the loyal and the disloyal should have been drawn between the English Church and the dissenters, who were the vast majority of the colonists; but this rule was by no means without many marked exceptions. All the Episcopal ministers officiating in the colonies had received ordination in England. Their oath bound them to loyalty. Most of them, too, in the northern provinces, were pensioners of an English missionary society. The test applied to them when the spirit of rebellion was strengthening was whether they would read or omit in their services the prayers for the king. It stood little for them to plead in their defence their oath and their dependence on a foreign fund. Such a plea was a poor one, as being strictly personal and selfish, born of a love of ease and of a cringing spirit. Some of them left their pulpits, and maintained a discreet silence. Those who insisted upon fulfilling all the pledges and duties of their office were in many cases roughly handled. It is to be considered, however, that so far as sectarianism in religion would alienate the colonies from Great Britain, it could not have been a prime agent in the case, for then it would have alienated them from each other, to which result it did not avail. The Tory refugee Judge Jones uses the terms Presbyterians and Episcopalians as almost synonymous with the terms rebels and loyalists. But this was by no means true.[1] The leading patriot John Jay, with many others from his province, was an Episcopalian. The Episcopalians of Virginia, of Maryland, and of the Carolinas were as stiffly opposed to the importation here of English prelates as were the Congregationalists of New England. The Tory Galloway[2] traced our rebellious spirit to the same source as that of the English civil war, viz., to Puritanism. He wrote: "The disaffection is confined to two sets of dissenters, while the people of the Established Church, the Methodists, Lutherans, German Calvinists, Quakers, Moravians, etc., are warmly attached to the British government." Galloway exceeded the strict truth in that statement.

[1] A shining exception to the sweep of Judge Jones's assertion is found in the case of that gifted and eminent man, Dr. William Samuel Johnson, first Senator in the Constitutional Congress from Connecticut, and president of Columbia College. Though not a clergyman, he had been a lay reader in the Episcopal Church, as inheriting from his distinguished father, and accepting through his own convictions, its doctrine and discipline. Strongly conservative, with many fond ties to England and Englishmen from long residence abroad as an agent of his colony, he might naturally have espoused the side of the mother country. Indeed, rather from a suspicion that he would do so than from any overt act of his, he was arrested on an occasion of popular excitement, in 1779. But he proved to be among the wisest and firmest of patriots. See his *Life, by Dr. E. E. Beardsley*, 2d edition, Boston, 1886.

[2] *Reflections*, etc., p. 115.

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The numbers, position, and experiences of Episcopal ministers in the provinces at the period of the war have been recently presented in an elaborate and well-authenticated monograph on the subject.[1] From this it appears that there were at the time not far from two hundred and fifty clergymen, all of foreign ordination. The lack of Episcopal supervision brought with it laxity of discipline. At the southward the church gathered into it the wealthy, the officials of the government and of the army and navy, professional men, and merchants. But their clergy, instead of being, like their few brethren at the North, stipendiaries of a foreign society, largely derived their support from those to whom they ministered, and so, though being under the oath of allegiance, were more free to share the patriotic sentiments of the laity, and they did so. Clergy and laity in the Southern provinces seem, many of them, to have been as strongly opposed, for temporary or other reasons, to the introduction of a foreign prelacy as were those at the North. Several of the Episcopal clergy in the Middle and Southern provinces proved themselves most ardent patriots, not only in discourse but by taking chaplaincies in the Continental armies, and even serving in the ranks and as officers in command. The trial test for deciding their position was in the religious services required of them on the days appointed by Congress for thanksgiving or fasting. Their choice was not a free one between a full or a mutilated service of prayer. The severest sufferers of this class were among the Episcopal ministers of New York and Connecticut, who resolved to stand for loyalty. Some, however, trimmed to time and necessity; others were patriots. Provoost, afterwards the first Bishop of New York, espoused the side of the people.[2]

It was in New England that the "Puritanism" of which Galloway wrote had the prevailing influence; and a very energetic and effective influence it was, working with other agencies in making the English civil government all the more odious because of the lordly prelates, who ruled not only in church, but in state. The inherited and traditionary spirit of New England had kept alive the memory of the ecclesiastical tyranny which had developed Puritanism in Old England, and of the trials and sacrifices by

[1] *The History of the American Episcopal Church, 1587–1883*, by Bishop W. S. Perry, Boston, 1885, vol. i. chap. xxiv., "The Position of the Clergy at the Opening of the War for Independence."

[2] On the records of the New York Provincial Congress, or Convention, is a letter dated July 11, 1776, drafted by Gouverneur Morris, and addressed to Hancock, president of the Continental Congress, which contains the following remarkable proposition: "We take the liberty of suggesting to your consideration the propriety of taking some measures for expunging from the Book of Common Prayer such parts, and discontinuing in the congregations of all other denominations all such prayers, as interfere with the interests of the American cause. It is a subject we are afraid to meddle with. The enemies of America have taken great pains to insinuate into the minds of the Episcopalians that the church is in danger. We could wish that the Congress would pass some resolve to quiet their fears, and we are confident it would do essential service to the cause of America at least in this State." Happily Hancock did not act on this suggestion. Congress might indeed have issued a revised edition of the English Liturgy; but a censorship of the utterances of extemporaneous prayers would have been beyond its range. These extemporaneous devotions were doubtless at the time sufficiently patriotic.

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which deliverance had been secured. Those very New England colonies in which the rebellious spirit was most vigorous had been in but recent years, by help alike of sympathizers and opponents, conservatives of the old ways and reformers with the new, working their own way of relief from their theocratic basis of government, and securing freedom for themselves in belief and worship, with progress in the severance of church and state. They could not patiently contemplate the establishment of prelacy among them. Two occasions, operating as warnings, had freshened the old Puritan spirit of New England just previous to the opening of civil contention. One was the project, which had been zealously pressed, of sending English bishops into the colonies, whose functions the popular mind refused to distinguish between those which they exercised as lords, both spiritual and temporal, in England and those of ordination and confirmation, etc., which was all that was required of them as "superior clergy" here. An animated pamphlet controversy had been waging on this subject a decade before the outbreak of hostilities, in which appeared as a champion on one side the bold and able minister Jonathan Mayhew of Boston, and on the other, Secker, Archbishop of Canterbury.[1] No English prelate ever had functions or presence on our territory. The other reason, for a revival of the hostility here against the Established Church, was found in the coming hither into the old Congregational parishes, and the maintenance here by an English missionary society, of a number of Episcopal ministers. It was charged — not, however, justly — that the benevolent founders of that society had endowed it solely for the support of missionaries to neglected and forlorn persons, — fishermen and others in the colonies, — whereas it was used to promote division and disaffection in places well provided with a ministry. This charge was overstrained, for no missionary was sent to any place where there were not those, few or many, who were actual members of the English Church, or who stood out against the doctrine and discipline of Congregationalism. None the less did hostility to the English Church help largely to stimulate the spirit of rebellion.[2]

The first provincial congress of Massachusetts, assembled in 1774, knew very well the grounds of their reliance when by resolution they sent an address to each and all of the ministers in the province, reminding them of the valued aid and sympathy which their common ancestors in the years of former trials had found in their religious guides, and earnestly appealing for their help and strong efforts among their people in resistance of the tyranny of the mother country. The New England ministers were not slow in responding to — indeed, they had in many cases anticipated — this appeal of their civil leaders. They had a marvellous skill for discerning the vital

[1] See *ante*, chapter i.

[2] The writings of Samuel Adams abound in the expression of opinions similar to the following from the pen of his cousin, John Adams: "If Parliament could tax us, they could establish the Church of England, with all its creeds, articles, tests, ceremonies, and titles, and prohibit all other churches, as conventicles and schism-shops" (*Works*, x. 287, 288).

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relations between politics and religion, while they had a strong repugnance to what was conveyed by the terms "church and state." With very few exceptions, — such, however, there were, in rare cases, of pastors in years and of timid spirits, — the ministers were foremost in inspiriting patriotism and in meeting all the emergencies of the times.[1]

The only organized and official measures taken by any one of the religious denominations in sympathy with the American Revolution was that of the Presbyterians, who had freed themselves from dependence on a civil establishment. The Scotch-Irish Presbyterians on the frontiers of Virginia and North Carolina had stoutly vindicated their religious rights against the Established Church in Virginia, and were among the foremost in asserting their independence of the mother country. With the sturdiest resolution they had successfully triumphed over the Episcopal party in New York and thwarted government influence in its behalf. John Witherspoon, the only clergyman in the Congress of 1776, gave by delegated authority the vote of the Presbyterians for independence.[2]

And now the question may well be asked, Where rests the chief responsibility for bringing to this result the protracted controversy between the mother realm and her colonies? The Declaration of Independence was yet to be made good by a severe struggle on the part of the colonies, and to be accepted by the other party in the issue. It is rarely, if indeed the case has any historical parallel, when so large a measure of the responsibility for bringing about a signal revolution in the great affairs of a nation can, as in this instance, be directly charged upon an individual, and that was his majesty George III.[3] The facts of the case with their full evidence stand now clearly certified. That Declaration, with the event which

[1] See *The Pulpit of the American Revolution: or, the Political Sermons of the Period of 1776. With a Historical Introduction, Notes, and Illustrations. By John Wingate Thornton.* (Boston, 1860.) It contains Election and Thanksgiving sermons by Dr. Mayhew, Dr. Chauncy, Mr. Cook, Mr. Gordon, Dr. Langdon, Mr. West, Mr. Payson, Mr. Howard, and President Stiles, all of them eminent and able divines of Massachusetts and Connecticut, fearlessly bold, yet guided by wisdom.

In the French Archives, among the papers of Choiseul, prime minister of France before our Revolutionary period, there are curious evidences of the intelligent and keenly inquisitive method which that astute statesman employed to acquaint himself thoroughly with the relations of the religious teaching and belief of the people of New England and the spirit of liberty aroused among them. He sent here a messenger to gather information especially upon those as upon many other subjects. He was to collect newspapers, advertisements, and extracts from sermons. It was inferences from such communicative papers, with other interpretations of omens and signs of the times, that helped prepare the government for the alliance of 1778. The French minister sent two emissaries, M. de Fontleroy in 1764 and the Baron De Kalb in 1768. (See Kapp's *Life of John Kalb.*) The latter's letters are copied in the *Sparks MSS.* Cf. the Vicomte de Colleville's *Les missions secrètes du général-major baron de Kalb, et son rôle dans la guerre de l'indépendance américaine* (Paris, 1885). Franklin was in Paris at this time. Cf. E. E. Hale's *Franklin in France*, p. 2.

[2] *American Presbyterianism, its Origin and Early History*, etc. By Charles Augustus Briggs, D. D. (New York, 1885, ch. ix.)

[3] [All that can be said in justification of George III. is said by Mahon (vi. 100). The fact is, that, with the exception of a few like Dean Tucker and John Cartwright, the king's subjects were, like himself, deceived for a long time into believing that the loss of England's colonies would cause her sun to set. It was the king's obstinacy or "steadfastness," as you choose to call it, which kept him longer of that opinion than almost all of his subjects. — ED.]

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it signified, might have come in other ways. Agencies and events were working to it. But that it came when it did, and as it did, he at whose heavy cost it came was largely the conspicuous agent and cause of it. That this is so, let the following tracing of the stages of the developments attest. And by the charge here alleged is meant that the king was mainly instrumental in bringing about the result, not merely by an official or representative responsibility, nor by prerogative, but by the prompting of personal feeling and private decision. It is also to be admitted that the king may have been guided by the purest motives and the loftiest sense of duty to preserve in any way the jewels of his crown and the integrity of his empire. But none the less it was his will and resolve that decided the issue.

As we have seen, the effect of every measure of the British government brought to bear upon the colonies was directly the opposite of what had been intended. Threats and penalties exasperated, but did not intimidate. Seeming concessions and retractions did not conciliate. Contempt and defiance called out corresponding and reciprocal feelings. There was a strict parallelism between the ministerial inventions for securing the mastery and the patriot ingenuity and earnestness for nullifying them. The few incidental accompaniments of popular violence and mobs were so familiar to the people of England at home as to count for little. They were to be regretted and condemned, but they were fully offset by the indiscriminate and vengeful punishments which government visited upon them.

We are to remember that the king, if not the originator and adviser of all these measures, gave them his cordial approval. More and more, as the quarrel ripened, his personal will and resolve asserted themselves, even autocratically. When the catastrophe finally came, his prime minister frankly confessed, that by the king's urgency, and in compliance with his own view of the claims of loyalty, he had been acting against his own clear judgment of what was wise and right, if not against his conscience.[1] Who, then, so much as the king, as sole arbiter, by his own personal decision, substituted arms for debate? The colonies, no longer the aggressive party, were put on the defensive. Still, even after this dropping of the royal gage of battle, the Assembly of Pennsylvania, with its residuum of Quakerism, required of its members the old oath of allegiance to George III., and Dickinson reported to it strongly loyal instructions for its delegates. Is it strange that Franklin refused to take his seat in that body? Two years later, — March 17, 1778, — the king writes to Lord North: "No consideration in life shall make me stoop to opposition. Whilst any ten men in the kingdom will stand by me, I will not give myself up into bondage. I will rather risk my crown than do what I think personally disgraceful. It is impos-

[1] Well might Washington, writing to Dr. Franklin in France, October, 1782, and referring to the delay of the negotiations for peace, emphasize "the persevering obstinacy of the king, the wickedness of his ministry, and the haughty pride of the nation" (Sparks's Franklin, ix. 422).

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sible that the nation should not stand by me. If they will not, they shall have another king, for I will never put my hand to what will make me miserable to the last hour of my life."[1] And again, when the end was at hand, the king, writing to Lord North, March 7, 1780, says: "I can never suppose this country so lost to all ideas of self-importance as to be willing to grant American independence. If that word be ever universally adopted, I shall despair of this country being preserved from a state of inferiority. I hope never to see that day, for, however I am treated, I must love this country."[2]

Recalling the fact that in all previous remonstrances[3] and petitions, without a single exception, whether coming from a convention, an assembly, or a congress, the ministry and Parliament were made to bear the burden of all complaints and reproaches, we note with emphasis that in the Declaration of Independence, for the first time, "the present king of Great Britain" is charged as the offender. Its scathing invectives in its short sentences begin with "He." His tools and supporters are all lost sight of, passed unmentioned. This substitution of the monarch himself as chargeable, through his own persistency, with the whole burden heretofore laid at the door of his advisers indicates the necessity which Congress felt of seeming to sever their plain constitutional allegiance to the monarch, and of ignoring all dependence on his ministers or Parliament, whose supremacy over the colonies they had always denied. Hence the tone and wording of all the previous utterances of Congress, deferential and even fulsome as they now seem, in sparing the king, for the first time, in the Declaration, are changed to give the necessary legal emphasis of the capital letter in *He.* Indeed, the law and the man were essentially as one, for the candid monarch told John Adams, on his subsequent appearance as the minister of the United States, that he was the last person in his realm to consent to the independence of the colonies. The utter hopelessness of the measures of government was obvious to the wiser statesmen of Britain and to those whose observation was guided by simple common sense.[4]

A matter of sharp and reproachful criticism — which has not wholly disappeared from more recent pages of history and comment — was found in what certainly had the seeming of insincerity and duplicity in the earnest

[1] Lord Mahon's *History*, vol. vi. Appen. lviii.

[2] *Ibid.*, vii. Appen. xxix.

[3] An emphatic sentence from the pen of the able and candid historian Lecky may be quoted here. Referring to "the sullen and rancorous nature of an intensity of hatred" towards Chatham, which led the king, against all advice and urgency, to refuse any aid from that noble statesman, Lecky writes: "This episode appears to me the most criminal in the whole reign of George III., and in my own judgment it is as criminal as any of those acts which led Charles I. to the scaffold" (*Hist. of Eng. in the XVIIIth Cent.*, iv. 83).

[4] The Massachusetts refugee, Judge Curwen, thus writes, in London, in 1780: "In this baneful, woful quarrel, such a continued, unbroken series of disappointments, disasters, and mortifying events have taken place, that it seems to me to be morally impossible but the eyes of all thoughtful, prudent, knowing men must open and discern the impolicy and impracticability of accomplishing the great end for which this war was undertaken, — the reduction of the colonies to the obedience of the British Parliament" (Curwen, p. 311).

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professions of loyalty made by leading patriots while the spirit of absolute independence, latent and but thinly veiled, was instigating measures of defiance, and even of open hostility. The patriots, it was boldly charged, had practised a mean hypocrisy. The shock of the disclosure was at the time sudden and severe. Joseph Galloway, though perhaps the most hostile and vengeful, was by no means the least able or the most estranged and disappointed of a class of very prominent men, who avowed that they had been alienated from the patriot cause by the exposed duplicity of its wiliest leaders. They had joined heart and hand in council and measures with those who professed to be seeking only a redress of grievances, with an unqualified loyalty as British subjects to the king and the constitution, and in a disavowal of any idea of independence.

On the other side of the water, the Declaration, as "throwing off the mask of hypocrisy" by the patriots, was a very painful shock to many who had been most friendly and earnest champions of the cause of the colonists. The members of the opposition in Parliament and in high places were taunted by the supporters of government for all their pleading in behalf of rebels. And when, besides the bold avowal of independence, the added measures of a suspension of all commerce with Great Britain, and of an alliance of the patriots with the hereditary enemy of their mother country, came to the knowledge of those who had been our friends, the consternation which it caused them was but natural. Manufacturers and merchants, against whose interests so heavy a blow had been dealt, and all Englishmen who scorned the French, our new ally, might with reason rank themselves as now our enemies. Of course, the ministry and the abetters of the most offensive measures of government availed themselves of the evidence now offered of what they had maintained was the ultimate purpose of the disaffected colonists, hypocritically concealed, and they confidently looked for a wellnigh unanimous approval and support of the vengeful hostilities at once entered upon. It was affirmed that the British officers and soldiers here, who had before been but half-hearted and lukewarm in fulfilling their errand, now became as earnest and impassioned in war measures as if they were fighting Indians, Frenchmen, or Spaniards. Such were really the effects wrought on both sides of the water, not merely by the bold avowal of independence, but by what was viewed as the exposure of a subtle and hypocritical concealment of the purpose of it under beguiling professions of loyalty.

What is there to be said, either by way of explanation or of justification, of the course ascribed to the patriots? It is well to admit freely that there was much said, if not done, that had the seeming of duplicity and insincerity, of secrecy of design and of sinuous dealing. And after yielding all that can be charged of this, we may insist that, in reality, it was nothing beyond the seeming. Neither disguise, nor duplicity, nor hypocrisy, nor artful or cunning intrigue, in any shape or degree, was availed of by the patriots. The result to which they were led was from the first nat-

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ural and inevitable, and it was reached by bold and honest stages, in thinking out and making sure of their way. The facts are all clearly revealed to us in their course of development. The maturing of opinion, till what had been repelled as a calamity was accepted as a necessity, is traceable through the changing events of a few heavily burdened years, if not even of months and days, to say nothing of the symptoms of it which a keen perception may discover during the career of four generations of Englishmen on this continent. Its own natural stages of growth were reached just at the time that it was attempted to bring it under check by artificial restraint of the home government. That government compelled the colonists to ask themselves the two questions: first, if they were anything less than Englishmen; and further, if their natural rights were any less than those of men. There has been much discussion as to when and by whom the idea of American independence was first entertained. It would be very difficult to assign that conception to a date or to an individual. All that was natural and spontaneous in the situation of the colonists would be suggestive of it; all that was artificial, like the tokens of a foreign oversight in matters of government, would be exceptional or strange to it. Husbandmen, mechanics, and fishermen would not be likely to trouble themselves with the ways in which their relations as British subjects interfered with their free range in life. Larger and deeper thinkers, like Samuel Adams, would feel their way down to comprehensive root questions, sure at last to reach the fundamentals of the whole matter, — as, What has the British ministry and Parliament to do with us? It required nine years to mature the puzzling of a peasant over the question of a trifling tax into the conclusion of a republican patriot statesman. Every stage of this process is traceable in abounding public and private papers, with its advances and arrests, its pauses and its quickenings, its misgivings and assurances, in all classes of persons, and in its dimmest and its fullest phases. We have seen how it was working its way in the honest secrecy of a few breasts in the first Congress, even when repelled as a dreaded fatality. Samuel Adams is generally, and with sufficient evidence, credited as having been the first of the leading spirits of the revolt to have reached — at first in private confidence, steadily strengthening into the frankest and boldest avowal — the conviction that the issue opened between the colonies and the mother country logically, necessarily, and inevitably must result in a complete severance of the tie between them. Even at that stage of his earliest insight into the superficial aspect of the controversy, when he is quoted as if hypocritically saying one thing while he intended another, it will be observed that his strong professions of loyalty are qualified by parenthetical suggestions of a possible alternative. Thus, in the Address which he wrote for the Massachusetts Assembly, in 1768, to the Lords of the Treasury, his explicit professions of loyalty for his constituents close with the caveat that this loyalty will conform itself to acquiescence so far as "consists with the fundamental rules of the Constitution."[1] Of course, as the oppressive measures of

[1] Wells's *Adams*, i. p. 164.

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government exasperated the patriots, they were not only led on to discern the full alternative before them, but were unreserved in their expressions of a willingness to meet it, at whatever cost. Still, however, what seemed like hesitation in the boldest was simply a waiting for the slow and timid to summon resolution for decisive action. Of the single measures in Congress preceding the Declaration of Independence, the most farcical and the most likely to be regarded as hypocritical was the second petition to the king, which his majesty spurned. His ministers had to compare with its adulatory insincerities some intercepted letters of John Adams, written nearly at the same time, stinging with defiance and treason. But John Adams well described this petition to the king as "Dickinson's Letter." Dickinson himself is the most conspicuous and true-hearted of the class of men who to the last shrunk from the severance of the tie to the mother country. Yet he was to be the one whose casting vote, by a substitute, was to ratify the great Declaration. There may have been weakness in his urgency that that petition should proffer a final hope of amity, but it was the prompting of thorough manliness and honesty. As we have seen, it was the royal scorn of that petition, backed by a wilful personal espousal of responsibility, which made the king the real prompter of the Declaration of Independence.[1]

Leaving out of view all obligations of the colonies to the mother country, there was still quite another class of very reasonable apprehensions which had a vast influence over the halting minds. What would be the relations of the severed and possibly contentious colonies to each other, with all their separate interests, rivalries, and jealousies? Might not anarchy and civil war make them rue the day when, in rejecting the tempered severity of the rule of a lawful monarch, they had forfeited the privilege of having an arbiter and a common friend?

[1] There is something very significant as well as comical in the following entry in John Adams's Diary in Congress, in 1775, when he had made his way to a full deliverance: "When these people began to see that independence was approaching, they started back. In some of my public harangues, in which I had freely and explicitly laid open my thoughts, on looking round the assembly, I have seen horror, terror, and detestation strongly marked on the countenances of some of the members, whose names I could readily recollect; but as some of them have been good citizens since, and others went over afterwards to the English, I think it unnecessary to record them here" (*Works of John Adams*, ii. p. 407). Mr. Sparks has gathered (*Washington*, Appendix x. vol. ii.) the expressed opinions of such typical patriots as Washington, Franklin, Henry, Madison, Jay, etc., utterly and emphatically disavowing all thoughts or purposes of independence till the crisis made it a matter of necessity, not of choice. It is but candid, however, to note an anticipation of that acute observer Joseph Galloway, whether it was but a surmise or a reasonable inference. In a letter addressed by him, Jan. 13, 1766, to Dr. Franklin, in London, he writes: "A certain sect of people, if I may judge from all their late conduct, seem to look on this as a favorable opportunity of establishing their republican principles, and of throwing off all connection with their mother country. I have reasons to think that they are forming a private union among themselves from one end of the continent to the other" (Sparks's *Franklin*, vii. 305). The assertion of John Jay is most explicit and emphatic: "During the course of my life, and until the second petition of Congress, in 1775, I never did hear any American of any class, or any description, express a wish for the independence of the colonies" (*Life and Writings of John Jay*, ii. p. 410). Mr. Jay probably referred to the contemptuous treatment of that second petition, "Dickinson's Letter," not to its transmission.

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Nor was this the only dread. The Indians were still a formidable foe on the frontiers. So far as they were held in check, it was largely by English arms and influence. Without anticipating the cruel and disgraceful complication of the trouble which was to come, and the aggravations of civil war, by the enlistment of these savages by England as her allies against her former subjects, it was enough for timid colonists looking into the future to realize the power of mischief which lurked with these wild men in the woods. Every further advance of the colonists beyond the boundaries already secured would provoke new hostilities, and remind the pioneers of the value to them of English armaments and reinforcements. And yet once more, those were by no means bugbear alarms which foreboded for the colonists, left to themselves, outrages from French and Spanish intrigue, ambition, and greed of territory. France and Spain had losses and insults to avenge against England, and might seek for reprisals on the undefended colonists. It needs only an intimation, without detail, of the apprehensions which either reason or imagination might conjure from this foreboding, to show how powerfully it might operate with prudent men in suspending their decision between rebellion and loyalty. All these considerations, taken separately and together, whether as resulting in slow and timid maturing of sentiment and of profession in Congress, or as influencing the judgment of patriot leaders, or as guiding the vacillating course of individuals and multitudes, may have given a seeming show of insincerity and duplicity to words contrasted with subsequent deeds. But a clear apprehension of all the alternatives which were then to be balanced will satisfy us that there was little room for hypocrisy to fill.

Some show of reason for charging upon the patriots duplicity and lack of downright frankness was found in their professions of a steadfast, but still a qualified, loyalty. If there was not at first some confusion or vagueness in their own ideas on this point, they certainly set themselves open to such a misunderstanding by the ministry as to leave it in doubt whether they knew their own minds or candidly declared them. The controversy, from its beginning till its close, was constantly alleged to start from this discriminating standard of loyalty: the colonists repudiated the exercise of authority over them by Parliament and the ministry, and yet avowed themselves faithful and loyal subjects of the king. The king could govern and act only through Parliament. How could they repudiate the authority of Parliament and respect that of the king? What was to be the basis, scope, and mode of exercise of his authority? They certainly could not have in view the exercise of an autocracy over them, the restoration of the old royal prerogative which a previous glorious revolution had shattered. The king could exercise his authority in the colonial assemblies only through governors, and those governors had been rendered powerless here. Even the sage and philosophic Franklin found himself perplexed on this point. Writing from London to his son in New Jersey, March 13, 1768, he says: "I know not what the Boston people mean; what is the subordination they

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acknowledge in their Assembly to Parliament, while they deny its power to make laws for them?"[1] Galloway pertinently asked of the first Congress, "if they had any other union of the two countries more constitutional in view, why did they not petition for it?" "The Congress, while they professed themselves subjects, spoke in the language of allies, and were openly acting the part of enemies."[2] How are we to reconcile two statements made by Pitt in the same speech, in January, 1776: "This kingdom has no right to lay a tax on the colonies." "At the same time, on every real point of legislation, I believe the authority of Parliament to be fixed as the Polar Star." Without any attempt to conceive or fashion a definition of their ideal, the good common sense of the patriots at last worked out the conclusion that their emancipation from the Parliament involved a dispensing with the king.[3]

There was no disguising the fact, however, that, with independence declared, there was no such unanimity of purpose among all the members of Congress, still less among their many-minded and vaguely-defined constituency. It was inevitable, therefore, that both a degree of arbitrariness towards halting and censorious objectors, and of harsh severity towards open resistants, should henceforward characterize the measures approved by the patriot leaders. There was a sagacious moderation and prudence in the measures taken by Congress to conciliate and reassure the half-hearted and the hesitating. For the final stand had been taken that nothing short of an achieved independence should be accepted as the issue.

The prime movers in the patriot cause continued to be the main workers for it, and gradually reinforced themselves by new and effective aiders. Astute and able men, well read in history and by no means without knowledge of international law and the methods of diplomacy, surveyed the field before them, provided for contingencies, and found full scope for their wits and wisdom. When we consider the distractions of the times, the overthrow of all previous authority, the presence and threats of anarchy, the lack of unanimity, and the number and virulence of discordant interests, and, above all, that Congress had only advisory, hardly instructive, powers, even with the most willing portion of its constituents, we can easily pardon excesses and errors, and heartily yield our admiration to the noble qualities

[1] *Works*, vii. 391.

[2] *Reflections*, etc., p. 102.

[3] Before this decision was reached, however, Congress, in 1774, made this tentative effort to recognize the unity of the empire in the extending through it of some sovereign power while holding to a local independence, in this form: "From the necessity of the case and a regard to the mutual interests of both countries, we cheerfully consent to the operation of such acts of the British Parliament as are *bonâ fide* restricted to the regulation of our external commerce, for the purpose of securing the commercial advantages of the whole empire to the mother country, and the commercial benefits of its respective members, excluding every idea of taxation, internal and external, for raising a revenue, on the subjects in America, without their consent." This was a seemingly candid and sincere suggestion to harmonize the positions taken by the respective parties in the controversy. Britain, the mistress of the seas, protected the great highways of commerce, and so might regulate the trade of her colonies by the ocean, as she did her own. But these colonies had constitutional charter assemblies with exclusive powers for raising and disposing of their own revenues.

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and virtues of those who proved their claim to leadership. When we read the original papers and the full biographies of these men, we are impressed by the balance and force of their judgment, their power of expressing reasons and convictions, their calm self-mastery, and the fervor of their purposes.

CRITICAL ESSAY ON THE SOURCES OF INFORMATION.

THE source to which naturally we should first apply ourselves for the fullest information on the development of the purpose of independence would be the *Journals of Congress*. But our disappointment would be complete. The same reasons which enjoined on the members secrecy as to the proceedings seem to have deprived the record even of some things that were done and of almost every utterance in debate. We have to look to other sources, the most scattered and fragmentary, to learn the names even of the principal leaders in the debates, and from beginning to end we have not the report, scarcely a summary, of a single speech. Our reasonable inference from such hints is that some ten, or at most fifteen, members were the master-spirits in securing the adoption of measures, while they were opposed by some as earnest as themselves, but not as numerous. But whatever may have been written in the original *Journals* was subjected to a cautious selection when they were printed by a committee. It is only from Jefferson himself, for instance, that we learn (Randall's *Jefferson*, i. 15) how, somewhat to his chagrin, "the rhetoric" of his draft of the Declaration was toned down. Especially do the *Journals*, as printed, suppress all evidences of strong dissension, of which we have abundant hints in fragments from John and Sam. Adams, Franklin, Dickinson, Galloway, Jefferson, Jay, and Livingston. But the *Journals* do spread before us at length sundry admirable papers, drawn by able and judicious committees.[1]

The reader must turn to the notes appended to chapter i. of the present volume for an examination of some of the leading pamphlets occasioned by the Congresses of 1774 and 1775, and for an examination of their opposing views, with more or less warning of the inevitable issue of independence.

One may easily trace in the writings of Franklin, extending through the years preceding the Revolution, and through all the phases of the struggle, seeming inconsistencies in the expression of his opinions and judgment. But these are readily explicable by changes in time and circumstance. We must pause, however, upon the strong statement made by Lecky in the following sentence: "It may be safely asserted that if Franklin had been able to guide American opinion, it would never have ended in revolution."[2]

Opportune in the date of its publication, as well as of mighty cogency in its tone and substance, was that vigorous work by Thomas Paine, a pamphlet bearing the title "Common Sense." If we take merely the average between the superlatively exalted tributes paid to his work as the one supremely effective agency for bringing vast numbers of the people of the colonies to front the issue of independence, and the most moderate judgments which have estimated its real merit, we should leave to be assigned to it the credit of being the most inspiriting of all the utterances and publications of the time for popular effect. The opportuneness of the appearance of this remarkable essay consisted in the fact that it came into the hands of multitudes, greedy to read it, a few months before

[1] A very admirable and faithful digest of the proceedings of Congress, the materials and incidents being gathered by wide and diligent research, may be found in the ninth chapter of *The Rise of the Republic of the United States*, by Richard Frothingham (Boston, 1872).

[2] *History of England in the XVIIIth Century* iii. p. 377.

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the burning question of independency was to be settled. The papers issued by Congress might well answer the needs of the most intelligent classes of the people, in reconciling them to the new phase of the struggle. But there were large numbers of persons who needed the help of some short and easy argument, homely in style and quotable between plain neighbors. And this eighteen-penny pamphlet met that necessity. It appeared anonymously. John Adams says it was ascribed to his pen. Paine had been in confidential intercourse with Franklin, and the sagacious judgment of that philosopher doubtless suggested the form and substance of some of its contents, and may have kept out of it some things less apt or wise. Washington, Franklin, and John Adams welcomed it as a vigorous agency for persuading masses of simple and honest men that their rights must now be taken into their own hands for vindication. The character of the writer alienated from him the regard of those who could and who would willingly have advanced his interests, and made him to multitudes an object of horror and contempt. Though his pamphlet bore the title of "Common Sense," Gouverneur Morris says that that was a quality which Paine himself wholly lacked. Posterity, however, may well accord to him as a writer the high consideration given to him by his contemporaries, of having happily met by his pen a crisis and a pause in the state of the popular mind. Franklin wrote that "the pamphlet had prodigious effects."[1]

Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* was published in the same year. Wise men have often affirmed that if it had appeared a generation earlier, and if the doctrines and principles which it advocated had passed into the minds of statesmen and economists, peaceful rather than warlike measures would have disposed of the controversy. It required the lapse of twoscore years to convince English statesmen and economists of the practical wisdom of the leading principles advanced by this college professor. He maintained the general viciousness and folly of the English colonial administration; that while even the restricted commercial monopoly was more generous than the colonial rule of any other governments, the prohibition of manufactures was mischievous and oppressive. He agreed with Dean Tucker, that a peaceful separation of the colonies would benefit rather than harm the mother country. Yet, under existing circumstances, such a separation was

[1] A very significant reference to the mixed qualities recognized in Paine by his contemporaries is found in *Men and Times of the Revolution; or Memoirs of Elkanah Watson*, etc. (New York, 1856). Mr. Watson, a native of Plymouth, was patriotic in his sentiments, and was on mercantile business in Europe during the war, honored with the friendship of Dr. Franklin and John Adams in Paris. His brother, Benj. Marston Watson, of Marblehead, was a noted loyalist. (See a "Memoir" of him in *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, Oct., 1873.) When Elkanah was at Nantes in 1781, Paine arrived there as secretary of Colonel Laurens, "and took up his quarters at my boarding-place. He was coarse and uncouth in his manners, loathsome in his appearance, and a disgusting egotist. Yet I could not repress the deepest emotions of gratitude towards him, as the instrument of Providence in accelerating the declaration of our independence. He certainly was a prominent agent in preparing the public sentiment of America for that glorious event."

A very fair estimate of the qualities in Paine's pamphlet which adapted it for popular effect is the following, by the English historian Adolphus: "His pamphlet was replete with rough, sarcastic wit, and he took, with great judgment, a correct aim at the feelings and prejudices of those whom he intended to influence. Writing to fanatics, he drew his arguments and illustrations from the holy Scriptures; his readers, having no predilection for hereditary titles, distinctions to them unknown, received with applause his invectives and sneers at hereditary monarchy; a notion of increasing opulence, and false calculations on their population and means of prosperity, had rendered them arrogant and self-sufficient, and consequently disposed them to relish the arguments he employed to prove the absurdity of subjugating a large continent to a small island on the other side of the globe. To inflame the resentment of the Americans, every act of the British government towards them was represented in the most ungracious light," etc. (Adolphus, ii 400). A most thoroughly candid and discriminating estimate of the character and abilities, the good and the bad elements in Paine, may be found in a letter, not for publication, by Joel Barlow to Cheetham, Paine's biographer (*Life and Letters of J. Barlow*, by Charles Burr. Todd, 1886, pp. 236–239). Cheetham meanly published this letter.

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impracticable, because neither the government nor the people of the realm would seriously entertain the proposition.[1]

One of the best expositions of the views held by some of the Tory writers, that the seeds of independency were sown with the early settlements and nurtured through their history, is given in a tract by Galloway,[2] which was published in London in 1780, as *Historical and Political Reflections on the Rise and Progress of the American Rebellion. In which the Causes of that Rebellion are pointed out, and the Policy and Necessity of offering to the Americans a System of Government founded in the Principles of the British Constitution, are clearly demonstrated. By the Author of Letters to a Nobleman on the Conduct of the American War.* He pleads that the rebellion has been encouraged by the assertion "of the injustice and oppression of the present reign by a plan formed by the administration for enslaving the colonies," and asserts that the mother country had fostered the infancy and weakness of the colonies, had espoused their quarrels, and, at an enormous cost of debt, had defended them. "The colonies are very rich and prosperous, with more than a quarter of the population of Great Britain, and should share its burdens. The rebellion did not spring from a dread of being enslaved." The writer then ably and justly traces its origin to the principles of the Puritan exiles, from whose passion for religious freedom has grown that for civil independence. He attributes much influence helpful to rebellion to the organization among the Presbyterians at Philadelphia, in 1764, which united by correspondence with the Congregationalists of New England. The other sects were generally averse to measures of violent opposition to authority. The measures of government are vindicated, and all trouble is traced to a faction in New England, sympathized with and led on by a similar faction at home. The "Circular Letter," bringing the colonies into accord, wrought the mischief. Two sharply divided parties at once were formed, or proved to exist: the one defining and standing for the right of the colonies with a redress of grievances, on the basis of a solid constitutional union with the mother country, and opposed to sedition and all acts of violence; the other resolved by all means, even though covert and fraudulent, to throw off allegiance, appeal to arms, run the venture of anarchy, and assert, and if possible attain, independence. The latter party, acting with some temporary reserve and caution, opposed all peaceable propositions, and covertly worked for their own ends. They used most effectively a system of expresses between Philadelphia and the other towns, Sam. Adams being the artful and diligent fomenter of all this mischief. By his guile, Congress was brought to approve the Re-

[1] Dr. Josiah Tucker, Dean of Gloucester, sought to be an oracle alike on its commercial and political bearings. He had well informed himself about the history and condition of the colonies. He thought it a mistake that Britain had broken the power of the French, and, by withdrawing the threat of their presence over the English colonists, had left them to set up for independence. The idea that their disaffection began with the Stamp Act he repudiated, as disproved by their restiveness and truculency from their first settlements, and from the occasion there had always been for the interposition of sharp measures of government for restraining them. His opinion of their general character was highly unfavorable, but he was thoroughly satisfied with the impossibility of subduing them, and even of the inexpediency of retaining a forced relation to them. His advice was that Britain should at once give over its attempts at subjugation, and even acquiesce in leaving them to take care and govern themselves, at least till they should repent of their folly. He anticipated, as the solution of wisdom, the complete abandonment of any interference with the recusant Americans, maintaining that the methods of profitable commerce, which would secure English interests and supremacy, would be more effective than a fretting interference with them. His views — which, looked at in the retrospect, appear thoroughly sagacious — were, to most of his contemporaries, either visionary or exasperating. Tucker set forth the positive facts, that while war was most ruinous to the interests of commerce, those interests ought to serve to the security of peace. The war of England against the Spanish right of search had won no benefit, but had added sixty millions sterling to the debt of the realm. The late French war had cost ninety millions more, and by relieving the colonists of all dread of the French had encouraged them to set up for independence.

[2] For further account of Galloway as a controversialist, see *post*, the section on the Loyalists.

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solves of the Mass. Suffolk Conference, which declared "that no obedience is due to acts of Parliament affecting Boston," and provided for an organization of the provincial militia against government. He proceeded to argue that "the American faction," as in the fourth resolve of their Bill of Rights, explicitly declare their colonial independence. This was followed by an address to his majesty, — not calling it a petition, — and which the writer proceeded to analyze with much acuteness, as being vague and evasive in its professions, and suggestive of conditions which would prove satisfactory. Finally, "the mask was thrown off," and the casting vote of the "timid and variable Mr. Dickinson" carried the Declaration of Independence. "Samuel Adams, the great director of their councils, and the most cautious, artful, and reserved man among them, did not hesitate, as soon as the vote of independence had passed, to declare in all companies that he had labored upwards of twenty years to accomplish the measure." Mr. Galloway closes with sharp strictures upon the bewildered and vacillating policy which the government has heretofore pursued, and pleads for a firm and generous "constitutional union" between the realm and the colonies. The growth of the spirit of independence necessarily makes a part of all general histories of the war, which are characterized in another place.

George E. Ellis.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

THE claim of Chalmers that the passion for independence had latently existed from the very foundation of the New England colonies[1] had been early denied by Dummer in his *Defence of the N. E. Charters*. John Adams[2] had been outspoken in his advocacy of independence for more than a year before R. H. Lee introduced his resolution into Congress. He had avowed it in letters, which the British intercepted in July, 1775, and printed in a Boston newspaper. If Josiah Quincy, Jr. (*Memoirs*, 250, 341), can be believed, he found Franklin in London in 1774 holding ideas "extended on the broad scale of total emancipation" (Sparks's *Franklin*, i. 379). The resolves of Mecklenburg County in North Carolina, in May, 1775, were strongly indicative. John Jay traced the beginning of an outspoken desire to the rejection by the king of the petition of the Congress of 1775 (*N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, July, 1776). In the autumn of that year it is certain that the passion for independence animated the army round Boston (Frothingham's *Siege of Boston*, 263), and in December James Bowdoin was confident that the dispute must end in independence (*Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, xii. 228). There was very far from any general adhesion to the belief in its inevitableness at all times during 1775. Washington was not conscious of the wish (Sparks, i. 131, ii. 401; Smyth, ii. 457). Gov. Franklin was expressing to Dartmouth the prevalence of a detestation of such views (*Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, xiv. 342). The English historians have dwelt on this (Mahon, vi. 92, 94; Lecky, iii. 414, 447, iv. 41).[3]

[1] *Introduction to the Hist. of the Revolt*, and in his preface to his *Opinions of eminent lawyers*. Cf. J. R. Seeley on the accountability of the old colonial system for the revolt of the American colonies. *Expansion of England*, lecture iv. Cf. W. T. Davis's *Ancient Landmarks of Plymouth*, p. 75. On religious causes, see B. Adams's *Emancipation of Mass.* (last chap.).

[2] *Works*, ii. 411, 413, iii. 45, ix. 591, 596, x. 284, 359, 394; *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, xliv. 300, 465; *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, July, 1876.

[3] There is help in tracing the sporadic instances of the independent spirit to be found in Sparks's App. to his *Washington* (ii. 496), in Frothingham's *Rise of the Republic* (pp. 154, 245, 291, 315, 364, 428, 438, 449, 452, 469, 483, 489, 499, 506, 509); in Hutchinson's *Massachusetts* (iii. 134, 264, 265, — cf. *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, xix. 135); in Jefferson's *Notes on Virginia;* in Galloway's *Examination;* in Force's *American Archives*, 4th ser., ii. 696, and vi., index, under "Independence;" in Bancroft, vii. 301, viii. ch. 64, 65, 68; in Grahame, iv. 315; in J. C. Hamilton's *Repub. of the U. S.*, i. 110; Palfrey's *New England*, i. 308, ii. 266; *Mem. of Josiah Quincy, Jr.*, 228; Wells's *Sam. Adams*, ii. 242, 352; Greene's *Nath. Greene*, i. 122; Austin's *Gerry*, ch. 13; Rives's *Madison*, i. 108, 124.

The position of parties in Congress can be traced in Randall's *Jefferson*, i. 153; Read's *Geo. Read; John Adams's Works*, i. 220, 517, ii. 31–75, 93; Pitkin's *United States*, i. 362.

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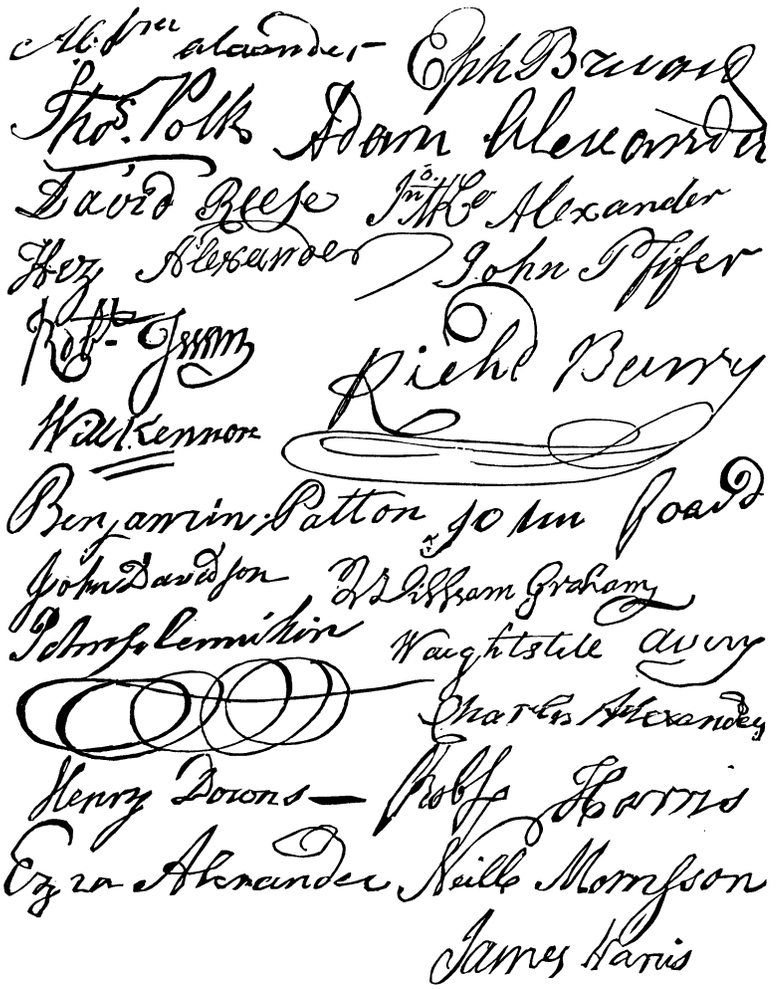

AUTOGRAPHS OF THE MECKLENBURG COMMITTEE, MAY 31, 1775.[1]

[1] From the plate in W. D. Cooke's *Rev. Hist. of No. Carolina*, p. 64. Cf. Lossing's *Field-Book*, ii. 619, for another fac-simile and accounts of the signers; also see C. L. Hunter, *Sketches of Western North Carolina* (Raleigh, 1877, p. 39). It has been strenuously claimed and denied that, at a meeting of the people of Mecklenburg County, in North Carolina, on May 20, 1775, resolutions were passed declaring their independence of Great Britain. The facts in the case appear to be these: — On the 31st of May, 1775, the people of this county did pass resolutions quite abreast of the public sentiment of that time, but not venturing on the field of independency further than to say that these resolutions were to remain in force till Great Britain resigned its pretensions. These resolutions were well written, attracted notice, and were copied into the leading newspapers of the colonies, North and South, and can be found in various later works (Lossing's *Field-Book*, ii. 619, etc.). A copy of the *S. Carolina Gazette* containing them was sent by Governor Wright, of Georgia, to Lord Dartmouth, and was found by Bancroft in the State Paper Office, while in the *Sparks MSS.* (no. lvi.) is the record of a copy sent to the home government by Governor Martin of North Carolina, with a letter dated June 30, 1775. Of these resolutions there is no doubt (Frothingham's *Rise of the Republic*, 422). In 1793, or earlier, some of the actors in the proceeding, apparently ignorant that the record of these resolutions had been preserved in the newspapers, endeavored to supply them from memory, unconsciously intermingling some of the phraseology of the Declaration of July 4th in Congress, which gave them the tone of a pronounced independency. Probably through another dimness of memory they affixed the date of May 20, 1775, to them. These were first printed in the *Raleigh Register*, April 30, 1819. They are found to resemble in some respects

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Early in 1776 the passion for independence gathered head. In March, Edmund Quincy thought the feeling was universal in the Northern colonies (*N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, 1859, p. 232). Francis Dana, just home from England, was saying that he was satisfied no reconciliation was possible (Sparks, *Corresp. of the Rev.*, i. 177). The probability of independence was recognized in the instructions which Congress gave to Silas Deane in March, on his sailing for Europe. In April came the violent measure in Congress of abolishing the British custom laws. The press was beginning to give the warning note,[1] but not without an occasional counter statement, as when the *N. Y. Gazette* (April 8, 1776) asserted that Congress had never lisped a desire for republicanism or independence. Sam Adams was urgent (Wells, ii. 397). John Adams was writing to Winthrop, of Cambridge, to restrain him from urging Massachusetts to break precipitately the union of the colonies (*Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, xliv. 298), and he was counselling Joseph Ward to be patient, for it "required time to bring the colonies all of one mind; but," he adds, "time will do it" (*Scribner's Mag.*, xi. 572).

May was the decisive month, and events marched rapidly. On the 1st, Massachusetts set up a committee to conduct the government of the province in the name of the people.[2] On the 4th the last Colonial Assembly of Rhode Island renounced its allegiance (*Newport Hist. Mag.*, Jan., 1884, p. 131). A letter of Gen. Lee to Patrick Henry, on May 7th, has raised a doubt of Henry's steadfastness (Force, 5th ser., i. 95), but Henry assisted in that vote of the Virginia Convention, on the 15th, which instructed its representatives in Congress to move a vote of independence.[3] R. H. Lee wrote to Charles Lee that "the proprietary colonies do certainly obstruct and perplex the American machine."[4] Dickinson, as representing these proprietary governments, saw something different from independency in John Adams's motion of May 15th, that "the several colonies do establish governments of their own;" but when that vote had passed, Adams and everybody else, as he says, considered it was a practical throw-

the now known resolves of May 31st, as well as the national Declaration in a few phrases. In 1829 Martin printed them, much altered, in his *North Carolina* (ii. 272), but it is not known where this copy came from. In 1831 the State printed the text of the 1819 copy, and fortified it with recollections and certificates of persons affirming that they were present when the resolutions were passed on the 20th: *The Declaration of Independence by the Citizens of Mecklenburg County, N. C., on the twentieth day of May, 1775, with documents, and proceedings of the Cumberland Association* (Raleigh, 1831). This report of the State Committee is printed also in 4 Force, ii. 855. The resolves are reprinted in *Niles's Reg.* (1876, p. 313); in Caldwell's *Greene;* in Lossing (ii. 622), and in other places. Frothingham says he has failed to find any contemporary reference in manuscript or print to these May 20th resolutions. Jefferson (*Memoir and Corresp.*, iv. 322; Randall's *Jefferson*, 1858, vol. iii. App. 2) denied their authenticity, and J. S. Jones supported their genuineness in his *Defence of the Revolutionary History of North Carolina* (Boston, 1834). In 1847 Rev. Thomas Smith, in his *True Origin and Source of the Mecklenburgh and National Declaration of Independence*, agreed to the priority of the May 20th resolutions, but thought that both those and the national Declaration were drawn in part from the ordinary covenants of the Scottish Presbyterians, — hence agreeing naturally in some of their phraseology.

The principal attempts to sustain the authenticity of the resolutions of May 20th are F. L. Hawks's lecture in W. D. Cooke's *Revolutionary Hist. of North Carolina*, and W. A. Grahame's *Hist. Address on the Mecklenburg Centennial at Charlotte, N. C.* (N. Y. 1875). The adverse view, held generally by students, is best expressed in J. C. Welling's paper in the *No. Amer. Rev.*, April, 1874, and in H. B. Grigsby's *Discourse on the Virginia Convention of 1776* (p. 21). John Adams was surprised on their production in 1819 (*Works*, x. 380–83). Cf. further in Moore's *North Carolina*, i. 187; *No. Carolina Univ. Mag.*, May, 1853; Bancroft's *United States*, orig. ed., vii. 370, and final revision, iv. 196, and also in *Hist. Mag.*, xii. 378; Gay's *Pop. Hist. U. S.*, iii. 474; Lossing's *Field-Book*, ii. 619; Johnson's *Traditions and Reminiscences of the Amer. Rev. in the South* (Charleston, 1851, p. 76); *Amer. Hist. Rec.*, iii. 200; *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, July, 1882, p. 507; *Southern Lit. Messenger*, v. 417, 748.

The antedating of the Congressional Declaration of July 4, 1776, by local bodies, stirred beyond a wise prudence, might well have happened in days when the air was full of such feelings; but they were of little effect, except the Suffolk Resolves of Sept. 6, 1774, which were adopted by the Congress of 1774. Perhaps the earliest of these ebullitions were some votes passed by the town of Mendon, in Massachusetts, in 1773 (*Amer. Antiq. Soc. Proc.*, April, 1870). A fac-simile of the record is given in Gay's *Pop. Hist. U. S.*, iii. 472.

[1] *Boston Gazette*, April 15th and 29th; *Penna. Evening Post*, April 20th, etc. Several of these are quoted in Moore's *Diary*.

[2] *Declaration of Independence by the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, May 1, 1776, by H. B. Dawson*, N. Y., 1862; or *Hist. Mag.*, May, 1862.

[3] *Adams's Works*, iv. 201; *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, May, 1884, p. 369; Bancroft, viii. ch. 64; Force, 4th ser., vi. 1524.

[4] *N. Y. Hist. Coll.*, 1872, p. 26; and on the timidity of Penna., Reed's *Reed*, i. 199–202.

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ing off of allegiance, and rendered the formal declaration of July 4th simply necessary.[1] Hawley and Warren now wrote to Sam Adams, inquiring why this hesitancy in declaring what even now exists? (Wells, ii. 393); and Winthrop urges the same question upon John Adams (*Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, xliv. 306). As the debates went on, reassuring notes came from New England in respect to the Virginia resolutions. Connecticut took action on June 14th (Hinman's *Connecticut during the Rev.*, 94). Langdon wrote from New Hampshire, June 26th, that he knew of none who would oppose it (*Hist. Mag.*, vi. 240). The vote of July 2d finished the issue. Honest belief, intimidation, a run for luck, and more or less of self-interest[2]

THOMAS JEFFERSON. (*After picture owned by T. J. Coolidge, of Boston.*)[3]

1 *Works*, ii. 489, 510; *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, xliv. 466; Jameson's *Constitutional Conventions*, pp. 115, 116.

2 *No. Amer. Rev.*, by L. Sabine, April, 1848.

3 After a painting in monochrome by Stuart, which was formerly at Monticello, and is now owned by Jefferson's great-grandson, T. Jefferson Coolidge, of Boston. It was painted during Jefferson's presidency. An engraving from a copy owned by Mrs. John W. Burke, of Alexandria, Va., is given in John C. Fremont's *Memoirs of my Life*, vol. i. p. 12 (N. Y., 1887). A portrait of Jefferson, three quarters length, sitting, with papers in his lap, was painted for John Adams by M. Brown, and is engraved in Bancroft's *United States*, orig. ed., vol. viii. A picture by Neagle is engraved in Delaplaine's *Repository* (1835). The profile by Memin is in Gay's *Pop. Hist. U. S.*, iii. 484. There are various likenesses by Stuart: a full-face and a profile, owned by T. Jefferson Coolidge, of Boston, — the profile is mentioned above, and the full-face is one of a series of the Five Presidents, and it has been engraved in Higginson's *Larger History;* a full-length, belonging to the heirs

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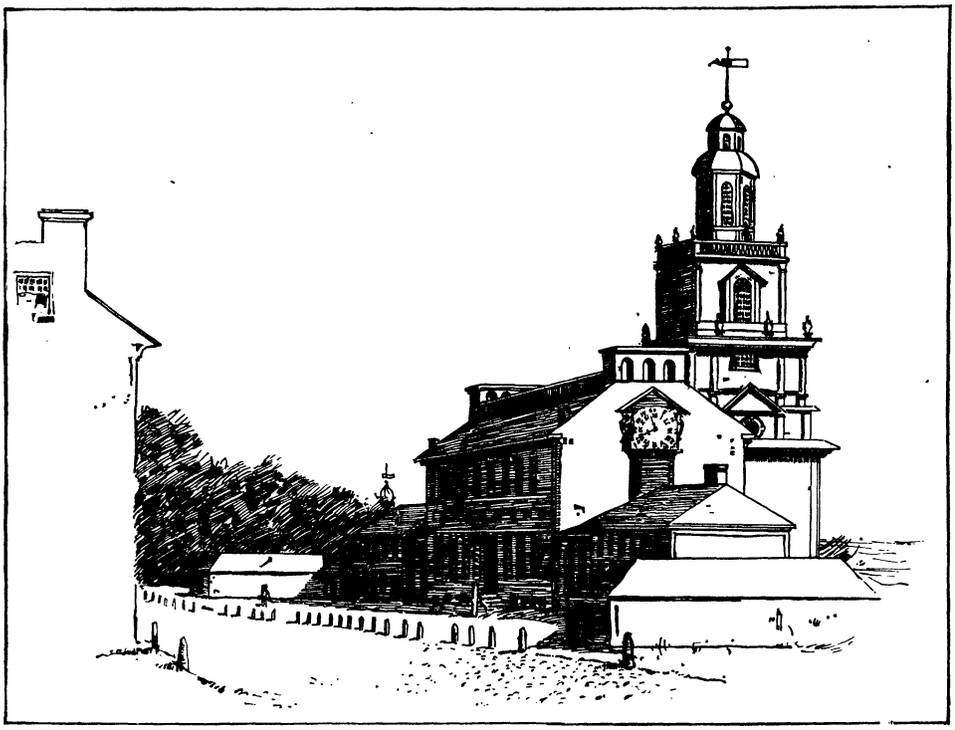

STATE HOUSE, PHILADELPHIA, 1778.[1]

of Col. T. J. Randolph, of Edgehill, Va. (engraved in stipple by D. Edwin); and other pictures in the Capitol, in the White House, at Bowdoin College, and in the possession of Edw. Coles, of Philadelphia (engraved by J. B. Forrest). The picture engraved in Sanderson's *Signers*, vii., is a Stuart. A photogravure, made of the one at Bowdoin College, is given in an account of the art collections there, issued by the college.

Lossing, in a paper on "Monticello," Jefferson's home, in *Harper's Mag.*, vol. vii., pictures some of the memorials of Jefferson (cf. also *Scribner's Monthly*, v. 148), and adds views of the houses of other signers of the Declaration. This is done also by Brotherhead in his *Book of the Signers*, together with rendering in facsimile autograph papers of each of them. Cf. J. E. Cooke on Jefferson in *Harper's Mag.*, liii. p. 211; and also "The Virginia Declaration of Independence, or a group of Virginia Statesmen," with various cuts, in the *Mag. of Amer. History*, May, 1884, p. 369, giving portraits of Archibald Cary, Edmund Pendleton, Patrick Henry, R. H. Lee, Geo. Mason, Thomas Nelson, Jr., Benj. Harrison, Edmund Randolph, James Madison, with views also of Gunston Hall (Mason's home), Henry's house, Harrison's mansion of Berkeley, and of the old Raleigh tavern, associated with the patriots' meetings.

[1] This view of the building in which Congress sat is from the *Columbian Magazine*, July, 1787. Cf. Scharf and Westcott's *Philadelphia*, i. 322, and Egle's *Pennsylvania*, p. 186; *Harper's Mag.*, iii. 151. An architect's drawing of the front is on a folding sheet in *A new and complete Hist. of the Brit. Empire in America* (London, 1757?). Cf. other views in Lossing's *Field-Book*, ii. 272, 288. A water-color view by R. Peale is now preserved in the building. Cf. Belisle's *Hist. of Independence Hall;* Col. F. M. Etting's *Memorials of 1776*, his *Hist. of the Old State House* (1876), and his paper in the *Penn Monthly*, iii. 577; Lossing and others in *Potter's Amer. Monthly*, vi. 379, 455, vii. 1, 67, 477; John Savage's illustrated article in *Harper's Monthly*, xxxv. p. 217. Between 1873 and 1875 the hall was restored nearly to its ancient appearance, and now has some of the furniture in it used at the time of the Declaration. Cf. view in Gay, iii. 481, and Higginson's *Larger Hist.*, 278. It has become a museum to commemorate the Revolutionary characters. The reports of the committee of restoration were printed. Cf. Scharf and Westcott, i. 318, and Col. Etting's *History;* also B. P. Poore's *Descriptive Catal. of Government Publications*, p. 945.

For the conditions of living in Philadelphia, and the appearance of the town at this time and during the war, see *Watson's Annals;* Scharf and Westcott's *Philadelphia* (ch. xvi., 1765–1776, xvii., 1776–1778, xviii., 1778–1783); Henry C. Watson's *Old Bell of Independence* (Philad., 1852, — later known as *Noble Deeds of our Forefathers*); R. H. Davis in *Lippincott's Mag.* (July, 1876), xviii. 27, and in *Harper's Monthly*, lii.

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A Declaration by the Representatives of the UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, in General Congress assembled.

ORIGINAL DRAFT OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.[1]

When in the course of human events it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature & of nature's god entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal & independent; that from that equal creation they derive rights inherent & inalienable, among which are the preservation of life, & liberty, & the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that whenever any form of government

pp. 705, 868; and F. D. Stone on "Philadelphia Society a hundred years ago, or the reign of Continental money," in *Penna. Mag. of Hist.*, iii. 361. The diaries of Christopher Marshall (Albany, 1877) and of James Allen (*Penna. Mag. of Hist.*, July, 1885, pp. 176, 278, 424) are of importance in this study.

[1] This reproduces only the sentences near the beginning in the handwriting of Thomas Jefferson, showing his corrections. Later in the manuscript there are corrections, of no great extent, in the handwriting of John Adams and Benj. Franklin. The original paper is in the Patent Office at Washington, and is printed in Jefferson's *Writings*, i. 26; in Randall's *Jefferson*; in the *Declaration of Independence* (Boston, 1876, pub-

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had made the colonies free on paper, and compelled anew the conflict which was to make their pretensions good.

The resolutions of independency of June 7th, introduced by R. H. Lee, in accordance with instructions from Virginia,[1] are not preserved either in the MS. or printed journals, and John Adams tells us (*Works*, iii. 45) much was purposely kept out of the records; but they have been found in the secretary's files, and are given in fac-simile in Force (4th ser., vi. p. 1700). Of the proceedings and debates which followed we have, beside the printed journals (i. 365, 392), three manuscript journals.[2] For details we must go to the memoranda made by Jefferson from notes taken near the time.[3] There seems no doubt that John Adams was the leading advocate of the Declaration,[4] and such traces as are found of other speakers are noted in Bancroft, orig. ed., viii. 349; Wells's *Sam. Adams*, ii. 413, 433; Randall's *Jefferson*, i. 182. Bancroft draws John Adams's character with some vigor (viii. 309). Dickinson made the main speech against Adams. Bancroft abridges it from Dickinson's own report (viii. 452); Ramsay (i. 339) sketched it. (Cf. Niles's *Principles*, 1876, p. 400, and *John Adams's Works*, iii. 54.) Adams thought Dickinson's printed speech very different from the one delivered. Galloway, in his *Examination* before Parliament, gave only the flying rumors of what passed. The later writers summarize the debates and proceedings.[5]

lished by the city), where is also a reduced fac-simile of the engraved document as signed. Cf. Guizot's *Washington*, Atlas. Lossing (*Field-Book*, ii. 281) gives a fac-simile of a paragraph nearly all of which was omitted in the final draft, as was the paragraph respecting slavery (Jefferson's *Memoir and Corresp.*, i. p. 16). A letter of Jefferson to R. H. Lee, July 8, 1776, accompanying the original draft, showing the changes made by Congress, is in Lee's *Life of R. H. Lee*, i. 275. For accounts of various early drafts, and for John Adams's instrumentality in correcting it, see C. F. Adams's *John Adams*, i. 233, ii. 515. Cf. also Parton's *Jefferson*, ch. 21; and his *Franklin*, ii. 126. John Adams contended that the essence of it was in earlier tracts of Otis and Sam. Adams (*Works*, ii. 514).

On the literary character of the document, see Greene's *Historical View*, p. 382; the lives of Jefferson by Tucker, Parton, Randall, John T. Morse, Jr. The similarity of the preamble of the Constitution of Virginia and certain parts of the Declaration have been taken to show that Jefferson plagiarized (*New York Review*, no. 1), but the testimony of a letter of George Wythe to Jefferson, July 27, 1776, seems to make it clear that Jefferson was the writer of that part of the Constitution, though Geo. Mason formed the body of it. Cf. also Wirt's *Patrick Henry* and Tucker's *Jefferson*.

The text of the Declaration as Jefferson originally wrote it will be found in Randall's *Jefferson*, p. 172; Niles's *Weekly Register*, July 3, 1813; Timothy Pickering's *Review of the Cunningham Correspondence* (1824), the *Madison Papers*. These copies do not always agree, since different drafts were followed. It is given, with changes indicated as made by Congress, in Jefferson's *Works*, i.; Russell's *Life and Times of Fox;* Lee's *R. H. Lee*. John Adams (*Works*, ii. 511) gives the reasons why Jefferson was put at the head of the committee for drafting the Declaration (*Potter's American Monthly*, vii. 191).

Trumbull's well-known picture of the committee presenting the Declaration in Congress was made known through A. B. Durand's engraving in 1820. The medals commemorating the event are described in Baker's *Medallic Portraits of Washington*, p. 32. The house in Philadelphia in which Jefferson wrote the Declaration of Independence is shown in Scharf and Westcott's *Philadelphia* (i. 320); Watson's *Annals of Philadelphia* (iii.); Brotherhead's *Signers* (1861, p. 110); *Potter's American Monthly*, vi. 341; Gay's *Pop. Hist. U. S.*, iii. 483; Higginson's *Larger Hist. U. S.*, 274. The desk on which he wrote it was for a long time in the possession of Mr. Joseph Coolidge of Boston, and at his death passed by his will to the custody of Congress. Randall's *Jefferson*, i. 177; *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, iii. 151.

[1] Passed May 15th, and written by Edmund Pendleton, — Rives's *Madison*, i. 123, 130. For R. H. Lee see *Life* by R. H. Lee, Jr.; Sanderson's *Signers;* Brotherhead's *Book of Signers*, etc.

[2] The record is scant in the one called "Secret Domestic Journal." These are described in M. Chamberlain's *Authentication*, etc., p. 17.

[3] In Jefferson's *Writings*, i. 10, 96; *Madison Papers* (1841), i. 9; Elliot's *Debates*, vol. i. 60; Read's *George Read*, 226. There are other accounts in *John Adams's Works* (i. 227, iii. 30, 55, ix. 418). John Adams's letter to Mercy Warren (1807) is in Frothingham's *Rise of the Republic* (App.) and in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, xliv. 465.

[4] *Works*, i. 229, and Mellen Chamberlain's *John Adams, the Statesman of the Revolution* (Boston, 1884).

[5] Bancroft, viii. ch. 65; Wells's *Sam. Adams*, ii. ch. 41, 42; Rives's *Madison*, i. 125; C. F. Adams's *John Adams's Works*, i. 227; and a brief but clear exposition in Lecky (iii. 498). The reasons for and against the Declaration are summarized in Read's *George Read*, 226, 247; and Smyth (*Lectures*, ii. 370) gives from an English point of view the reasons which rendered separation and independence inevitable. The lives of the leading participants — Jefferson, the two Adamses, R. H. Lee, Franklin — necessarily include accounts.

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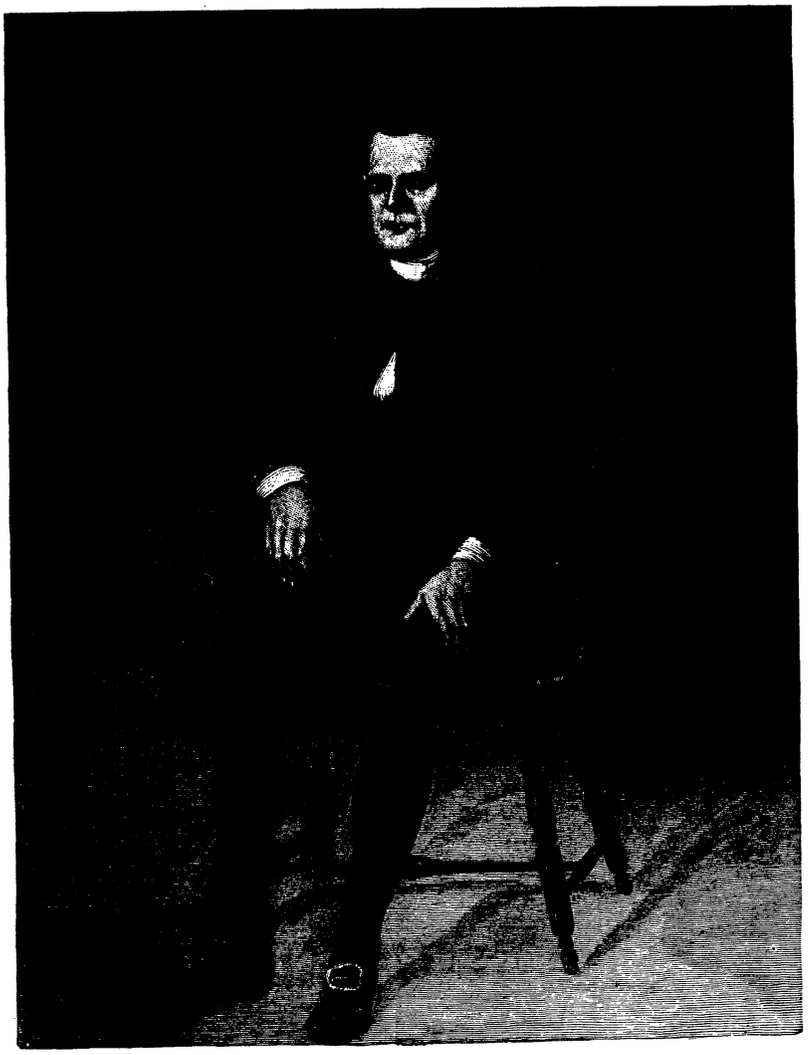
There is some confusion in later days in the memory of participants, by which the decision for independence on July 2d is not kept quite distinct from the formal expression of it on July 4th. (Cf. McKean in *John Adams*, x. 88.)

It was the New York, and not the New Jersey, delegates who were not instructed to vote for the Declaration (Wells, i. 226). The position of New York is explained by W. L. Stone in *Harper's Mag.*, July, 1883. The instructions from Pennsylvania and Delaware came late.[1]

Notwithstanding that the statements of both Jefferson (*Writings*, Boston, 1830, vol. i. 20, etc.) and Adams, made at a later day (*Autobiography*),



Roger Sherman[2]

1 Pitkin's *U. S.*, vi. 263; *Penna. Journal*, June 19, 1776; Read's *Geo. Read*, 164; *John Adams*, ix. 398.

2 After a painting owned by a descendant in New Haven. Cf. portrait by Earle in Sanderson's *Signers*. In Brotherhead's *Book of Signers* (1861), p. 75, will be found a view of his house. He was of the Committee to draft the Declaration of Independence.

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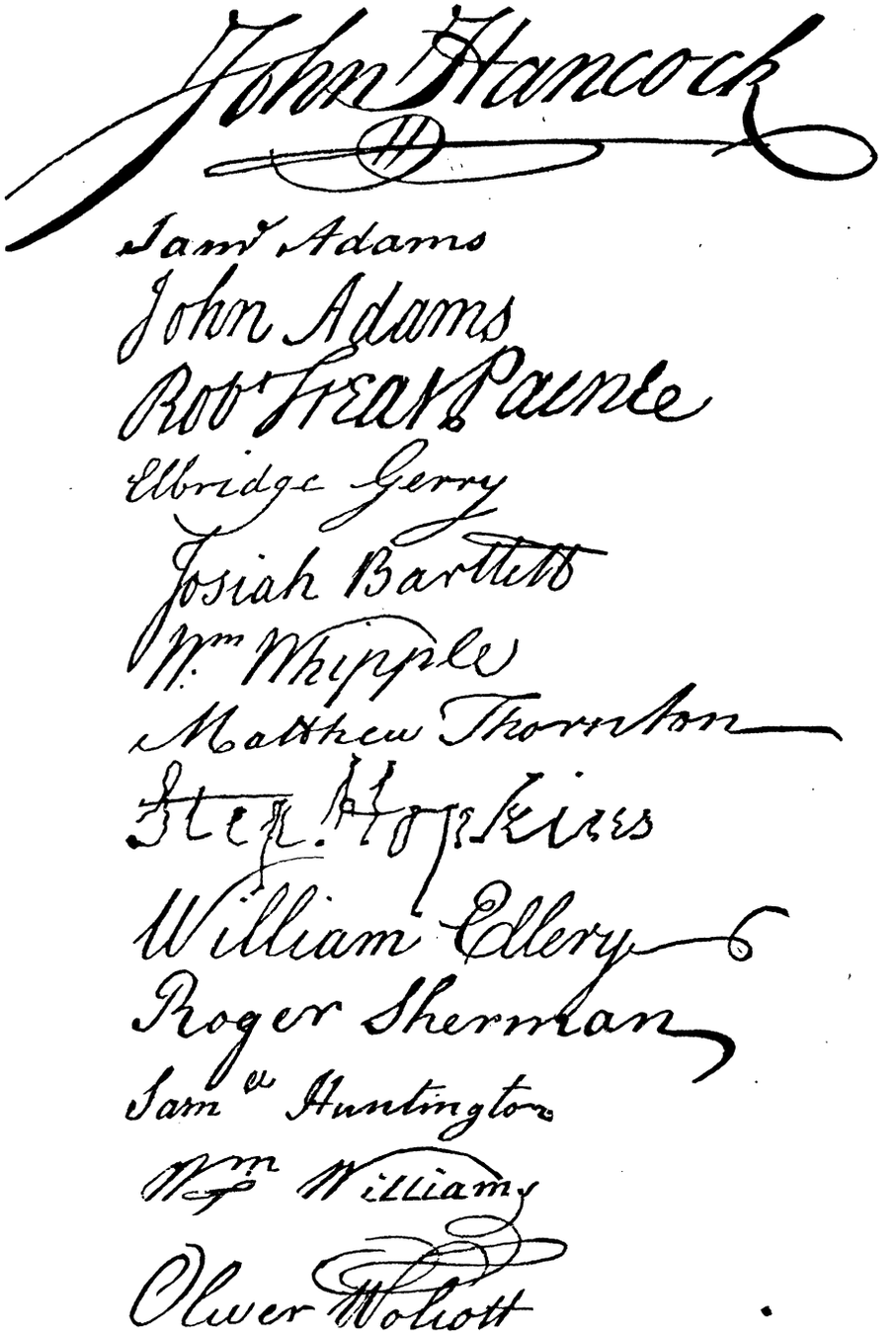

NOTE.— These four plates show the signatures of the signers (now very much faded in the original document), arranged not as they signed, but in the order of States, beginning with Massachusetts and ending with Georgia. The signatures were really attached in six columns, containing respectively 3, 7, 12 (John Hancock heading this one), 12, 9, 13,— as is shown in a reduced fac-simile of the entire document as signed, given in

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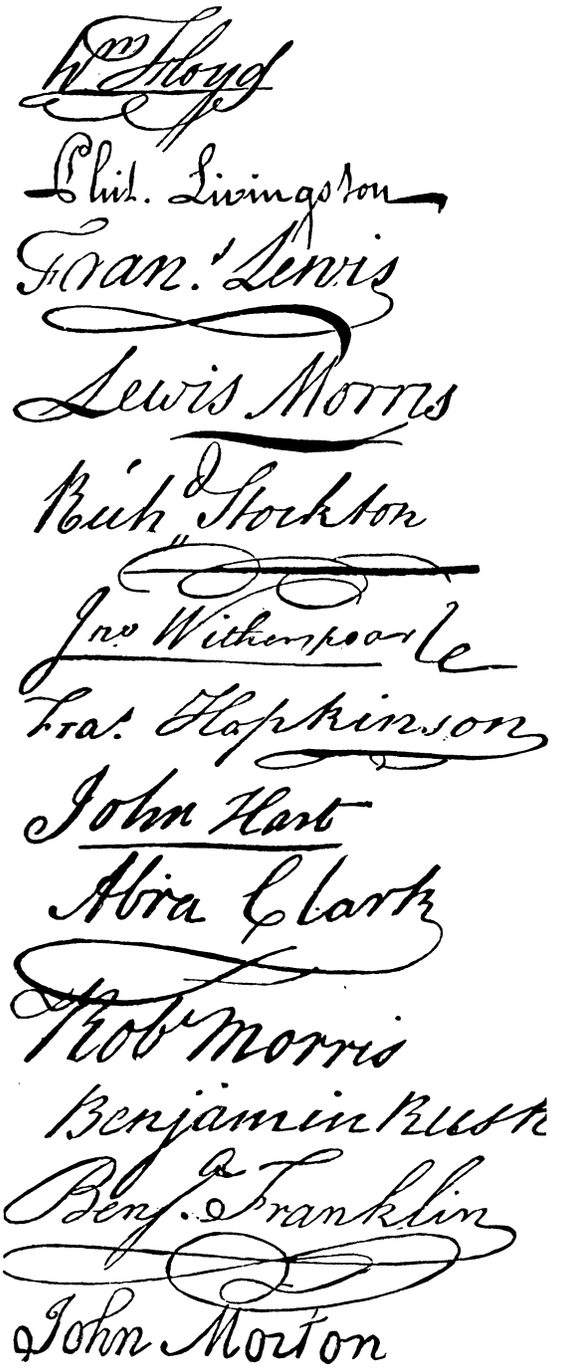

The Declaration of Independence (Boston, 1876). The signatures are also given in Sanderson's *Signers*, vol. i.; in *Harper's Mag.*, iii. 158, etc. The formation of a set of the autographs of the "Signers" is, or rather has been, called the test of successful collecting. The signatures of Thomas Lynch, Jr., Button Gwinnett, and Lyman Hall are said to be the rarest. The Rev. Dr. Wm. B. Sprague is said to have formed three sets; but these collections, as well as those of Raffles, of Liverpool, and Tefft, of Savannah, have changed hands. The finest is thought to belong to Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet, of New York. The set of Col. T. B. Myers is described in the *Hist. Mag.*, 1868. One was sold in the Lewis J. Cist collection in N. Y., Oct., 1886 (p. 47). It has been said that "of the fifty-six signers of the Declaration of Independence, nine were born in Massachusetts, eight in Virginia, five in Maryland, four in Connecticut, four in New Jersey, four in Pennsylvania, four in South Carolina, three in New York, three in Delaware, two in Rhode Island, one in Maine, three in Ireland, two in England, two in Scotland, and one in Wales. Twenty-one were attorneys, ten merchants, four physicians, three farmers, one clergyman, one printer; sixteen were men of fortune. Eight were graduates of Harvard College, four of Yale, three of New Jersey, two of Philadelphia, two of William and Mary, three of Cambridge, England, two of Edinburgh, and one of St. Omers. At the time of their deaths, five were over ninety years of age, seven between eighty and ninety, eleven between seventy and eighty, twelve between sixty and seventy, eleven between fifty and sixty, seven between forty and fifty; one died at the age of twenty-seven, and the age of two is uncertain. At the time of signing the Declaration, the average age of the members was forty-four years. They lived to the average age of more than sixty-five years and ten months. The youngest member was Edward Rutledge, of South Carolina, who was in his twenty-seventh year. He lived to the age of fifty-one. The next youngest member was Thomas Lynch, of the same State, who was also in his twenty-seventh year. He was cast away at sea in the fall of 1776. Benjamin Franklin was the oldest member. He was in his seventy-first year when he signed the Declaration. He died in 1790, and survived sixteen of his younger brethren. Stephen Hopkins, of Rhode Island, the next oldest member, was born in 1707, and died in 1785. Charles Carroll attained the greatest age, dying in his ninety-sixth year. William Ellery, of Rhode Island, died in his ninety-first year." The standard collected edition of their lives is a work usually

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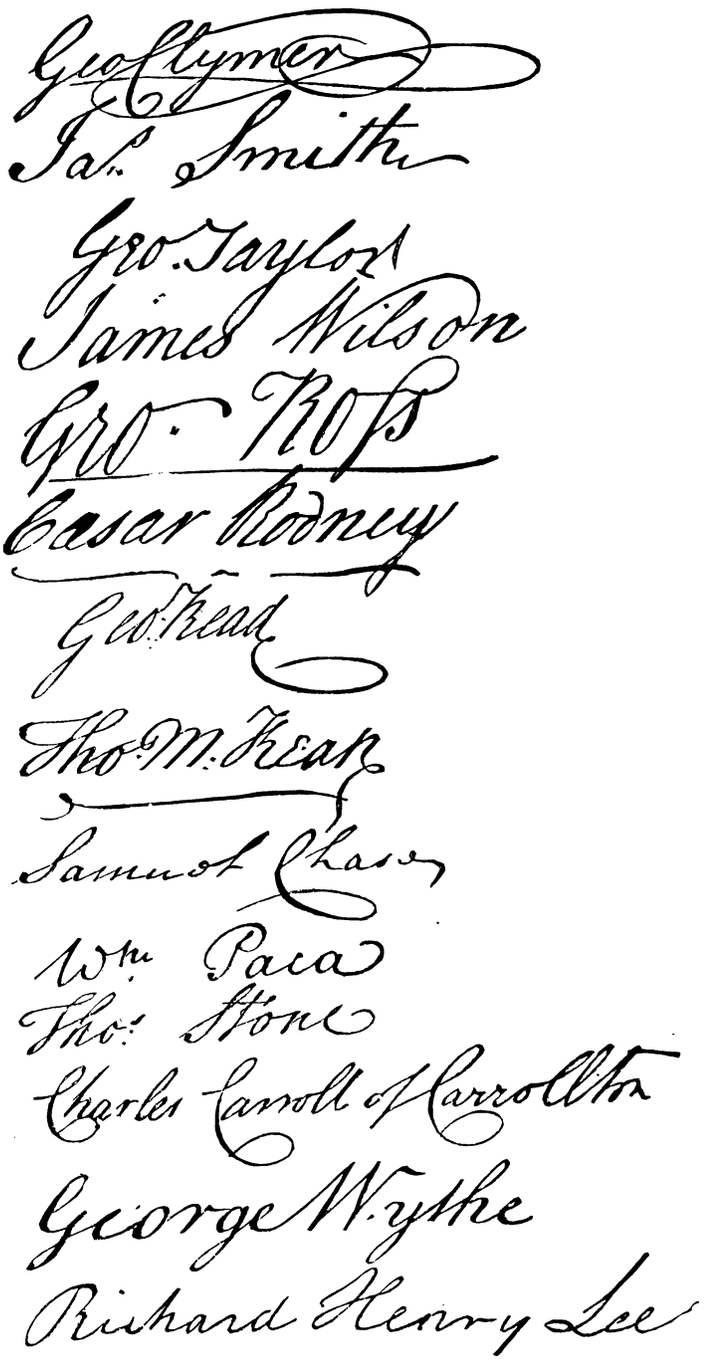
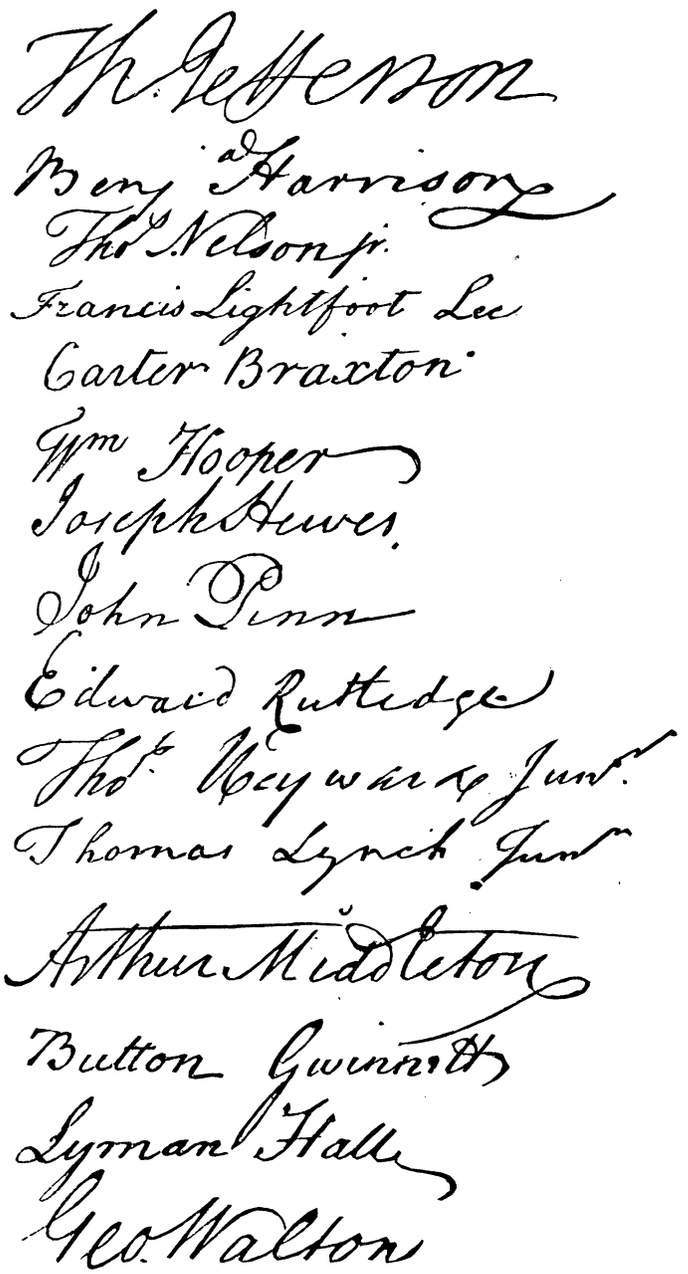
called Sanderson's *Biography of the signers of the declaration of independence* (Philadelphia, 1820–27, in 9 vols.).

Contents. — 1. View of the British colonies from their origin to their independence; John Hancock, by John Adams. 2. Benjamin Franklin, by J. Sanderson; George Wythe, by Thomas Jefferson; Francis Hopkinson, by R. Penn Smith; Robert Treat Paine, by Alden Bradford. 3. Edward Rutledge, by Arthur Middleton; Lyman Hall, by Hugh McCall; Oliver Wolcott, by Oliver Wolcott, Jr.; Richard Stockton, by H. Stockton; Button Gwinnett, by Hugh McCall; Josiah Bartlett, by Robert Waln, Jr.; Philip Livingston, by De Witt Clinton; Roger Sherman, by Jeremiah Evarts. 4. Thomas Heyward, by James Hamilton; George Read, by —— Read; William Williams, by Robert Waln, Jr.; Samuel Huntington, by Robert Waln, Jr.; William Floyd, by Augustus Floyd; George Walton, by Hugh McCall; George Clymer, by Robert Waln, Jr.; Benjamin Rush, by John Sanderson. 5. Thomas Lynch, Jr., by James Hamilton; Matthew Thornton, by Robert Waln, Jr.; William Whipple, by Robert Waln, Jr.; John Witherspoon, by Ashbel Green; Robert Morris, by Robert Waln, Jr. 6. Arthur Middleton, by H. M. Rutledge; Abraham Clark, by Robert Waln, Jr.; Francis Lewis, by Morgan Lewis; John Penn, by John Taylor; James Wilson, by Robert Waln, Jr.; Carter Braxton, by Judge Brackenborough; John Morton, by Robert Waln, Jr.; Stephen Hopkins, by Robert Waln, Jr.; Thomas M'Kean, by Robert Waln, Jr. 7. Thomas Jefferson, by H. D. Gilpin; William Hooper, by J. C. Hooper;





James Smith, by Edward Ingersoll; Charles Carroll, by H. B. Latrobe; Thomas Nelson, Jr., by H. D. Gilpin; Joseph Hewes, by Edward Ingersoll. 8. Elbridge Gerry, by H. D. Gilpin; Cæsar Rodney, by H. D. Gilpin; Benjamin Harrison, by H. D. Gilpin; William Paca, by Edward Ingersoll; George Ross, by H. D. Gilpin; John Adams, by E. Ingersoll. 9. Richard Henry Lee, by R. H. Lee; George Taylor, by H. D. Gilpin; John Hart, by Robert Waln, Jr.; Lewis Morris, by E. Ingersoll; Thomas Stone, by E. Ingersoll; Francis L. Lee, by Robert Waln, Jr.; Samuel Chase, by E. Ingersoll; William Ellery, by H. D. Gilpin; Samuel Adams, by H. D. Gilpin.

Vols. 1, 2 were edited by John Sanderson; the remainder by Robert Waln, Jr. A list of the authors of the different biographies is given in the *Massachusetts Historical Society's Proceedings*, xv. 393. There was a second edition, revised, improved, and enlarged (Philadelphia, 1828, in 5 vols.). An edition revised by Robert T. Conrad was published in Philadelphia in 1865.

An enumeration of books which grew out of Sanderson's *Signers* is given in Foster's *Stephen Hopkins*, ii. 183. Much smaller books are Charles A. Goodrich's *Lives of the Signers* (New York, 1829), and there are other collections of brief memoirs by L. C. Judson (1829) and Benson J. Lossing. Cf. also papers by Lossing in *Harper's Mag.*, iii., vii., and xlviii., and his *Field-Book*, ii. 868.

A fac-simile of the engrossed document as signed is given in *The Declaration of Independence* (Boston, 1876), and others are in Force's *Amer. Archives*, 5th ser., i. 1595; and one was published in N. Y. in 1865. The earliest fac-simile is one engraved on copper by Peter Maverick, of which there are copies on vellum, as well as on paper. It is called *Declaration of Independence, copied from the Original in the Department of State and published by Benjamin Owen Tyler, Professor of Penmanship. The publisher designed and executed the ornamental writing and has been particular to copy the Facsimilies exact, and has also observed the same punctuation, and copied every Capital as in the original* (Washington, 1818).

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In CONGRESS, July 4, 1776.

A DECLARATION

By the REPRESENTATIVES of the

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,

IN *GENERAL CONGRESS* ASSEMBLED.

WHEN in the Courſe of human Events, it becomes neceſſary for one People to diſſolve the Political Bands which have connected them with another, and to aſſume among the Powers of the Earth, the ſeperate and equal Station to which the Laws of Nature and of Nature's God entitle them, a decent Reſpect to the Opinions of Mankind requires that they ſhould declare the Cauſes which impel them to the ſeperation.

WE hold theſe Truths to be ſelf-evident, that all Men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among theſe are Life, Liberty, and the Purſuit of Happineſs.—That to ſecure theſe Rights, Governments are inſtituted among Men, deriving their juſt Powers from the Conſent of the Governed, that whenever any Form of Government becomes deſtructive of theſe Ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to aboliſh it, and to inſtitute new Government, laying its foundation on ſuch Principles, and organizing its Powers in ſuch Form, as to them ſhall ſeem moſt likely to effect their Safety and Happineſs. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that Governments long eſtabliſhed ſhould not be changed for light and tranſient Cauſes; and accordingly all Experience hath ſhewn, that Mankind are more diſpoſed to ſuffer, while Evils are ſufferable, than to right themſelves by aboliſhing the Forms to which they are accuſtomed. But when a long Train of Abuſes and Uſurpations, purſuing invariably the ſame Object, evinces a Deſign to reduce them under abſolute Deſpotiſm, it is their Right, it is their Duty, to throw off ſuch Government, and to provide new Guards for their future Security. Such has been the patient Sufferance of theſe Colonies; and ſuch is now the Neceſſity which conſtrains them to alter their former Syſtems of Government. The Hiſtory of the preſent King of Great-Britain is a Hiſtory of repeated Injuries and Uſurpations, all having in direct Object the Eſtabliſhment of an abſolute Tyranny over theſe States. To prove this, let Facts be ſubmitted to a candid World.

HE has refuſed his Aſſent to Laws, the moſt wholeſome and neceſſary for the public Good.

HE has forbidden his Governors to paſs Laws of immediate and preſſing Importance, unleſs ſuſpended in their Operation till his Aſſent ſhould be obtained; and when ſo ſuſpended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

HE has refuſed to paſs other Laws for the Accommodation of large Diſtricts of People, unleſs thoſe People would relinquiſh the Right of Repreſentation in the Legiſlature, a Right ineſtimable to them, and formidable to Tyrants only.

HE has called together Legiſlative Bodies at Places unuſual, uncomfortable, and diſtant from the Depoſitory of their public Records, for the ſole Purpoſe of fatiguing them into Compliance with his Meaſures.

HE has diſſolved Repreſentative Houſes repeatedly, for oppoſing with manly Firmneſs his Invaſions on the Rights of the People.

HE has refuſed for a long Time, after ſuch Diſſolutions, to cauſe others to be elected; whereby the Legiſlative Powers, incapable of Annihilation, have returned to the people at large for their exerciſe; the State remaining in the mean time expoſed to all the Dangers of Invaſion from without, and Convulſions within.

HE has endeavoured to prevent the population of theſe States; for that Purpoſe obſtructing the Laws for Naturalization of Foreigners; refuſing to paſs others to encourage their Migrations hither, and raiſing the Conditions of new Appropriations of Lands.

HE has obſtructed the Adminiſtration of Juſtice by refuſing his Aſſent to Laws for eſtabliſhing Judiciary Powers.

HE has made Judges dependent on his Will alone, for the Tenure of their Offices, and the Amount and Payment of their Salaries.

HE has erected a multitude of new Offices, and ſent hither Swarms of Officers to harraſs our People, and eat out their Subſtance.

HE has kept among us, in Times of Peace, Standing Armies, without the Conſent of our Legiſlatures.

HE has affected to render the Military independent of and ſuperior to the civil Power.

HE has combined with others to ſubject us to a Juriſdiction foreign to our Conſtitution, and unacknowledged by our Laws; given his Aſſent to their Acts of pretended Legiſlation:

For quartering large Bodies of armed Troops among us:

For protecting them, by a mock Trial, from Puniſhment for any Murders which they ſhould commit on the Inhabitants of theſe States:

For cutting off our Trade with all Parts of the World:

For impoſing Taxes on us without our Conſent:

For depriving us, in many Caſes, of the Benefits of Trial by Jury:

For tranſporting us beyond Seas to be tried for pretended Offences:

For aboliſhing the free ſyſtem of Engliſh Laws in a neighbouring Province eſtabliſhing therein an arbitrary Government, and enlarging its Boundaries, ſo as to render it at once an Example and fit Inſtrument for introducing the ſame abſolute Rule into theſe Colonies:

For taking away our Charters, aboliſhing our moſt valuable Laws, and altering fundamentally the Forms of our Governments:

For ſuſpending our own Legiſlatures, and declaring themſelves inveſted with Power to legiſlate for us in all Caſes whatſoever.

He has abdicated Government here, by declaring us out of his Protection and waging War againſt us.

He has plundered our Seas, ravaged our Coaſts, burnt our Towns, and deſtroyed the Lives of our People.

He is at this Time, tranſporting large Armies of foreign Mercenaries to compleat the Works of Death, Deſolation and Tyranny, already begun with Circumſtances of Cruelty and Perfidy ſcarcely paralleled in the moſt barbarous Ages, and totally unworthy the Head of a civilized Nation.

He has conſtrained our fellow Citizens taken Captive on the high Seas to bear Arms againſt their Country, to become the Executioners of their Friends and Brethren, or to fall themſelves by their Hands.

He has excited Domeſtic Inſurrections amongſt us, and has endeavoured to bring on the Inhabitants of our Frontiers the mercileſs Indian Savages, whoſe known Rule of Warfare, is an undiſtinguiſhed Deſtruction, of all Ages, Sexes and Conditions.

In every Stage of theſe Oppreſſions we have petitioned for Redreſs, in the moſt humble Terms: Our repeated Petitions have been anſwered only by repeated Injury. A Prince, whoſe Character is thus marked by every Act which may deſine a Tyrant, is unfit to be the Ruler of a free People.

Nor have we been wanting in Attention to our Britiſh Brethren. We have warned them from Time to Time of Attempts by their legiſlature to extend an unwarrantable Juriſdiction over us. We have reminded them of the Circumſtances of our Emigration and Settlement here. We have appealed to their native Juſtice and Magnanimity, and we have conjured them by the Ties of our common Kindred to diſavow theſe Uſurpations, which would inevitably interrupt our Connections and Correſpondence. They too have been deaf to the Voice of Juſtice and of Conſanguinity. We muſt, therefore, acquieſce in the Neceſſity which denounces our Separation, and hold them, as we hold the reſt of Mankind, Enemies in War; in Peace, Friends.

We, therefore, the Repreſentatives of the UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, in GENERAL CONGRESS aſſembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the World for the Rectitude of our Intentions, do in the Name and by the Authority of the good People of theſe Colonies, ſolemnly Publiſh and Declare, That theſe United Colonies are, and of Right ought to be, FREE AND INDEPENDENT STATES; that they are abſolved from all Allegiance to the Britiſh Crown, and that all political Connection between them and the State of Great-Britain, is, and ought to be totally diſſolved; and that as FREE AND INDEPENDENT STATES, they have full Power to levy War, conclude Peace, contract Alliances, eſtabliſh Commerce, and to do all other Acts and Things which INDEPENDENT STATES may of Right do. And for the Support of this Declaration, with a firm Reliance on the Protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our Lives, our Fortunes, and our ſacred Honor.

Signed by ORDER *and in* BEHALF *of the* CONGRESS,

JOHN HANCOCK, Preſident.

ATTEST.

CHARLES THOMPSON, Secretary.

AMERICA: BOSTON, Printed by JOHN GILL, and POWARS and WILLIS, in QUEEN-STREET.

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JOHN DICKINSON.[1]

and the printed *Journals of Congress*, seem to the effect that the Declaration was signed by the members present on July 4, 1776, it is almost certain that such was not the case. McKean, in 1814, said it was not so,[2] and the best investigators of our day are agreed that the president and secretary alone signed it on that day, though Lossing, following Jefferson, has held that, though signed on that day on paper by the members, it was in the nature of a temporary authentication, and it did not preclude the more formal act of signing it on parchment, which all are agreed was done on August 2d following. Thornton, of New Hampshire, signed as late as Nov. 4th; and McKean, who was absent with the army, seems to have temporarily returned so as to sign later in the year. Thornton's name appears in the printed *Journal* as attached to the Declaration on July 4th, and McKean's is not, though McKean was present and Thornton was not. The fact is, the printed *Journal* is not a copy of the record of that day, and was made up without due regard to the sequence of proceedings, when prepared by a committee for the press in the early part of 1777. There is in Force's *American Archives* (4th ser., vol. vi. p. 1729) a journal constructed by combining the original record (of which we have no printed copy) and the minutes and documents of the official files. From a collation of all these early records it appears that the vote of January 18, 1777, ordering the Declaration to be printed with the names attached, — then for the first time done, — made it convenient to use this printed record in making the published *Journal* entry under July 4th. In this way the name of Thornton, who signed it even subsequent to Aug. 2d, appears in that printed record as having been put to the Declaration on July 4th. That any

NOTE. — The cut on the preceding page is a reduction of a broadside issued in Boston, of which there is a copy in the library of the Mass. Hist. Society, where there are copies of similar broadsides issued in Philadelphia and Salem. The fac-simile given in Gay's *Pop. Hist. U. S.* (iii. 483) is of the Boston broadside without the imprint at the bottom of the sheet. The first impression made for Congress was printed at Philadelphia by John Dunlap, and the copy sent to Washington is in the library of the State Department. It was also later printed in broadside at "Baltimore in Maryland, by Mary Katharine Goddard," and those of the copies which I have seen, as attested by Hancock and Thomson in their own hands, in addition to the printed signatures, and sent to the several States by order of Congress, Jan. 18, 1777, are of this Baltimore imprint. Such a copy is in the *Mass. Archives*, cxlii. 23, together with the letter of Hancock transmitting it to that State. There is another copy, similarly attested, in the Boston Public Library; and a reduced fac-simile of such a copy, with its attestations, is given in the *Orderly-book of Sir John Johnson* (p. 220). It was generally, I think, inscribed on the records of the several States, and I have seen it in the records of the towns in New England. (Cf. *N. H. State Papers*, viii. 200.) It is copied as it appeared in the *Penna. Journal*, July 10th, in Moore's *Diary of the Rev.*, i. 262; and in England it was reprinted in *Almon's Remembrancer*, iii. 258; *Annual Register*, 1776, p. 261; and in the *Gentleman's Mag.*, Aug., 1776.

The earliest authorized reprint in any collection appeared at Philadelphia in 1781, in *The Constitutions of the several States of America; The Declaration of Independence; The Articles of Confederation; The Treaties between his most Christian Majesty and the United States of America. Published by order of Congress* (Sabin, iv. 16,086, who says 200 copies were printed, and who gives various other early editions). The Rev. William Jackson edited at London, in 1783, *The constitutions of the independent states of America; the declaration of independence; and the articles of confederation. Added, the declaration of rights, non-importation agreement, and petition of Congress to the King. With appendix, containing treaties.* It can be found in Bancroft, viii. 467; H. W. Preston's *Documents illustrating American History;* Sherman's *Governmental Hist. U. S.*, p. 615; Frothingham's *Rise of the Republic*, p. 539; and in very many other collections and places.

[1] From Du Simitière's *Thirteen Portraits* (London, 1783). Cf. *Heads of illustrious Americans* (London, 1783). The usual portrait is given in Higginson's *Larger History*, p. 270.

[2] Niles's *Weekly Register*, xii. 305, etc.; *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, xliv. 507; his letter of June 16, 1817, in App. of Christopher Marshall's *Diary*, and one of Aug. 22, 1813, in *Harper's Mag.*, 1883, p. 211.

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paper copy was signed on July 4th is not believed, from the fact that no such copy exists; and if it be claimed that it has been lost, there is still ground for holding rather that it never existed, inasmuch as no vote is found for any authentication except in the usual way, by Hancock and Thomson, the president and secretary. McKean's criticism was the first to confront the usual public belief of its being signed July 4th, as many respectable writers have maintained since who preferred the authority of the printed *Journal* and of Jefferson and Adams. Such was Mahon's preference, and Peter Force rather curtly criticised him for it, in the *National Intelligencer*.[1] Force did not explain at length the grounds of his assertions, and Mahon did not alter his statement in a later edition; but a full explanation has been made by Mellen Chamberlain in his *Authentication of the Declaration of Independence* (Cambridge, 1885), which originally made part of the *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, Nov., 1884, p. 273. He gives full references.

The immediate effects of the Declaration in America are traced in Frothingham's *Rise of the Republic*, p. 548. "No one can read," says Wm. B. Reed in his *Life of Joseph Reed* (i. p. 195), "the private correspondence of the times without being struck with the slight impression made on either the army or the mass of the people by the Declaration of Independence."

The Declaration was, of course, at once commented on in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, in Almon's *Remembrancer*, and in the other periodical publications. Hutchinson's *Strictures* have been mentioned. The ministry seem to have been behind the *Answer to the Declaration of the American Congress*, referred to in a preceding page, which was ostensibly written by John Lind and privately printed in London in 1776, but was soon published without his name, appearing in five different editions during the year, and was the next year (1777) printed in French both in London and La Haye. In the earlier edition the outline of a counter declaration was included (Sabin, x. 41,281–82). Lord Geo. Germaine is also said to have had a hand in *The Rights of Great Britain asserted against the claims of America*, which passed through three editions at least, the last with additions, during 1776, beside being reprinted in Philadelphia (Hildeburn, no. 3,352). Sir John Dalrymple and James Macpherson are also thought to have some share in it.[2] Lord Camden's views are given in Campbell's *Lives of the Chancellors* (v. 301). It soon became apparent that the liberal party in England felt that the Declaration showed the Americans determined to act without their continued assistance (Smyth's *Lectures*, ii. 439). Bancroft (ix. ch. 3) traces the general effects in Europe.[3]

The appearance, Jan. 8, 1776, of the *Common Sense*, written by Thomas Paine, a stay-maker and sailor whom Franklin had accredited when he came over in the summer of 1774, had produced a sudden effect throughout the continent.[4]

[1] This being sent to a friend in England, thirty copies of the paper were printed under the title of *The Declaration of independence, or notes on Lord Mahon's history of the American declaration of independence* (London, 1855). The criticism was also printed in *Littell's Living Age* (xliv. 387).

[2] A copy of it with notes by John Home, the author of Douglas, is in the Philadelphia library.

[3] Cf. Morley, in his *Edmund Burke*, p. 125. Lord John Russell (*Mem. and Corresp. of Fox*, i. 152) thinks the truth was warped in charging all upon the king, while in fact "the sovereign and his people were alike prejudiced, angry, and wilful."

[4] Cf. Franklin's *Works* (Sparks), x. 293; Wells's *S. Adams*, ii. 340, 360; *John Adams's Works*, i. 204, ix. 627, and his *Familiar Letters*, 134, 137, 146; Moore's *Diary*, i. 208; Jones's *N. Y. during the Amer. Rev.*, i. 63; Force's *Amer. Archives*, indexes. A letter from Charleston, S. C., March 17, 1776, says, "Common Sense hath made independents of the majority of the country, and [Christopher] Gadsden is as mad with it as ever he was without it" (*Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, xi. 254). On Paine, see Duyckinck, Allibone, Poole's *Index*, W. B. Reed in *No. Amer. Rev.*, vol. lvii.; J. W. Francis' *Old New York*, 2d ed., p. 137; Parton's *Franklin*, ii. 19, 108; *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, October, 1879. See further, on his influence at this time, Frothingham's *Rise*, etc., 476, 479; Barry's *Mass.*, iii. 89; Randall's *Jefferson*, i. 137; Bancroft, orig. ed., ch. 56. On the English side, Smyth's *Lectures*, ii. 430, 446; Mahon, vi. 93; Ryerson, ii. ch. 32. For the Rousseauishness of the sentiments, see Lecky, iv. 51. Louis Rosenthal (*Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, July, 1884, p. 46) thinks we need not go beyond English precedents for any of the sentiments of the day. For the bibliography of *Common Sense*, see Hildeburn's *Issues of the Press in Penna.* (1886), nos. 3,433, etc.; Sabin, xiv. p. 124; *Menzies Catal.*, no. 1,536; Brinley, ii. p. 166. It was printed and reprinted in Philadelphia, in English and once in German, and in the same year (1776) reprinted in Salem, Newburyport, Providence, Boston, Norwich, Newport, New York, Charleston, and also in London and Edinburgh, and is included in Paine's *Writings* (Albany, 1791–92; Charlestown, Mass., 1824; New York, 1835, etc.). A volume of *Large Additions to Common Sense* (Philad. and London, 1776, etc.) was got up by Robert Bell to extend his edition over that of Paine's then publisher (Hildeburn, no. 3,439; Brinley, ii. no. 4,100). Frothingham (p. 476) has a bibliographical note. It is included in a French *Recueil des divers écrits* of Paine (Paris, 1793).

There is a portrait of Thomas Paine by Peale, engraved by J. Watson (cf. J. C. Smith's *Brit. Mez. Portraits*, iv. 1529). A likeness by Romney, engraved by William Sharp, in two sizes. There is a portrait in Independence Hall, Philadelphia.

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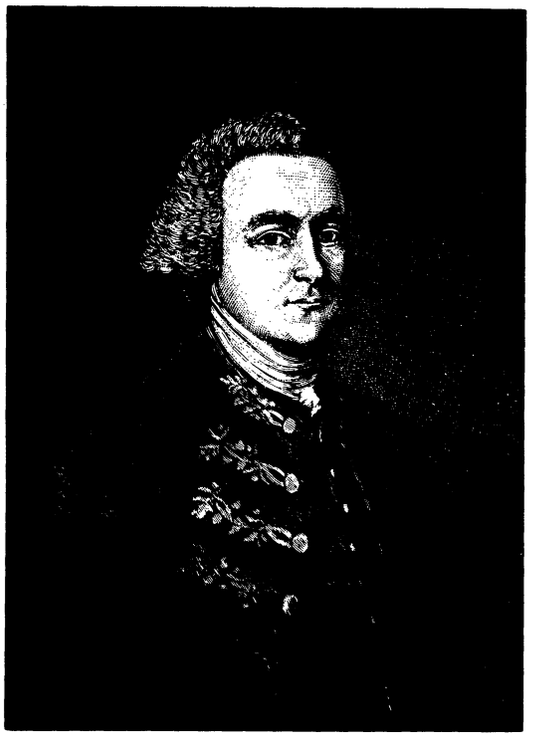

JOHN HANCOCK. (*The Scott picture.*)[1]

The chief answer was *Plain Truth, written by Candidus* (Philad. and London, 1776). In the *Doc. Hist. N. Y.*, 4to ed., iii. 642, its authorship by Charles Inglis is thought to be established; but see Franklin Burdge in *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, ii. 59. Sabin (xv. p. 176) says it was probably by Jos. Galloway; but there is no evidence of it. Hildeburn (no. 3,345) gives reasons for assigning it to George Chalmers. It passed to a second edition.

[1] Perkins (*Life and Works of Copley*, p. 70) notes three different likenesses of Hancock, painted by that artist. The first represents him sitting at a table, which bears an open book, upon which his left hand lies, while the right holds a pen. This picture, formerly in Faneuil Hall, is now in the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston. The Copley head has been engraved by I. B. Forrest and J. B. Longacre (Sanderson's *Signers*), and there is a woodcut in the *Memorial Hist. of Boston*, iv. p. 5, and another engraving of it in W. H. Bartlett's *United States*, p. 343. Cf. Gay's *Pop. Hist. U. S.*, iii. 358. The German picture from the *Geschichte der Kriege in und ausser Europa* (Neunter Theil, Nürnberg, 1777), of which a fac-simile is given herewith, is evidently based on this picture, omitting the accessories. A similar picture, with supports of cannon at the lower angles, is in Hilliard d'Auberteuil's *Essais*, i. p. 152. It seems to have been the likeness known on the continent of Europe, and is perhaps the one referred to by John Adams, in writing to Spener, a Berlin bookseller, when he says, "The portrait of Mr. Hancock has some resemblance in the dress and figure, but none at all in the countenance" (*Works*, ix. 524). The immediate prototype of the German picture may have been a London engraving, described in Smith's *British Mezzotint Portraits* as being in an oval, with a short wig and tie at back, and professing to be painted by Littleford, and published Oct. 25, 1775, by C. Shepherd, which was one of a series of American portraits published in London from 1775 to 1778, of which some, says that authority, were reëngraved in Germany. The two other Copley pictures are described by Perkins as being owned by Hancock's descendants: one an oval, showing him dressed in blue coat laced with gold; the other a miniature on copper. There is in the Bostonian Society a photograph of a picture owned by C. L. Hancock. It will be remembered that Hancock's widow married Capt. James Scott; and it is perhaps one of these Copley pictures that is reproduced from an English print in J. C. Smith's *British Mezzotint Portraits*, p. 1321, and shown in the present engraving (the Scott picture), of which the original, an oval, bears this inscription: "The Hon^{ble} John Hancock, Esq^{r}, late Governor of Boston in North America, done from an original picture in the possession of Capt. James Scott. Published by John Scott, No. 4, Middle Row, Holborn. Copley pinx^{t}. W.

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JOHN HANCOCK. (*From the "Geschichte der Kriege."*)

Smith, sculp." Smith also gives another print, which represents Hancock as standing, with the left hand in his pocket, the other holding a letter addressed to "Mons. Monsieur Israel Putnam, major general à Long Island." The face is much like the other.

The Copley head seems also to have been used in the sitting figure, which appeared in the *Impartial History of the War in America* (London, 1780, p. 207), of which a fac-simile is elsewhere given. The same picture was reëngraved in even poorer manner in the Boston edition of the book with the same title (1781, p. 346). Other contemporary engravings are found in the *European Magazine* (iv. p. 105); in the *Royal American Magazine* (March, 1774, reproduced in fac-simile in the *Mem. Hist. Boston*, iii. 46); and in Murray's *Impartial History of the present War* (1778, vol. i. p. 144). Cf. Drake's *Tea Leaves*, p. 286.

The character of Hancock had pettinesses that have served to lower his popular reputation, and this last is well reflected in the drawing of his traits in Wells's *Sam. Adams* (ii. 381). John Adams, whose robustness of character was quite at variance with that of his friend, was not blinded to sterling qualities in the rich man, who gave an adherence to a cause that few of his position in Massachusetts did (*John Adams's Works*, x. 259, 284). Adams's grandson speaks of the biography of Hancock in Sanderson's *Signers* as a curious specimen of unfavorable judgment in the guise of eulogy, and a sketch by this same grandson, C. F. Adams, is in the *Penna. Mag. of Hist.*, i. 73, and a memoir by G. Mountfort in Hunt's *American Merchants*, vol. ii. The accounts in Loring's *Hundred Boston Orators*, p. 72, and by Gen. W. H. Sumner in the *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, April, 1854 (viii. 187), are rambling antiquarian tales.

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John Adams (*Works*, ii. 507; ix. 617) said of *Common Sense* that it embodied a "tolerable summary of the arguments for independence which he had been speaking in Congress for nine months," and which Mahon (vi. 96) has called "cogent arguments" "in clear, bold language;" but Adams deemed unwise some of its suggestions for the governments of the States, and to counteract their influence he published anonymously his *Thoughts on Government* (Philadelphia, 1776: Boston, 1776; often since, and

CHARLES THOMSON.[1]

also in *Works*, iv. 193; ix. 387, 398), which he says met the approval of no one of any consideration except Benjamin Rush. He added his name to the second edition, and records that it soon had due influence upon the Assemblies of the several States, when about this time they adopted their constitutions. Adams's views were first embodied in a letter to R. H. Lee, Nov. 15, 1775 (*Works*, iv. 185; Sparks's *Washington*, ii., App.). What seems an anonymous reply from a native of Virginia — that colony being then engaged in framing a constitution — was *An address to the Convention of the Colony and Ancient Dominion of Virginia*, which was an attempt to counteract the tendency to popular features in government, which Adams had inculcated. It is in Force, 4th ser., vi. 748, and was written by Carter Braxton (Hildeburn's *Issues of the press in Pennsylvania*, Philad., 1886, no. 3,340).

Adams also wrote an amplified statement of some of his views to John Penn, of North Carolina, which is given in John Taylor's *Inquiry into the principles and policy of the Government of the United States* (1814), and in Adams's *Works*, iv. 203.

The vote of Congress of May 15, 1776, had called upon the several colonies to provide for independent governments, and Jameson (*Constitutional Conventions*, N. Y., 1867, p. 112, etc.) summarizes the actions of the several States.[2] New Hampshire was the first to act, and Belknap in his *New Hampshire*, and the histories of the other States, tell the story of their procedures. South Carolina was the next, but Virginia was the earliest to form such a constitution that it could last for many years. On June 12, 1776, she adopted her famous Declaration of Rights, drawn by Geo. Mason,[3] and June 29th perfected her constitution.[4] For New Jersey, see L. Q. C. Elmer's *Hist. of the Constitution adopted in 1776 and of the government under it* (Newark, 1870, and in *N. J. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, 2d ser., ii. 132), and the *Journal and votes and Proceedings of the Convention of New Jersey* (Burlington, 1776). For the movements in Pennsylvania, see Reed's *Jos. Reed*, i. ch. 7; the *Proceedings relative to the calling of the Conventions of 1776 and 1790* (Harrisburg, 1825); Anna H. Wharton's "Thomas Wharton, first governor of Pennsylvania," in the *Penna. Mag. of Hist.*, v. 426, vi. 91; and the biographies of the members of the convention in the *Penna. Mag. of Hist.*, iii. and iv. The statements of the loyalist Jones in his *New York during the Rev.* (p. 321) are controverted by Johnston in his *Observations* (p. 41). For the convention in New York, see *Debates of the N. Y. Conventions* (1821), App., p. 691;

1 From Du Simitière's *Thirteen Portraits* (London, 1783). Cf. also *Heads of illustrious Americans* (London, 1783). There is a portrait in the gallery of the Penna. Hist. Society. Scharf and Westcott's *Philadelphia* (i. 274, 275) gives his likeness and a view of his house, and another picture of the house is in Brotherhead's *Signers* (1861, p. 113). Cf. Lossing's *Field-Book*, ii. 267, and *Potter's Amer. Monthly*, vi. 172, 264, vii. 161.

2 Bancroft (*United States*, orig. ed., ix. ch. 15; final ed., v. ch. 9), and G. W. Greene (*Hist. View*, p. 104) groups the several records.

3 Rives's *Madison*, i. ch. 5; Madison's *Writings*, i. 21; Niles's *Principles and Acts*, 1876, p. 301; J. E. Cooke in *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, May, 1884; Preston's *Docs. illus. Amer. Hist.*, p. 206, and *Bill of Rights passed June 12, 1776, adopted without alteration by the Convention of 1829–30, and readopted with amendments by the Convention of 1850–51, and now readopted as passed June 12, 1776* (Richmond, 1861; also *Journal of the Convention of 1861*). On George Mason see R. Taylor in *No. Amer. Rev.*, cxxviii. 148; *Southern Bivouac*, April, 1886. A portrait is owned by the Penna. Hist. Soc.

4 Randall's *Jefferson*, i. ch. 6; Grigsby's discourse on the Convention in 1855.

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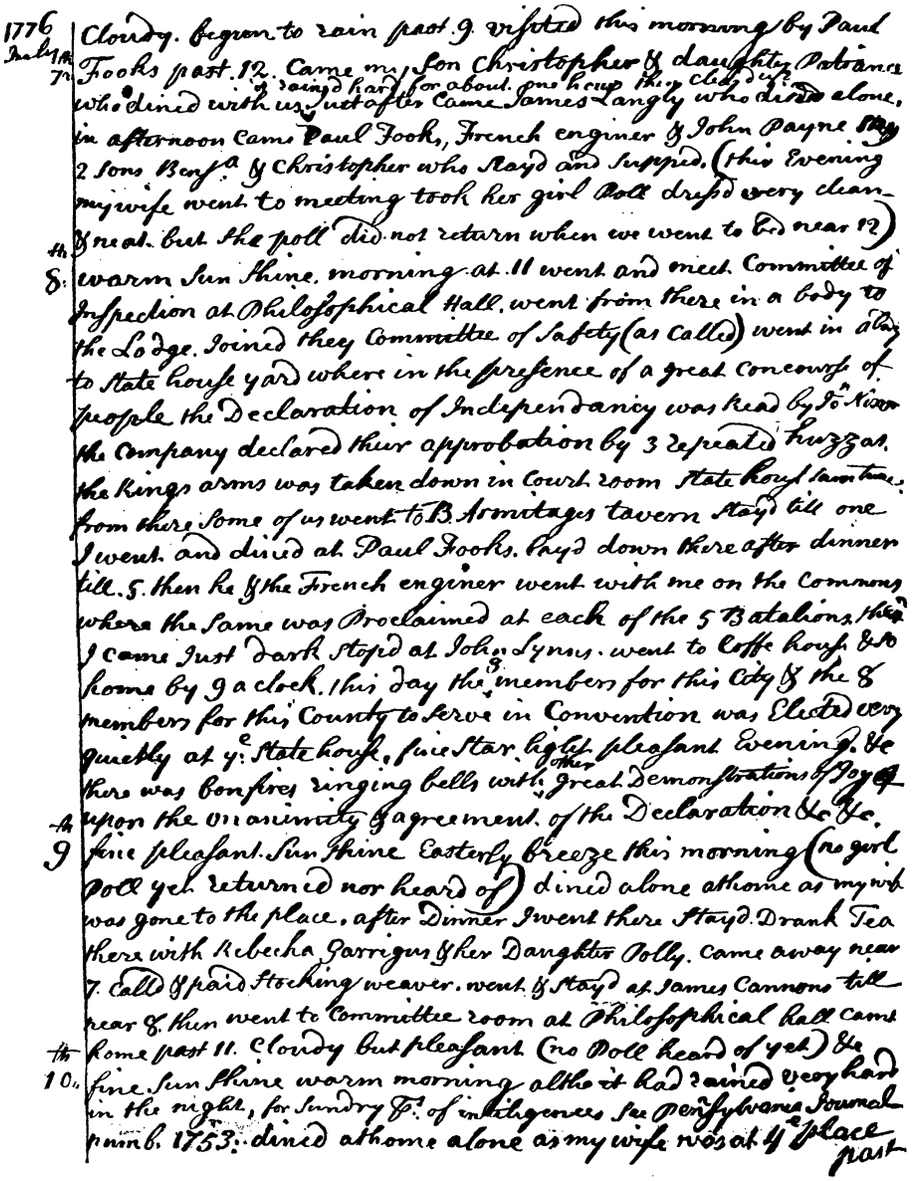

1776 Cloudy. begun to rain past 9. visited this morning by Paul
July 1st Fooks past 12. Came my Son Christopher & daughter Rebecca
7th who dined with us. Just after Came James Langly who dined alone.
in afternoon came Paul Fook, French enginer & John Payne my
2 sons Benj.a & Christopher who Stayd and Supped. (this Evening
my wife went to meeting took her girl Polly dressd very clean
4th & neat. but the poll did not return when we went to bed near 12)
8. warm Sun Shine. morning at 11 went and meet. Committee of
Inspection at Philosophical Hall. went from there in a body to
the Lodge. Joined they Committee of Safety (as Called) went in all
to State house yard where in the presence of a great Concourse of
people the Declaration of Independancy was read by Jo.a Nixon
the Company declared their approbation by 3 repeated huzzas.
the Kings arms was taken down in Court room State house [illegible]
from there some of us went to B. Armitages tavern Stayd till one
I went. and dined at Paul Fooks. Stayd down there after dinner
till 5. then he & the French enginer went with me on the Commons
where the same was Proclaimed at each of the 5 Batalions. then
I came just dark Stopd at John Lynns. went to Coffe house & so
home by 9 a clock. this day the 8 members for this City & the 8
members for this County to serve in Convention was Elected very
quietly at y.e State house. fine Star. light. pleasant Evening. the
there was Bonfires ringing bells with great demonstrations of Joy &
upon the unanimity & agreement of the Declaration &c. &c.
9th fine pleasant. Sun Shine Easterly breeze this morning (no girl
9 Poll yet returned nor heard of) dined alone athome as my wife
was gone to the place. after Dinner I went there Stayd. Drank Tea
there with Rebecha Garrigues & her Daughter Polly. came away near
7. Call'd & paid Stocking weaver. went & Stayd at James Cannons till
near 8. then went to Committee room at Philosophical Hall came
10th home past 11. Cloudy but pleasant. (no Poll heard of yet) the
10. fine Sun Shine warm morning altho it had rained very hard
in the night, for Sundry Ps. of intelligences see Pensylvania Journal
p. num.b. 1753. dined athome alone as my wife was at y.e place past

CHRISTOPHER MARSHALL'S DIARY.[1]

1 A page from Christopher Marshall's diary, preserved in the Penna. Hist. Soc., giving his description of the public reading of the Declaration of Independence, in Philadelphia, on July 8th. Cf. *Extracts from the diary of Christopher Marshall kept in Philadelphia and Lancaster during the American Revolution, 1774–1781, edited by Wm. Duane* (Albany, 1877). On this reading, see *Penna. Mag. of Hist.*, viii. 352, and W. Sargent's *Loyal Verses of Stansbury and Odell*, p. 116.

The English notion of the way in which the proclamation was made may be learned from Edward Bernard's contemporary folio *Hist. of England* (p. 689), where a large print represents an uncovered man on horseback reading a scroll to a crowd in the street, called "The manner in which the American Colonies declared themselves independent of the King of England throughout the different provinces on July 4, 1776." The reading took place in New York July 9th (Bancroft, ix. 36), and in Boston July 18th (*Mem. Hist. Boston*, iii. 183).

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Flanders's *Life of Jay*, ch. 8; and Sparks's *Gouverneur Morris*.[1] For Georgia, see C. C. Jones's *Georgia*, ii. ch. 13. Jameson (p. 138) outlines the peculiar circumstances of the early constitutional history of Vermont. Massachusetts was the last (1780) of the original States to frame a constitution. (See *John Adams's Works*, iv. 213; ix. 618.) Adams drafted the constitution presented by the committee, which was printed as *Report of a Constitution or form of government*,[2] and is printed without embodying the Errata in *John Adams's Works* (iv. 219), which copies it from the Appendix of the *Journal of the Convention* (Boston, 1832), where it was also printed in that defective manner.[3]

John Adams, in his *Defence of the Constitutions of Government of the United States of America* (1787, — in *Works*, iv. 271), set forth the views which influenced largely the framers of many of the constitutions of the States. Connecticut and Rhode Island retained their original charters through the war.

This action of the States rendered easier a plan of confederation, which seems to have been proposed by Franklin as early as Aug. 21, 1775. On July 12, 1776, a plan in Dickinson's handwriting, based on Franklin's, was reported, and was finally adopted by Congress, Nov. 15, 1777 (*Journals*, ii. 330), which was ratified by all the States in 1778 except Delaware (1779) and Maryland (1781), at which last date it became obligatory on all.[4]

The reader needs to be cautioned against a publication which assumes to be an *Oration delivered at the State House in Philadelphia Aug. 1, 1776*, by Samuel Adams (Philadelphia, reprinted at London, 1776), and which was translated into French and German. It is reprinted in Wells, iii., App. There is no copy of the pretended Philadelphia original known, and the publication is a London forgery (Wells, ii. 439), discoverable, if for no other reason, from the fact that its writer was unaware that the Declaration of Independence had passed.

Moore's *Diary of the Rev.*, i. (1776), records from contemporary journals the way in which it was received in various places. A letter of Major F. Barber in the *New Jersey Hist. Soc. Proc.*, v., shows how the reception of the news was observed at Fort Stanwix.

[1] Cf. the account of its centennial celebration, July 30, 1877, with a view of the old senate house at Kingston, in the *Centennial Celebrations of N. Y.* (Albany, 1879), and J. A. Stevens's "Birth of the Empire State" in the *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, iii. p. 1. Also see *Ibid.*, April, 1887, p. 310, and Dawson's *West Chester County*, pp. 182, 206.

Congress, July 1, 1782, passed votes for perpetuating the observance of the day (*Journals*, iv. 43). A famous letter of John Adams to his wife, dated July 3d, and predicting that the future observance would be of July 2d as the essential day, was so far altered as to be dated July 5th when first printed, in order to keep the prophecy true to the custom, which by that time had designated July 4th as the day to be observed (*Familiar Letters*, p. 190; *Works*, ix. 420). A letter of Adams to Judge Dawes on this point is in Niles's *Principles*, etc. (1876), p. 328. Cf. *Potter's American Monthly*, Dec., 1875.

[2] *The Report of a Constitution or Form of Government for the Commonwealth of Massachusetts: agreed upon by the Committee — to be laid before the Convention of Delegates, assembled at Cambridge, on the First Day of September, A. D. 1779, and continued by adjournment to the Twenty-eighth Day of October following* (Boston, 1779). Cf. also *A Constitution or Frame of Government agreed upon by the Delegates of the People of the State of Massachusetts Bay, in Convention begun and held at Cambridge on the First of September, 1779, and continued by adjournment to the Second of March, 1780. To be submitted to the Revision of their Constituents &c.* (Boston, 1779), and *An Address of the Convention for Framing a new Constitution of Government for the State of Massachusetts Bay, to their Constituents* (Boston, 1780). Cf. also Parsons's *Life of Theophilus Parsons*, p. 46; Brooks Adams's *Emancipation of Massachusetts*, p. 307.

[3] Cf. Dr. Charles Deane's report on this document in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, v. 88. The Hon. Alexander H. Bullock read a paper before the Amer. Antiq. Society in April, 1881, which was printed as *The Centennial of the Mass. Constitution* (Worcester, 1881), and the *Proceedings of the N. E. Hist. Geneal. Society* in commemoration were also printed, and embodied a report of the proceedings of the State authorities.

[4] The Articles of Confederation can be found in Elliot's *Debates*, i. 79; Ramsay's *Rev. in So. Carolina*, i. 437; Hinman's *Conn. in the Rev.*, 103; George Tucker's *United States*, i. App., p. 636; L. H. Porter's *Outlines of the Constitutional Hist. of the U. S.*, p. 48; Walker's *Statesman's Manual* (New York, 1849), i. p. 1; *New Hampshire State Papers*, viii. 747; N. C. Towle's *Hist. and Analysis of the Constitution of the U. S.* (Boston, 1871), p. 328; Lossing's *Field-Book*, ii. 859; H. W. Preston's *Documents illustrating Amer. Hist.* (1886), p. 218, etc. For the debates and contemporary and later views, see John Adams's *Works*, i. 268, ii. 492, ix. 467; *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, xliv. 315; Wells's *Sam. Adams*, ii. 473, 480; Bancroft, ix. 436; Hildreth, iii. 266; Parton's *Franklin*, ii. 125; Frothingham's *Rise of the Republic*, 569; Pitkin's *United States*; Story (i. 209) and Curtis (i. 114) on the *Constitution*; Elliot's *Debates*, i. 70; Von Holst's *Constitutional Hist. of the U. S.*, ch. 1; Rives's *Madison*, i. ch. 10; Greene's *Hist. View*, 14; Draper's *Civil War*, i. 265, etc.

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CHAPTER IV.

THE STRUGGLE FOR THE HUDSON.

BY GEORGE W. CULLUM,
Major-General United States Army.

WHEN, in March, 1776, the British evacuated Boston, Washington felt assured that New York, already threatened, would be their objective point, not only on account of its commercial and strategical importance, but because it was the great arsenal of America. He therefore, as soon as practicable, concentrated in and about it his whole disposable force, and pushed forward the defences of the city and of its vicinity, already planned and partly executed by General Lee. Until the arrival of Washington, April 13, 1776, General Putnam commanded at New York, and General Greene, with a considerable body of troops, took charge of the incomplete intrenchments of Brooklyn, extending from the Wallabout (the present Navy Yard) to Gowanus Cove on New York Bay. These were now strengthened by four redoubts armed with twenty pieces of artillery, and by a strong interior keep mounting seven guns. These Brooklyn Heights, from their proximity and command of New York, were considered the key of the defence of this valuable city.

Fort George, with several redoubts and batteries, guarded the southern end of Manhattan Island, while the fortified hills overlooking Kingsbridge protected its northern extremity. On Red and Paulus Hooks, and at various points along the shores of the East and Hudson rivers, were erected earthworks, and a strong redoubt was built upon Governor's Island. Between the latter and the "Battery," hulks were sunk to obstruct the main channel. Notwithstanding all these defences, Manhattan Island, as events proved, was assailable at many points.

To defend these works, scattered over more than twenty miles, Washington had an army of only 17,225 men, of whom 6,711 were sick, on furlough, or detached, leaving but 10,514 present for duty. Most of these were militia, badly clothed, imperfectly armed, without discipline or military experience, and their artillery was old and of various patterns and calibres.

There had been dispatched from England a powerful fleet under Lord Howe, convoying a large body of troops to reinforce those already in America. The army of General William Howe (brother of the Admiral) on Staten Island in August (including some 8,600 German hirelings) numbered, as

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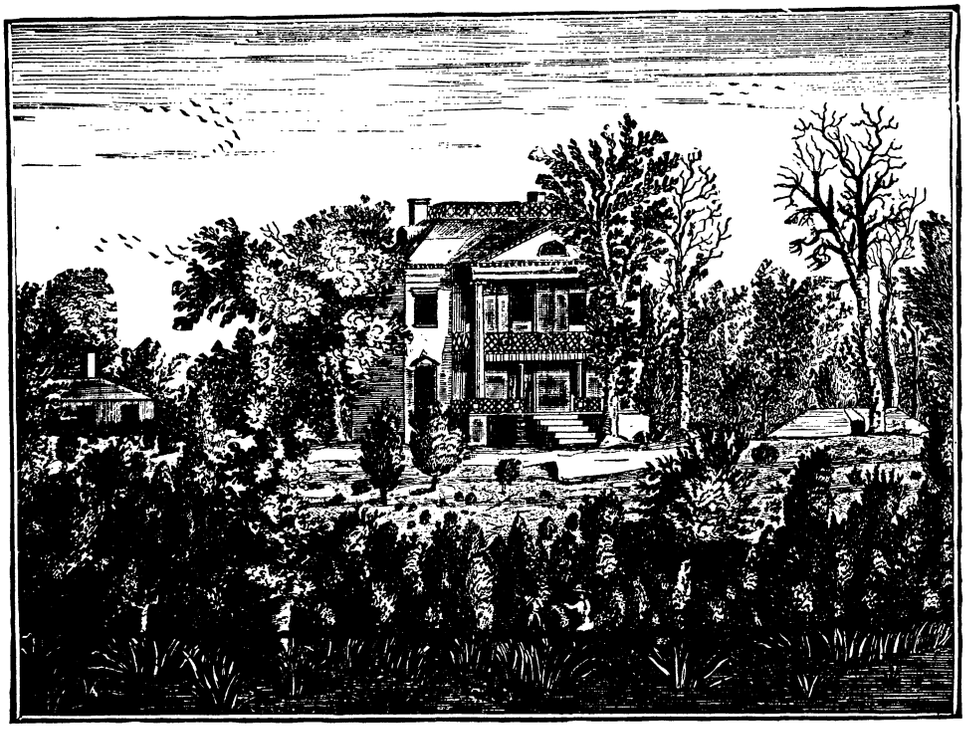
stated by General Clinton, 31,625 rank and file, of whom 24,464 were well-appointed, disciplined soldiers, fit for duty and equal to any in Europe.

The struggle for the Hudson, by the coöperation of the army of Canada with Howe, was now about to begin; but Washington was at his wits' end to foresee the particular point upon which the blow would fall. Hence he was obliged to retain the greater part of his troops in New York to defend the city, holding them ready, however, to support any point in the vicinity, whether assailed by the enemy's large fleet or by their powerful army.

On the morning of August 22, 1776, General Howe, under cover of the guns of the British ships, without mishap, delay, or opposition, debarked,



THE MORTIER HOUSE, RICHMOND HILL. (*Washington's Headquarters.*)[1]

[1] [From a plate in the *New York Magazine*, June, 1790, when the house, then owned by Mrs. Jephson, was occupied by John Adams, as Vice-President of the United States. It was at one time the home of Aaron Burr. See Parton's *Burr*, i. 81.

Washington's first headquarters in New York were probably at a house, 180 Pearl St., opposite Cedar St., sometimes called the house of Gov. Geo. Clinton, of which a view is given in Valentine's *Manual*, 1854, p. 446, and in Lossing's *Mary and Martha Washington* (N. Y., 1886), p. 153. He is also supposed by some to have occupied for a short interval the Kennedy mansion, No. 1 Broadway, known to have been used certainly by Col. Knox as artillery headquarters, of which a view is given in Irving's *Washington*, illus. ed. ii. 211, and in Gay's *Pop. Hist. U. S.*, iii. 495. (Cf. Drake's *Knox;* Lossing's *Field-Book*, ii. 594; Johnston's *Campaign of 1776*, p. 86.) In June, if not earlier, he removed to the Mortier House on Richmond Hill, and remained there till September, when he transferred his headquarters first to the Apthorp House (view in *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, 1885, p. 227), still standing at the corner of Ninth Avenue and Ninety-first Street, and next to the Morris House at Harlem. — ED.]

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as stated by Admiral Howe, about 15,000 men, with artillery, baggage, and stores, on Long Island, in the vicinity of the Narrows; and on the 25th, General de Heister's German division was landed at Gravesend Cove. This invading force of "upwards of 20,000 rank and file," well armed and with forty cannon, promptly occupied a line extending from the Narrows, through Gravesend, to Flatlands, and made ready for an immediate advance through the passes of the long range of densely wooded hills running eastwardly from the Narrows to Jamaica, about two and a half miles in front of Brooklyn. To oppose this large force of regular troops, the Americans had not quite 8,000 men, most of whom were raw militia, and of these about one half were outside of the defences of Brooklyn, ready to participate in the impending battle.

LORD HOWE.[1]

The most direct route from the British landing-place to the Brooklyn intrenchments was by the road running nearly parallel to the bay, and passing through a gorge just back of the Red Lion Tavern, where Martense Lane joins the usual thoroughfare at the edge of Greenwood Cemetery. A second road led from Flatbush directly through the pass defended by General Sullivan's intrenchments. The third was by the road from Flatbush to Bedford. Finally, the fourth, extending to Flushing, intersected the Bedford and Jamaica road at the pass between the present Evergreen and Cypress Cemeteries, about three miles east of Bedford, or about ten miles from the Narrows.

[1] [From Andrews's *Hist. of the War*, Lond., 1785, vol. ii. — ED.]

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When the British landed on the 22d, Colonel Hand's regiment was deployed to oppose them, but the enemy proving to be in too great force, Hand fell back to Prospect Hill and thence to Flatbush, burning property which would be of immediate use to the foe; but he did not at once apprise the commanding general of the real character of the British movement. So soon, however, as Washington heard of the landing, he dispatched six regiments to reinforce the garrison of Brooklyn Heights, and ordered additional forces to be in readiness to cross the East River from Manhattan Island, if Howe's movement did not prove to be a feint to cover a real attack upon New York. General Greene, unfortunately, was too sick to retain the active command on Long Island, every point of which, between Hell Gate and the Narrows, he had carefully studied. He was succeeded, August 20th, by General Sullivan, a far inferior officer. As Washington said of him, he was "active, spirited, and zealously attached to the cause," but was tinctured with "vanity, which now and then led him into embarrassments;" besides which he lacked "experience to move on a large scale," as he had just shown in Canada. On the 24th of August, Washington placed Putnam in command over Sullivan. Putnam was a brave soldier, but wholly ignorant of the science of war, besides being advanced in years. He was entirely unacquainted with the arrangements which had been made for the defence of his position, and he never went beyond the Brooklyn Heights intrenchments on the day of the battle. The truth is, no one exercised a general command in that conflict.

GEN. SIR WM. HOWE.[1]

De Heister's division, constituting the enemy's centre, occupied Flatbush August 26th, threatening the pass in front, which Sullivan held with a large force under cover of intrenchments. During the evening, Cornwallis withdrew from Flatbush to Flatlands, there becoming the reserve of the British right, which was composed of choice regiments under General Clinton, aided by Lord Percy and accompanied by the commander-in-chief.

The British plan of attack would have been very hazardous in the presence of an enterprising enemy; but against undisciplined troops, small in numbers and without skilful leadership, it proved a brilliant success. The right, under Clinton, by a night march was to seize the Cypress Hill pass, and then move down the Jamaica road towards Bedford to get in the rear of

[1] [From the upper part of an engraving of full length in *An Impartial Hist. of the War in America*, Lond., 1780, p. 204. Smith in his *Brit. Mez. Portraits* records a print, standing posture, sash and star, right elbow on block, left hand on hip, marked "Corbutt delin't et fecit. Lond. 10 Nov 1777." — ED.]

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Sullivan's left. To divert the attention of the Americans from this stealthy march, General Grant was to menace their right, towards Gravesend, before daybreak, and De Heister at the same time was to cannonade the American centre under Colonel Hand. These attacks were not, however, to be pressed till General Clinton's guns were heard in the rear of Sullivan, when the Americans were to be assailed with the utmost vigor from all quarters. Besides these land operations a squadron of five ships, under Sir Peter Parker, was to menace New York and keep up a cannonade against Governor's Island and the right flank of the American defences.

Sir Henry Clinton, the principal actor in this contest, with his heavy column and its artillery, guided by a Tory farmer, at nine in the evening of the 26th, moved silently forward from Flatlands through New Lots (now East New York), having successfully crossed Shoemaker's narrow causeway over a long marsh. At three on the morning of the 27th, Clinton arrived within half a mile of the pass he was to force, being followed and joined before daybreak by the main body under Lord Percy. Soon after daylight a small American patrol was captured and the unguarded pass occupied. Thus the whole right wing of the enemy, after partaking of refreshments, was marching unopposed directly to Brooklyn Heights. The battle, by this bold and lucky manœuvre, was in this way virtually gained before any real struggle had begun.

General Grant, on the enemy's left, with two brigades and a regiment, two companies of Tories and ten pieces of artillery, in the mean time advanced along the bay road against the flying Americans, and, at daybreak of the 27th, got through the pass in the hills and was marching on the Brooklyn lines. General Parsons, in command of the American outpost on the right, succeeded in rallying some of the fugitives and posting them advantageously on a hill until the arrival of Lord Stirling, who, with 1,500 choice Continental troops, had been sent by Putnam on learning the condition of affairs. For some hours Grant amused Stirling by slight skirmishes about Battle Hill (now in Greenwood Cemetery), till Clinton had reached his destined goal, when Grant, with quadruple forces, pushed forward to grapple in a death-struggle with his gallant foe. At the same time De Heister, who had slept upon his arms during the night at Flatbush, as soon as he heard Clinton's signal guns, sent Count Donop to storm the redoubt which protected Sullivan and defended the pass through the hills, while he himself pressed forward with the main body of the Hessians. Sullivan, hemmed in on all sides, ordered a retreat to the Brooklyn lines, but it was too late, as he was already ensnared in the prepared net, and before long all was a scene of confusion, consternation, and slaughter. Some of the Americans, after fighting desperately, broke through the enemy's line, but a large number were killed, wounded, or taken prisoners. Washington, from Brooklyn, witnessed this sad catastrophe, but was powerless to prevent it.

Stirling in like manner, met by the force under Cornwallis, which had been detached from Clinton's column, was nearly surrounded, having no

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chance for escape except across Gowanus Creek, in which the tide was fast rising. After a terrible conflict of twenty minutes, the mass of Stirling's command succeeded in passing the muddy stream, but the general and some of his bravest companions were compelled to surrender to superior numbers. Washington wrung his hands in agony at the sight of such disaster. "Good God," he cried, "what brave fellows I must this day lose!"

By two o'clock in the afternoon, this battle, or rather this series of skirmishes between forces very unequal in numbers, quality, and skill, was ter-

STIRLING.[1]

minated by the retreat of the remnant of Americans which had escaped capture. Howe stated his loss at 367 killed, wounded, and missing; and he estimated that of the Americans at 3,300, though probably it did not exceed one half of that number, of whom 1,076, including Generals Stirling, Sullivan, and Woodhull (captured at Jamaica on the next day), were made prisoners.

[1] [After a photograph of a portrait in a family brooch, attested by H. S. Watts, Oct. 8, 1879 (in Harvard College library, given by Professor C. E. Norton). There is a picture, taken at a later day, engraved in Duer's *Life of Stirling*. — ED.]

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Fortunately the victor, instead of pressing his advantage and at once assaulting the Brooklyn intrenchments, which covered the demoralized troops, waited till the next day, when he broke ground as for a regular siege, and began cannonading the American works. "By such ill-timed caution," says Lord Mahon, "arising probably from an over-estimate of the insurgents' force, the English general flung away the fairest opportunity of utterly destroying or capturing the flower of the American army;" yet such was the joy of the British government over this cheap success that General Howe was knighted for a victory over inexperienced troops one fifth his own numbers.

Washington, promptly profiting by the over-caution of his antagonist, strengthened his position, and conceived the masterly measures for his retreat from Long Island. Without the knowledge of Howe, availing himself of a dense fog and rain, and favored by a fair wind, he safely crossed the East River with all his troops, stores, and artillery, except a few heavy pieces which the mud prevented him from moving. The army reached New York on the morning of the 30th, Washington leaving in the last boat after having been forty-eight hours almost continuously in the saddle without once closing his eyes. "Whoever," says Botta, "will attend to all the details of this retreat will easily believe that no military operation was ever conducted by great captains with more ability and prudence, or under more unfavorable auspices."

Though the British general had gained a decided success, he was as far as ever from the object of his campaign — the capture of New York. The victors and the vanquished now confronted each other from opposite sides of a stream half a mile broad, each making ready for a decisive effort. Howe possessed a large, veteran, and disciplined European army, while Washington's troops, for the most part, were a demoralized assemblage of heterogeneous organizations, not much superior to an armed mob.

"Our situation," writes Washington to the President of Congress, "is truly distressing. The check our detachment sustained on the 27th ultimo has dispirited too great a proportion of our troops, and filled their minds with apprehension and despair. The militia, instead of calling forth their utmost efforts to a brave and manly opposition in order to repair our losses, are discouraged, intractable, and impatient to return. Great numbers of them have gone off: in some instances almost by whole regiments, by half ones, and by companies at a time. This circumstance of itself, independently of others, when fronted by a well-appointed enemy superior in numbers to our whole collected force, would be sufficiently disagreeable; but when their example has infected another part of the army, when their want of discipline and refusal of almost every kind of restraint and government have produced a like conduct but too common to the whole, and an entire disregard of that order and subordination necessary to the well-doing of an army, and which had been inculcated before, as well as the nature of our military establishment would admit of, our condition becomes more alarming; and, with the deepest concern, I am obliged to confess my want of confidence in the generality of the troops.

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"All these circumstances fully confirm the opinion I ever entertained, and which I more than once in my letters took the liberty of mentioning to Congress, that no dependence could be put in a militia, or other troops, than those enlisted and embodied for a longer period than our regulations heretofore have prescribed. I am persuaded, and as fully convinced as I am of any one fact that has happened, that our liberties must of necessity be greatly hazarded, if not entirely lost, if their defence is left to any but a permanent standing army; I mean, one to exist during the war. Nor would the expense incident to the support of such a body of troops as would be competent to almost every emergency far exceed that which is daily incurred by calling in succor and new enlistments, which, when effected, are not attended with any good consequences. Men who have been free and subject to no control cannot be reduced to order in an instant; and the privileges and exemptions, which they claim and will have, influence the conduct of others; and the aid derived from them is nearly counterbalanced by the disorder, irregularity, and confusion they occasion."

Three weeks later, he again writes: "It becomes evident to me, then, that, as this contest is not likely to be the work of a day, as the war must be carried on systematically, and to do it you must have good officers, there are no other possible means to obtain them but by establishing your army upon a permanent footing, and giving your officers good pay. This will induce gentlemen and men of character to engage; and till the bulk of your officers is composed of such persons as are actuated by principles of honor and a spirit of enterprise, you have little to expect from them. . . . But while the only merit an officer possesses is his ability to raise men, while these men consider and treat him as an equal, and in the character of an officer regard him no more than a broomstick, being mixed together as one common herd, no order nor discipline can prevail; nor will the officer ever meet with that respect which is essentially necessary to due subordination. To place any dependence upon militia is assuredly resting upon a broken staff. . . . To bring men to a proper degree of subordination is not the work of a day, a month, or even a year; and unhappily for us and the cause we are engaged in, the little discipline I have been laboring to establish in the army under my immediate command is in a manner done away with by having such a mixture of troops as have been called together within these few months. . . .

"The jealousy of a standing army and the evils to be apprehended from one are remote, and in my judgment, situated and circumstanced as we are, not at all to be dreaded; but the consequence of wanting one, according to my ideas formed from the present view of things, is certain and inevitable ruin. For, if I was called upon to declare upon oath whether the militia have been most serviceable or hurtful, upon the whole, I should subscribe to the latter."

The defeat of the American army on Long Island, a heavy blow to the patriot cause, suggested a desperate remedy to the mind of Washington, —

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no less a measure than the deliberate destruction of the great commercial city of New York. "Till of late," he writes to the President of Congress, "I had no doubt in my own mind of defending this place; nor should I have yet if the men would do their duty, but this I despair of. . . . If we should be obliged to abandon the town, ought it to stand as winter-quarters for the enemy? They would derive great conveniences from it on the one hand, and much property would be destroyed on the other. . . . At present I dare say the enemy mean to preserve it if they can. If Congress, therefore, should resolve upon the destruction of it, the resolution should be a profound secret, as the knowledge of it will make a capital change in their plans." General Greene, John Jay, and many others of note were of the same opinion. Congress decided otherwise, and Howe forbore to bombard it from Brooklyn Heights and Governor's Island, both belligerents deeming its possession of far greater service to either than its destruction.

As New York was not to be destroyed, it became a serious question how a city swarming with Tories was to be defended with less than twenty thousand militia against a powerful army. Washington, Greene, Putnam, and others were opposed to the attempt, but were overruled by a council of war. The question was finally left by Congress to the commander-in-chief, who, deeming the city untenable, made preparations, September 10th, for its speedy evacuation, which was concurred in, two days later, by a new council of war. This determination was timely, as the Americans were about to be driven out.

Howe, anticipating Washington's design, determined to prevent the execution of it by the same manœuvre he had tried so successfully on Long Island, — that was to threaten the city's front and right flank by the fleet, while his army, assembled about the present site of Astoria, should cross the East River, turn Washington's left flank, cut off his communications with the mainland, oblige him to fight on the enemy's terms, and force him to surrender at discretion, or by a brilliant stroke break the American army in pieces, and secure their arms and stores.

On the evening of September 14th Howe began his crossing of the East River by taking possession of Montressor (Randall's) Island, and the next morning he sent three ships up the Hudson as high as Bloomingdale, which stopped any further evacuation of the city by water. Soon after, under the fire of ten vessels-of-war, the main British force, under Sir Henry Clinton, embarked upon flatboats, barges, and galleys, at the mouth of Newtown Creek, and by the favoring tide was carried to Kip's Bay (34th Street), where they disembarked and quickly put to rout the panic-stricken American militia, and pursued the fugitives in disorderly flight over the fields to Murray Hill.

So soon as Washington heard the enemy's cannonade he rode with all speed to the front, and used every exertion to rally the runaways; but his efforts, though seconded by the officers in immediate command, were utterly futile. Mortified and in despair at such poltroonery, the commander-in-chief

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almost lost control of himself, and, says General Greene, "sought death rather than life" at the hands of the enemy.

Unopposed, the British marched to the Incleberg on Murray Hill and encamped, while the Americans retreated to Harlem Heights. Putnam, at the sacrifice of baggage and stores, and of most of his heavy artillery, by taking the river road, barely escaped with the troops remaining in the city. Howe was in close pursuit of this rear-guard of about four thousand men, but unexpectedly stopped for nearly two hours at the residence of Mrs. Murray[1] to enjoy her old Madeira, so that, in the language of the times, "Mrs. Murray saved the American army."

The British, on September 15, 1776, took possession of New York with a large detachment under General Robertson; while Howe with the main

WASHINGTON'S HEADQUARTERS AT HARLEM (Sept., 1776).[2]

body of the army encamped on the outskirts of the city. The northern line of their camp extended from Horen's Hook on the East River to Bloomingdale on the Hudson, which line was fortified with field-works and protected on the flanks by vessels-of-war. Behind this line lay their disciplined army of twenty-five thousand British and Germans.

Washington took position in their front, and for the protection of his army of about fourteen thousand fit for duty he fortified Harlem Heights with a triple line of intrenchments extending across Manhattan Island. Immediately after securing his position, Washington, to arouse some military

[1] Mother of Lindley Murray, the grammarian.

[2] [This was the house of Col. Roger Morris, and at a later day the residence of Madam Jumel. It follows a drawing in Valentine's *N. Y. City Manual*, 1854, p. 362. Cf. Lossing's *Field-Book*, ii. 816; Gay's *Pop. Hist. U. S.*, iii. 505; and for a view of the hall, *Harper's Magazine*, lii. 640. Its position was east of Tenth Avenue, near One Hundred and Sixtieth Street.—ED.]

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ardor in his discomfited militia, formed the design of cutting off some of the enemy's light troops, who, encouraged by their recent successes, had advanced to the extremity of the high ground opposite to the American camp. To effect this object, Colonel Knowlton, of Bunker Hill fame, and Major Leitch were detached with parties of rangers and riflemen to get in their rear, while Washington diverted their attention by a feigned direct attack. By some mistake, the fire was begun on the front instead of upon their flank and rear, by which the enemy, though defeated, secured their escape to their main body. This successful skirmish, called the battle of Harlem Plains, was purchased by the loss of the brave Knowlton and Leitch, both of whom were mortally wounded.

The British rejoicings upon the occupation of their snug winter-quarters in New York were suddenly interrupted, early on the morning of September 21st, by the breaking out of flames from a low groggery near Whitehall Slip, which, for want of proper fire apparatus to check them, spread rapidly over one fourth of the city, consuming five hundred buildings, including the Lutheran and Trinity churches. Whether this was the work of incendiaries is not positively known. Congress and the city's inhabitants had strenuously opposed such an act, though it was strongly recommended as a military necessity by Washington and by others of high rank and position.

While Howe "continued at gaze" awaiting coming events, Washington continued to strengthen his position on Harlem Heights, and established alarm posts on the east side of Harlem River as far as Throg's Neck on the Sound, to insure surveillance of the whole field of operations.

The Harlem lines being too strong for a front attack, Howe, after leaving a sufficient force under Lord Percy to watch them and guard the city, embarked, October 12th, his main army on ninety flatboats, to execute by his favorite manœuvre the turning of these obstacles and of Washington's left flank. His object was to cut off Washington's retreat and shut him up on Manhattan Island, the only exit from which was by Kingsbridge. Adverse winds so delayed the British general that he only passed Hell Gate on the afternoon of the 14th, and the fleet did not reach Throg's Neck till nightfall. Here Howe had previously landed his advance-guard, but Washington had anticipated him by occupying, on the 12th, the passes leading to the mainland.

The enemy's design being now fully developed, it was decided in a council of war, held in the American camp on the 16th, to leave Harlem Heights, no longer tenable, and to evacuate the whole of Manhattan Island except Fort Washington, which General Greene deemed impregnable and of great value for future operations. Accordingly, the American army formed a series of intrenched camps on the hills skirting the right bank of the swollen Bronx, and extending thirteen miles, from Fordham Heights to White Plains, and protected from the enemy by the river in front.

After waiting five days for supplies, Howe, on the 18th, left Throg's Neck, debarked again on Pell's Point, and on the march northward encoun-

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tered Glover's brigade well posted behind stone fences. After a hot skirmish Glover slowly fell back, while the enemy advanced to the heights of New Rochelle. Here the British encamped till the 22d, when they were joined by the second division of Hessians under General Knyphausen. This delay gave Washington ample time to strengthen himself at White Plains, where he held a strong and important strategic position commanding the roads leading up the Hudson and to New England.

On the morning of the 28th of October the opposing armies, each about thirteen thousand strong, confronted each other. Washington's intrenchments, partly a double line, occupied the hilly ground within the village of White Plains, the left resting upon a mill-pond and the right on a bend of the Bronx, which protected its flank and rear. Across the Bronx rose Chatterton's Hill, presenting a steep rocky front to the enemy, but it was not fortified.

Howe, believing he was now to fight the decisive battle of the war, moved up in two heavy columns, Clinton commanding the one on the right and De Heister that on the left. They seemed at first as if intending to attack in front; but they soon filed off to the left, extending their line to the front of Chatterton's Hill. Here the main body halted, while a column four thousand strong proceeded to cross the Bronx and storm the hill under cover of the fire of twenty pieces of artillery. General McDougall with fifteen hundred Continentals and militia, and Captain Alexander Hamilton with two pieces of artillery, immediately arrayed themselves on the rocky brow of the hill for its defence. As the main British body, under General Leslie, clambered up the steep acclivity it was met by a withering fire from the infantry and artillery, from which it recoiled and sought shelter. A second assault up the slope met with an equally determined resistance, and for some time the enemy was held in check. Rahl, with two regiments that had forded the Bronx a quarter of a mile below, now appeared on the American right, and drove the militia from their post. This break compelled McDougall, exposed to a heavy fire in front and flank, to retreat across the Bronx to White Plains, though with his six hundred Continentals he maintained an obstinate conflict for an hour, and carried off all his wounded and artillery. The American loss in the engagement was 30 prisoners and 130 killed and wounded, while their opponents' losses were 231.

Howe contemplated an assault, the next morning, upon the American camp, but was deterred by the apparent strength of the lines. These had been built hastily, as General Heath says, of *corn-stalks*, the tops being turned inwards, and the roots with the adhering earth outwards. The British army, strongly reinforced by the arrival of Lord Percy on the 30th, designed attacking the American works on the following day, but a storm delayed their operations, and gave Washington time to withdraw his forces to the heights of New Castle, where he erected strong defences. In the meanwhile Knyphausen had been ordered to move from New Rochelle to Kingsbridge, where he encamped on November 2d, the Americans retiring

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to Fort Washington on his approach. Howe in person suddenly left White Plains on the night of the 5th for Dobbs's Ferry, to which his army was already moving. "The design of this manœuvre," wrote Washington on the 6th to the President of Congress, "is a matter of much conjecture and speculation, and cannot be accounted for with any degree of certainty." A council of war which met that day evidently inferred that it threatened a movement across or up the Hudson, for it was unanimously agreed immediately to throw a body of troops into New Jersey, and station three thousand at Peekskill to guard the Highlands. Howe really contemplated a far different move — the capture of Fort Washington.

Why Sir William did not again attack Washington, and why he changed his whole plan, is now well understood to be due to the treason of William Demont, the adjutant of Colonel Magaw, in command of Fort Washington. This man, on the 2d of November, undiscovered, passed into the British camp, and placed in the hands of Lord Percy complete plans of the defences of Mount Washington and a statement of their armament and garrisons. This detailed information was immediately sent, with its author, to Howe, and must have reached him a day or two before his sudden departure from White Plains. The conclusive evidence of this treason is furnished by the culprit himself in his letter,[1] dated London, January 16, 1792, to the Rev. Dr. Peters, of the Church of England, which was first published by Mr. E. F. DeLancey, in the *Magazine of American History* (Feb., 1877).

Fort Washington, built by Colonel Rufus Putnam soon after the evacuation of Boston, occupied the highest ground at the northern end of Manhattan Island. It was a pentagonal bastioned earthwork without a keep, having a feeble profile and scarcely any ditch. In its vicinity were batteries, redoubts, and intrenched lines. These various field fortifications, of which Fort Washington may be considered the citadel, extended north and south over two and a half miles, and had a circuit of six miles. The three intrenched lines of Harlem Heights, crossing the island, were to the south; Laurel Hill, with Fort George at its northern extremity, lay to the east; upon the River Ridge, near Tubby Hook, was Fort Tryon, and close to Spuyten Duyvel Creek were some slight works known as "Cork Hill Fort;" and across the creek, on Tetard's Hill, was Fort Independence. The main communication with these various works was the old Albany road, crossing Harlem River at Kingsbridge. This road was obstructed by three lines of abatis, extending from Laurel Hill to the River Ridge.

Fort Washington mounted not more than eighteen guns *en barbette*, of various calibres, from nines to thirty-twos. The garrison of all the various

[1] . . . "On the 2nd of November 1776 I sacrificed," says he, "all I was worth in the world to the service of my King & country, and joined the then Lord Percy, brought in with me the Plans of Fort Washington, by which Plans that Fortress was taken by his Majesty's Troops the 16 instant, together with 2700 Prisoners and Stores & Ammunition to the amount of 1800 Pounds. At the same time, I may with Justice affirm, from my knowledge of the Works, I saved the Lives of many of his Majesty's subjects. These, Sir, are facts well known to every General officer which was there."

. . . . . .

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works was less than 3,000 men, mostly Pennsylvanians, who were commanded by Colonel Magaw, an officer of but little military experience. The ground about the fort was well suited for defence, and the works not only protected the upper part of Manhattan Island, but in conjunction with Fort Lee, on the palisades opposite, commanded the Hudson. However, from their too elevated positions and distance from each other, these two works, on the opposite sides of the river, with their feeble armament, proved insufficient, even with a partially constructed barrier of sunken hulks, to prevent the passage of the British vessels-of-war.

As these forts did not close the river, Washington did not deem it expedient to weaken his force, which was necessary to him for field operations, by leaving a large garrison on an island essentially in the hands of the enemy. To the opinion of General Greene, in general command of these works, and in deference to the expressed wishes of Congress to hold them at any cost, Washington yielded his better judgment. His modesty and sense of imperfect knowledge of the science and practice of war led him, as it did on several occasions, to defer too much to others, and though he did not think it "prudent to hazard the men and stores at Mount Washington," he left it discretionary with Greene to give the necessary orders for its evacuation.

Howe, November 15th, demanded the surrender of Fort Washington, stating that, if he were compelled to take it by assault, the garrison would be put to the sword. Magaw replied that to propose such an alternative was unworthy of a British officer, and that, for himself, he should defend the fort to the last extremity.

On the 15th Washington started across the river from Fort Lee, to which he had come, to determine the condition of the garrison at Fort Washington. He says, "I had partly crossed the North River when I met General Putnam and General Greene, who were just returning from thence, and they informed me that the troops were in high spirits and would make a good defence, and, it being late at night, I returned."

Magaw, awaiting the enemy's attack, made a judicious disposition of his forces to defend Fort Washington and the various intrenchments in its vicinity. Colonel Rawlings took command of Fort Tryon and the northern end of the River Ridge, with an outpost at Cork Hill Fort; Colonel Baxter held Fort George and the summit of Laurel Hill; Colonel Cadwallader occupied the Harlem Lines; while Magaw, at his central position of Fort Washington, directed the whole.

Howe's attack upon Fort Washington was skilfully planned and admirably executed. A vessel-of-war, the "Pearl," took up a position in the Hudson to protect the contemplated movement of the Hessian troops and enfilade the northern outworks of Fort Washington; while thirty flatboats were in the Harlem River for ferrying troops, — these boats having eluded the vigilance of the American sentries on the night of the 14th, when passing up the Hudson and through Spuyten Duyvel Creek.

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On the morning of the 16th, under a furious cannonade from the heights on the east bank of the Harlem, three distinct assaults were ordered to be made upon the American defences, besides a fourth movement, which, though designed as a feint, became a real attack at the critical moment. The *first* British column, under General Knyphausen, moved down from Kingsbridge, and with him were Rahl's Germans marching close to the Hudson; the *second*, under General Matthews, supported by Lord Cornwallis, crossed the Harlem and moved upon Fort George and the northern end of Laurel Hill; the *third*, or feint, under Lieut.-Col. Stirling, floated down the Harlem to threaten the southerly part of Laurel Hill; while the *fourth*, of British and Hessians, led by Earl Percy and accompanied by Howe, moved from Harlem Plain upon the triple lines of Harlem Heights.

The latter column, advancing from the south, began the attack upon the outer or southernmost American line, where Cadwallader, unable to check Lord Percy's superior forces, fell back to his stronger middle line. Howe then ordered Stirling to land from the Harlem and clamber up the steep slope of Laurel Hill to threaten the rear of Cadwallader. The latter sent a detachment, as did also Colonel Magaw, to oppose Stirling's landing, without avail. Matthews at the same time debarked his column and attacked the Americans on Laurel Hill, where Baxter was killed. The united forces of Matthews and Stirling overcame all opposition and took 170 prisoners. Baxter's force was compelled, as was also Cadwallader, when pressed by Percy, to seek refuge in Fort Washington. About noon the Hessian column from the north was in motion. Rahl soon scattered the small guard in Cork Hill Fort and advanced upon Fort Tryon, crowding Rawlings by superior force nearly back to Fort Washington, when, being joined by Knyphausen, who had made his way over wooded and difficult ground and across abatis, the reunited German columns bore down all opposition. The Americans at this point also, after a spirited resistance, were compelled to take refuge in Fort Washington, which, now overcrowded and exposed to the deadly concentric fire of the enemy, left Magaw no alternative but surrender. He asked for a parley of four hours, but he was allowed only half an hour. In the end he capitulated, upon honorable terms, to General Knyphausen, to whom the glory of the day belonged. Magaw had received a promise from Washington to attempt to bring off the troops if he would hold out till night, which Magaw deemed impossible, with troops huddled together and exposed to destruction from the enemy's near circle of fire. This capture cost the enemy nearly 500 men in killed and wounded. The American loss was 150 killed and wounded, 2,634 taken prisoners (including many of their best troops), 43 pieces of artillery of from three to thirty-two pounds calibre, a large number of small arms, and much ammunition and stores. The whole of Manhattan Island thus passed into British hands.

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Immediately after the capture of Fort Washington, Sir William Howe crossed with his army into New Jersey, it being too late for any coöperation with the Northern army under General Carleton, who had already retreated from Crown Point into Canada.[1]

This New York campaign had been most disastrous to the American cause; yet it was far from a brilliant success for the Anglo-Hessian arms. Washington, with troops inferior in numbers, arms, organization, discipline, and experience, had outgeneralled Howe, with a superior veteran army, whenever he acted upon his own good judgment and did not yield his convictions to his subordinates, to whom most of the errors of the campaign were due.

It is doubtful whether there was any necessity whatever for the British to fight the battle of Long Island, as their fleet might have occupied the East River, as it subsequently did, and thus have caged the part of Washington's army which was on Long Island. It is true that the American batteries on Brooklyn Heights and Governor's Island might have done the fleet much damage; but if it was too dangerous to run the gauntlet of the Buttermilk Channel, four fathoms deep, it would have been an easy matter to sail around the eastern end of Long Island, and safely enter the East River from that direction.

Had the East River been occupied by the British fleet, it could, while cutting off half of our army from the defence of New York, at the same time have threatened the city front pending the transportation of the British army by water to points above the city from whence to turn either or both flanks of Manhattan Island. Washington, thus shut up, would have been compelled to fight at great disadvantage, and possibly surrender at discretion.

Even admitting that the battle of Long Island was necessary, Howe, in dividing his army into three masses, stretching over a line of more than ten miles, ran great risk of being beaten in detail had all of the American forces on the island been concentrated at a central position, ready to be thrown successively upon his isolated columns. It is true the undisciplined American forces might not have been able to cope in the open field with British and German regulars; but Howe had no right to presume their inferiority after his own experience of their good conduct at Bunker Hill and Clinton's trial at Sullivan's Island.

The American general also committed a great military blunder in leaving with raw troops the shelter of the Brooklyn intrenchments for the precarious protection of the Long Island Ridge, several important passes in which were left entirely unguarded, though Washington had ordered their careful observation.

After the retreat of the American army to New York, Howe wasted two precious weeks, during which Washington had time to organize his defence;

[1] [For this New Jersey campaign see chapter v. — ED.]

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and when the British general crossed the East River, he committed a great mistake in debarking at Kip's Bay, — a halfway measure which involved a long land march to his objective, White Plains. Washington, with great vigor, seized his advantage, and, by availing himself of his shorter interior line, arrived first at the coveted position and fortified it. Had Howe moved to this point by water immediately after the battle of Long Island, he undoubtedly would have succeeded in turning Washington's left flank, and would thus have cut off his retreat. The British general's delay of *two months* after the battle of Long Island in moving less than thirty miles to reach White Plains was inexcusable. In a shorter period Moltke began and ended the campaign of 1866, which so humbled the great power of the Austrian empire.

When Howe decided to attack the American army at White Plains he should have thrown his entire force upon Washington's centre, and thus have won a decisive victory with his superior troops; whereas he used less than one third of his army in driving Washington's right wing from Chatterton's Hill upon his main body, which then successfully retreated before the tardy and inert British general.

Howe's good fortune in capturing Fort Washington was due more to the treason of Magaw's adjutant and to Washington's yielding to bad advice, than to any skill of the British commander.[1]

With the invasion of New Jersey by the Anglo-Hessian army all military operations at the mouth of the Hudson were terminated. The struggle for the control of this great river was to be transferred to its upper waters, and it was expected that the coming campaign would be so conducted as soon to force the whole power of the colonies into silence and submission.

General Gates, who was appointed the successor of Sullivan in the command of the army of Canada, was, says Horace Walpole, "the son of a housekeeper of the second Duke of Leeds." He had neither brilliant qualities nor military genius, but possessed the vanity and ambition to covet the highest position, for the attainment of which he resorted to disgraceful intrigue. When assigned to this command, in June, 1776, the army of Canada was flying to Crown Point; so, like Sancho Panza, Gates found himself a governor without a government; but, nothing abashed, he at once claimed the command of the Northern department, then under Schuyler. Congress sustained the latter, whereupon Gates took post at Ticonderoga, where the remnant of the American army had retired upon the abandonment of Crown Point, and promptly adopted vigorous measures to put the work in good condition for defence and to reinforce its garrison against any forward movement of General Carleton.

[1] Every true American should be most profoundly grateful that this incompetent general was placed at the head of the British army, not for his own merits, but because of his connection with royalty through his grandmother's frailty. His mother was the issue of George I. and Sophia Kilmansegge.

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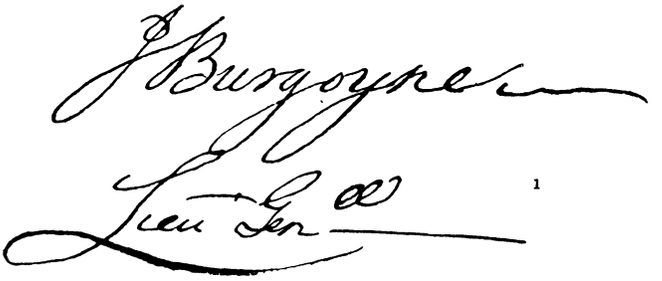
To secure control of Lake Champlain, a squadron of small vessels was ordered to be constructed at its head (Skenesborough), which, to the number of nine, mounting in all fifty-five guns, were completed by the middle of August. Arnold, in command of these and some additional galleys from Ticonderoga, moved down to the foot of the lake, and anchored his vessels across it to bar the passage of the enemy.



[1]

Carleton, as active as his adversary, had built at St. Johns a flotilla of "thirty fighting vessels." When Arnold discovered the superiority of the enemy's fleet in vessels and guns to be more than double his own, and that they were manned by picked British sailors, he fell back and formed line of battle between Valcour's Island and the western shore of the lake. In this disadvantageous position he was attacked, October 11th, by Captain Pringle, of the British navy, with thirty-eight vessels and boats, mounting 123 guns. Though the crews of Arnold's flotilla were landsmen, he maintained a desperate fight from eleven in the forenoon until dark, when, availing himself of the obscurity of a thick fog, he escaped with part of his vessels, unobserved, through the enemy's fleet; but, owing to adverse winds

[1] [From *Political Magazine* (1780), i. 743, with a memoir of Burgoyne. There are modern engravings of this likeness in Moore's *Diary of the Amer. Rev.*, i. p. 513; and in Lossing's *Field Book*, i. 37. — ED.]

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and his crippled condition, he was overtaken on the 13th off Split Rock, where he was again attacked. Some of his flotilla escaped and some were captured, but he himself, after fighting four hours, ran his remaining vessels ashore, set them on fire with their flags flying, and escaped with their crews through the forests to Ticonderoga. General Carleton now advanced to Crown Point, of which he took possession October 14th, and pushed a reconnoissance to within sight of Ticonderoga. When Carleton's boats appeared, Gates made an effective display of his garrison, whereupon the British general fell back to Crown Point, which he evacuated, and, it being too late for further active operations, he retired to Canada.

The enemy had scarcely departed when Schuyler applied himself with tireless assiduity to prepare against a new invasion during that winter or in the coming year. He continually pressed upon Congress and Washington the wants of his department in men and munitions of war. In every way he tried to conciliate the Indian tribes; and he lost no opportunity of gaining information of the enemy's designs and movements.

BURGOYNE.[1]

Burgoyne, after the battle of Bunker Hill, had suggested to Lord Rochefort, Secretary of State for the colonies, that, as there was "no probable prospect of bringing the war to a speedy conclusion with any force that Great Britain and Ireland could supply," there should be employed "a large army of such foreign troops as might be hired, to begin their operations up the Hudson River; another army, composed partly of old disciplined troops and partly of Canadians, to act from Canada; a large levy of

[1] [From Andrews's *Hist. of the War*, London, 1785, vol. iii. Fonblanque gives a likeness painted by Ramsay at Rome in 1750, and this is repeated in Gay's *Pop. Hist. U. S.*, iii. 567. Reynolds painted him in 1766 (Fonblanque, p. 86). J. C. Smith (*Brit. Mez. Portraits*, ii. 710) records a picture by Pine. Cf. Jones's *Campaign for the Conquest of Canada*, p. 194, and the illus. ed. of Irving's *Washington*, iii. — ED.]

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Indians and a supply of arms for the blacks, to awe the Southern provinces, conjointly with detachments of regulars; and a numerous fleet to sweep the whole coast, — might possibly do the business in one campaign."

The importance of securing the control of the Hudson, thereby to separate the New England from the Middle and Southern States, was eminently correct; but the proposed mode of accomplishing it was, as the sequel proved, entirely wrong.

Burgoyne, like many other Englishmen, had held American prowess in contempt, and ridiculed the enrolment of provincials as "a preposterous parade of military arrangement." His later experience probably changed his views, for when he had supplanted that noble soldier Sir Guy Carleton in the command of the British army in Canada, through "family support" more than from "military merit," he took good care to secure a strong and veteran force, commanded by officers of noted skill and long experience.

Burgoyne's army, which took the field in July, 1777, had a total, rank and file, of 7,902, of which 4,135 were British, 3,116 Germans, 148 Canadian militia, and 503 Indians. The artillery corps and train were of the most serviceable character, "probably the finest and most excellently supplied as to officers and private men that had ever been allotted to second the operations of any army."

The commander-in-chief was a polished gentleman, a popular dramatist, an effective speaker, a useful member of Parliament, and a gallant officer who had won laurels in Portugal; Major-General Phillips, the second in command, was a distinguished artillerist who had earned a high reputation in Germany; Major-General Riedesel had been selected because of his long experience, especially in the Seven Years' War; Brigadier-General Fraser, who commanded the light brigade, was a knightly soldier, ambitious of glory, who had seen much service in America; Hamilton and Powel, who commanded brigades, had been twenty years on active duty; Lord Balcarras and Major Acland, commanding respectively the light infantry and grenadiers, were soldiers of high professional attainments; La Corne St. Luc, the commander of the Indians, had been an active partisan of the French in Canada wars, and "was notorious for brutal inhumanity;" and the many staff and regimental officers were already men of mark, or subsequently rose to high positions.

With such a thoroughly disciplined and well-appointed army, Burgoyne fondly anticipated making a triumphal march of two hundred miles to Albany, there to meet St. Leger descending the Mohawk, and Howe ascending the Hudson, and thus by combined movements to dismember the thirteen United States. This march of the Northern army seemed not arduous, as most of Burgoyne's way was by water through the Sorel, Lake Champlain, and the upper Hudson; but he had taken little account of the extraordinary physical difficulties he was doomed to encounter, and the hostility of the inhabitants along much of his route.

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Another embarrassment greatly marred the British plans. Lord George Germain, the Secretary of State for the colonies, had given Burgoyne positive orders for his march to Albany, from which he was not to deviate; while Howe was left, through a piece of criminal negligence,[1] without any imperative instructions to coöperate with the army in Canada; besides which, it was almost impossible to arrange any concerted action between forces separated by four hundred miles of hostile country.

LORD GEORGE GERMAIN.[2]

Burgoyne, however, like a true soldier, determined to obey orders, though it might break empires. Consequently, on June 13th, at St. Johns, the standard of England was hoisted on board the "Radeau," and saluted by all the rest of the shipping and forts, thus announcing the beginning of this eventful and important campaign.

On the 20th, Burgoyne issued, with seeming royal prerogative, a bombastic proclamation, commending the justice and clemency of the king, who had directed "that Indians be employed;" denouncing the obstinacy of Americans as "wilful outcasts;" threatening the terrors of savage warfare of the "thousands of Indians" under his command, "to overtake the hardened enemies of Great Britain;" and, "in consciousness of Christianity and the honor of soldiership," warned all of his opposers that "the messengers of justice and wrath await them on the field, and devastation, famine, and every concomitant horror that a reluctant but indispensable prosecution of military duty must occasion."[3]

[1] After Germain had written out Howe's orders, he left them to be "fair copied," and went to Kent on a visit, forgetting on his return to sign them; consequently they were pigeon-holed till May 18th, and did not reach Howe till August 16th, after he had left New York upon his expedition to the Chesapeake, and when it was too late to effect a junction with Burgoyne. [Cf. Fitzmaurice's *Shelburne*, i. 358; Fonblanque's *Burgoyne* (p. 233); Jones's *N. Y. during the Revolution*, i. App. p. 696. — ED.]

[2] [From Murray's *Impartial Hist. of the present War*, i. 190. — ED.]

[3] In ridicule of this appeal, Burke indulged in an illustration which delighted the House of Commons. "Suppose," he exclaimed, "there was a riot on Tower Hill. What would the keeper of his Majesty's lions do? Would he not fling open the dens of the wild beasts, and then address them thus: 'My gentle lions — my humane bears — my tender-hearted hyenas, go forth! But I exhort you, as you are Christians and members of civil society, to take care not to hurt any man, woman, or child.'"

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Burgoyne, after delivering himself of this pronunciamiento of loving kindness towards his American erring brothers, and setting forth the sweet humanity of his dusky allies, who "had sharpened their affections upon their hatchets," proceeded up Lake Champlain, pioneered by these children of the forest in their birch canoes, the fleet and army following, with music and banners, as if engaged in a splendid regatta.

While Burgoyne with the main army was moving south, Lieutenant-Colonel St. Leger, in conformity with instructions from the British cabinet, with a detachment of about 1,000 men (English regulars, provincials, and Indians), was rapidly advancing west to Fort Stanwix, by the St. Lawrence and Lakes Ontario and Oneida. After reducing this post and subjugating the patriots of the Mohawk valley, he was ordered to join his chief at or near Albany.

Burgoyne's formidable invading force of 7,863 men, with 42 pieces of artillery, which reached Crown Point June 27th, advanced thence, July 1st, in battle array: the right wing of British troops under General Phillips, upon Fort Ticonderoga on the west bank of the lake; the left wing of Germans under General Riedesel, upon Fort Independence on the east bank; and the floating batteries in line across the lake. Burgoyne had announced in orders: "This army must not retreat."

General Schuyler had recently visited Forts Ticonderoga and Independence, where, instead of a garrison of 5,000 men, he found only 2,546 half-armed and poorly provided Continental troops and 900 raw militia, "many of them mere boys, and one third of the whole force unfit for duty." He noted, with serious forebodings, the unfitness of the works to resist attack, a state to which lack of workmen and the neglect of Gates had brought them. The reduction of this stronghold was indispensable to Burgoyne's progress, not only as insuring his communications with Canada, but because of the danger of leaving such a force in his rear.

In an endeavor to strengthen these fortifications, of which General St. Clair had recently taken command, the works had been too much extended, and the key-points — Mount Hope, commanding Fort Ticonderoga, and Mount Defiance, a supposed inaccessible eminence at the confluence of the waters of Lakes George and Champlain — had not been occupied; consequently, they were seized by the British and artillery was planted upon them.

St. Clair, no favorite of fortune, finding himself nearly invested on the 5th, and exposed to a plunging fire from these heights, which he could not return, wisely determined to evacuate all his works that night, under pretence of making a sortie. As soon as it was dark enough, the women and wounded, together with some ammunition and stores, were placed upon 200 bateaux, which were to be escorted to Skenesborough by five armed galleys and a guard of 600 men, all under the command of Colonel Long. In thus abandoning Ticonderoga, St. Clair justified himself, saying that "we had lost a post, but saved a province."

St. Clair, leaving his heavy artillery and many supplies behind, with

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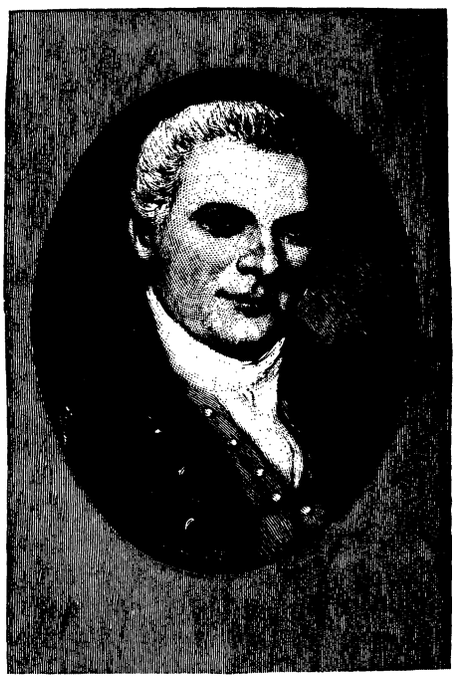
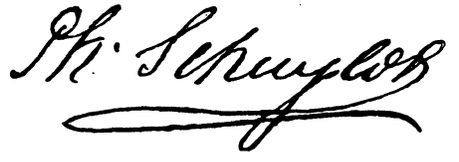
the garrison of Fort Ticonderoga passed undisturbed, at midnight, over the floating bridge across the lake. On the southern side the troops from Fort Independence joined him, and all were safely escaping, when, without orders, General De Fermois's headquarters were fired, the blaze of which disclosed the retreat to the enemy. The alarm was at once given, and the deserted forts were seized by the British. General Fraser was in pursuit at daylight of the 6th, followed soon after by General Riedesel with the German grenadiers. Meanwhile, Burgoyne and Phillips, in the fleet, broke through the boom and bridge across the lake, in chase of Colonel Long and the American flotilla, which, on the afternoon of the 7th, was overtaken and attacked at the wharves of Skenesborough. Two of the covering galleys struck their colors, and the others were blown up by their crews. The bateaux, mills, and stockade there were promptly burned, and then the detachment fled to Fort Anne, eleven miles below. Early the next morning Long sallied out and had a sharp encounter with his pursuers under Colonel Hill; but when victory was almost within his grasp, the enemy was reinforced by a number of savages sent forward by Burgoyne, who had remained at Skenesborough. Colonel Long, after burning Fort Anne, retreated sixteen miles to Fort Edward, where he met Schuyler on his way to Ticonderoga with a small reinforcement.



ARTHUR ST. CLAIR.[1]

St. Clair, with the main body, was even less fortunate. He retreated through the wilderness to Castleton, his rear-guard of 1,200 men, under Colonel Warner, stopping over night at Hubbardton, where on the morn-

[1] [From a photograph of a miniature furnished by Mr. F. D. Stone. It was painted near the close of the war. Daniel Goodwin, Jr., *Provincial Pictures*, p. 72, says there is another miniature on ivory, owned by Miss Mary R. Sheets, of Indianapolis. A likeness by C. W. Peale hangs in Independence Hall in Philadelphia. It was drawn by J. B. Longacre, and engraved by E. Wellmore. It represents him at the time he was governor of the Northwest Territory. Cf. *St. Clair Papers;* Goodwin's *Provincial Pictures*, p. 72. There is also a pencil sketch by John Trumbull given in the *St. Clair Papers*, and in the illustrated edition of Irving's *Washington*. Cf. 2 *Penna. Archives*, vol. x.; Lossing's *Field-Book*, i. 132. A view of his home is given in Egle's *Pennsylvania*, p. 1156. — ED.]



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ing of the 8th it was attacked by Fraser with an inferior force. After a spirited engagement Hale's militia regiment abandoned the field, and the enemy was reinforced by the arrival of Riedesel's Brunswickers, which latter turned the American right flank and compelled their retreat to Rutland, the rendezvous appointed by St. Clair in the event of disaster. From here the remnant of St. Clair's forces, by a circuitous march of more than a hundred miles, on the 12th reached Fort Edward, where Schuyler, on the 20th, could muster only 4,467 men fit for duty. This little army was deficient in almost every requisite for battle, while Burgoyne, flushed with victory, lay within a day's forced march with his veteran army of nearly double the American force.

Schuyler was charged by Congress with "neglect of duty" in not ordering a timely retreat of the garrison from Ticonderoga, if untenable; and, if to be defended, not to have been present at the attack upon it. The court-martial, of thirteen distinguished officers, unanimously acquitted him "with the highest honor."[1]

These reverses, which closed the first act of the drama of varied events in this checkered campaign, seemed to open the way to Burgoyne's triumph, and they spread universal alarm among the patriots, who had considered Ticonderoga the closed gate to northern invasion. These disasters, however, were blessings in disguise, despite the desertion of the militia. Washington predicted ultimate success, and Schuyler was roused to great efforts to oppose the enemy's advance. Wood Creek was at once obstructed with logs and huge stones; all roads were broken up and their bridges destroyed; dry land was converted into morass, trees were felled in every direction, and the whole of this wild and savage country was stripped of cattle and supplies, for which the enemy had consequently to depend upon Canada and remoter England.

Having provided this barrier against the enemy, Schuyler, who had been joined by Arnold, fell back to Fort Miller with his artillery (brought from Fort George), where he tarried till he had ruined the road over which he passed, and thence proceeded to Stillwater to await reinforcements, making that his fortified headquarters, while his little army occupied a camp, which was intrenched on Van Schaick's Island, near the mouth of the Mohawk.

[1] [The familiar portrait of Schuyler is one by Trumbull, both in civil and military dress, in engravings by Thomas Kelly, H. B. Hall, and others. Cf. Lossing's *Life of Schuyler*, vol. i.; Irving's *Washington*, vol. ii. 40; Stone's *Campaigns of Burgoyne*, p. 38; *Centennial Celebrations of N. Y.* (Albany, 1878); C. H. Jones's *Campaign for the Conquest of Canada in 1776; The Amer. Portrait Gallery*, etc.

G. W. Schuyler (*Colonial New York*, ii. 253), in his account of General Philip Schuyler, points out some errors of a personal nature, into which Lossing and Judge Jones have fallen, respecting Schuyler's private history. For the Schuyler family, see *N. Y. Geneal. and Biog. Record*, April, 1874.

Schuyler's house in Albany, at which he entertained Burgoyne after his surrender, is shown in Lossing's *Field-Book*, i. 304; his *Hudson River*, p. 129; *Mag. of Amer. History*, July, 1884. Cf. *Hours at Home*, ix. 464. Of Mrs. Schuyler, the hostess, see account in S. B. Wister and Agnes Irwin's *Worthy Women of our First Century* (Philad., 1877). The mansion was sold in October, 1884, to be removed. A plan of Albany during this period (dated 1770) is in the *Doc. Hist. N. Y.*, iii. 697. — ED.]

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Burgoyne was so elated by his successes that he dispatched his aide-de-camp Captain Gardner to England, "with news so important to the king's service, and so honorable to the troops under his command." But while the British colors were flying over Ticonderoga, he little dreamed of the difficulties and reverses which were awaiting him. To provide garrisons for these works in his rear, to which he had sent all his surplus artillery and baggage, he was compelled "to drain the life-blood of his army," since Carleton had declined to supply the necessary troops for their defence, on the ground that his jurisdiction as governor did not extend beyond the bounds of Canada.

Burgoyne availed himself of the water transportation of Lake George for most of his artillery and stores; but, for the march of his army from Skenesborough, a trackless wilderness confronted him, through which he had to remove countless obstacles, cut a new pathway, and build no less than forty bridges, one of which, over a swamp, was two miles long. Wood Creek had also to be opened for his bateaux. In these laborious undertakings his army was exhausted with overwork, and suffered terribly with midsummer heat and innumerable insects. Consequently, with his utmost efforts, he did not reach Fort Edward till July 30th, or twenty-four days after leaving Lake Champlain, a distance of only twenty-six miles. Burgoyne remained at Fort Edward till August 15th, awaiting the transportation across the portage from Lake George of the necessary artillery, ammunition, provisions, and bateaux for his descent of the Hudson.

During this enforced delay important events were occurring elsewhere, on the Mohawk and near Bennington. General Lincoln at the same time was recruiting troops in New England, with which to attempt the recapture of Ticonderoga and cut off the British retreat to Canada.

Fort Stanwix, or Fort Schuyler as it was subsequently called, on the head-waters of the Mohawk, near the present Rome, N. Y., was built in 1758, and in April, 1777, was put under command of Colonel Gansevoort, who, with Colonel Marinus Willet, placed it in a better condition of defence. The garrison of the work was 750 Continental troops, before which St. Leger, accompanied by the loyalist Sir John Johnson, and Joseph Brant the great Mohawk chief, appeared, August 2, and the next day summoned it to surrender. Gansevoort paying no attention to this, the British colonel prepared for a regular siege, and sent out detachments to cut off all succor.

The inhabitants of Tryon County were panic-stricken, but the aged General Herkimer by great efforts collected 800 militia and marched to Oriskany, within eight miles of the fort, to which he sent a messenger with a request that upon the messenger's arrival three guns should be fired and a sortie made to facilitate the advance of the succoring party through the besiegers. The signal was delayed, and, unfortunately, Herkimer's better judgment was overruled by his younger officers, who were impatient of delay. This led to his moving forward and to his being ambushed in a val-

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ley, the head of which was held by loyalists, while Indian allies under Brant occupied the sides. Here a desperate hand-to-hand fight of five hours ensued, early in which the brave Herkimer was mortally wounded; but seated upon his saddle, and propped against a tree, he calmly continued to give his orders and animate his men with his own heroism till the end of the battle.

At length the long-expected signal guns were heard, when Colonel Willet with 250 men made a sudden dash upon a weak part of the besiegers' camp. Though he failed to reach Herkimer, he destroyed two sections of the enemy's intrenchments, and captured the British camp equipage, Sir John Johnson's papers, five flags, and some prisoners.

The Indians, who had lost many of their braves at Oriskany, hearing the sound of Willet's musketry in their rear, quickly retreated, and were soon followed by the loyalists, leaving Herkimer in possession of the field. St. Leger still continued the siege of the fort, where now floated for the first time the American flag, just adopted by Congress, made of alternate stripes of a soldier's white shirt and a camp-woman's red petticoat, the field being cut out of an old blue overcoat. Beneath this were hung the five captured British standards.

St. Leger on the 7th again demanded the surrender of the fort, threatening Indian vengeance, and falsely stating that Burgoyne was in possession of Albany. Gansevoort returned an indignant refusal to this disgraceful threat. Soon came rumors of the approach of the intrepid Arnold to raise the siege. Statements sent forward of his numbers, purposely exaggerated, caused the flight of the panic-stricken Indians, and St. Leger, August 22, abandoned his trenches, some artillery and camp equipage, and fled to Canada. The right wing of the invaders being thus paralyzed, Arnold returned in triumph to join Schuyler.

Burgoyne's difficulties increased. His Indian allies were insubordinate, and the patriots swelled the American ranks. Finding that his scanty supplies had to be replenished from his distant base in Canada, or rather from England, he decided to make a raid upon Bennington, to secure horses, cattle, and provisions from the depot there. He hoped also that this move would strike terror among the unfriendly inhabitants of the New Hampshire Grants, who hung "like a gathering storm upon his left," and also would elevate the flagging spirits of his army, by a victory which he supposed would be easy. Accordingly, Lieutenant-Colonel Baum was dispatched with a select corps of 550 British, German, and loyalist troops and 150 Indians. Colonel Breyman, with 642 heavy dismounted Brunswick chasseurs, was sent on the 15th as a support. To oppose this expedition, General John Stark hastily collected 1,400 trained militia.

Though constant skirmishing took place on the 15th, a pouring rain prevented a general engagement till the next day, when the determined Yankee leader declared he would beat the invader or "before night Molly Stark would be a widow." To fulfil his pledge he seized the initiative,

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attacked the enemy on three sides, stormed their intrenchments on the Walloomscoick River and captured their guns, dispersed the Indians and loyalists, and went in hot pursuit of the Germans and British, when his exhausted forces were checked by Breyman's supporting detachment. Colonel Warner's excellent regiment, at once fresh and eager, arrived that afternoon and renewed the action, which was continued till dark, when Breyman, under the cover of night, made good his retreat. Baum was mortally wounded, 207 men were killed, 700 were captured, including the wounded; and 1,000 stand of small arms, all the enemy's artillery and most of their baggage fell into the hands of the Americans. Had there been another hour of daylight, none would have escaped. Stark's losses were 40 killed and 42 wounded.

JOHN STARK.[1]

This victory and the success in the Mohawk valley were as inspiriting to the American as depressing to the Anglo-German army. Burgoyne was now beset with danger on every side. Formidable obstacles accumulated in his path, famine stared him in the face; all his English flour and beef had been consumed, and the whole surrounding country was sending enthusiastic volunteers to bar his progress.

Nearly a month before, Washington had predicted that Burgoyne's successes "would precipitate his ruin," and that his "acting in detachments was the course of all others most favorable to the American cause," as cutting off any of them "would inspirit the people and do away with much of their present anxiety." The beginning of the end had already come.

The first stage in this eventful campaign was for Burgoyne a great success; the second was an equally great failure; and now the last was coming, in which the most decisive results and the highest plaudits were to be won or lost. Schuyler unquestionably would have been the hero of this final development had he not most inopportunely been replaced by Gates, a mediocre soldier. Fortunately, the latter's deficiencies were compensated by officers inferior in rank but superior in ability, — the dashing Arnold, the daring Morgan, not to name others.

[1] [After a silhouette given in Rev. Albert Tyler's *Bennington, the battle, 1777; Centennial Celebration, 1877* (Worcester, 1878). This book is of some interest for its account of the ground and its landmarks, and relics of the battle. A view of Stark's monument is given in Potter's *Manchester*, N. H., p. 584; and an account of his homestead is in the *Granite Monthly*, v. 84. The usual portrait of Stark is that given in Caleb Stark's *Memoir of Gen. John Stark* (Concord, 1860), and in the illustrated ed. of Irving's *Washington*, ii. 437. Cf. *N. E. Hist. Geneal. Reg.*, July, 1853, and the original ed. of the Stark *Memoirs*, for another likeness. — ED.]

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HORATIO GATES.[1]

Congress, in the exercise of its prerogative, made and displaced generals at its will, and too often was influenced by sectional interests and rivalries. The command of the Northern Department was especially the prize of party favorites. Wooster, Thomas, Sullivan, Schuyler, and Gates

[1] [From *An Impartial Hist. of the War in Amer.*, London, 1780, p. 494. The engraving in the Boston edition, 1781, vol. ii., is by J. Norman. Smith (*Brit. Mez. Portrait*) records an engraving published in London, Jan. 2, 1778, which represents him holding a similar scroll, but "with right hand on hip." — ED.]

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had in rapid succession followed each other, and now Schuyler, after all he had done to baffle the enemy and organize victory, was to be the victim of prejudice — of New England against New York — which dated back to colonial days. Schuyler placed little reliance upon New England troops, and their representatives in Congress had as little confidence in Schuyler's generalship. Each misjudged the other; but the outcome of this feeling between Dutch and Puritan blood was unfortunate in superseding the soldierly Schuyler by the intriguing Gates. And it was a cruel reverse to the former, just as his skilful plans were culminating in the utter discomfiture of the enemy, and his successes at Stanwix and Bennington were bringing reinforcements from every quarter to his standard with which to take the offensive, that he should be shorn of the laurels which were about to crown him as the brilliant leader in this most important campaign of the Revolution. If Schuyler had been left in command, probably all the after-complications connected with Burgoyne's surrender would have been avoided.

Horatio Gates [1]

The resolution of Congress superseding Schuyler reached him on the 10th of August. The noble patriot responded to this ungenerous censure by renewed efforts for his army till Gates's arrival on the 19th, and then he extended to his unworthy successor the courtesy of a true gentleman, for with him the country's welfare was paramount to all personal wrongs.

Gates, clothed with plenary powers and granted by Congress almost

[1] [From Murray's *Impartial Hist. of the Present War*, vol. ii. There is a portrait by Stuart, published in 1798 as engraved by Tiebout, given in steel (bust only) by H. B. Hall in Jones's *Campaign for the Conquest of Canada* (p. 140), and in photogravure (whole picture) in Mason's *Stuart* (p. 183). The expression in this last is wholly different from the steel engraving. There is also a picture in the *Heads of Illustrious Americans*, London, 1783. There are other likenesses, — cf. Gay's *Pop. Hist. U. S.*, iii. 586; Lossing's *Field-Book*, ii. 669.

Gates after the war lived for a while on his estate in the Shenandoah valley (view of his house in *Appleton's Journal*, July 19, 1873, p. 69, and Mrs. Lamb's *Homes of America*), but finally removed to New York, and lived near what is now Second Avenue and Twenty-third Street. A view of the house occupied by him as headquarters at Saratoga is in Lossing's *Hudson River*, p. 94. — ED.]

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everything denied to Schuyler, moved, after a delay of three weeks, with his army, 6,000 strong, from the mouth of the Mohawk to Bemis's Heights, a commanding position on the west bank of the Hudson, which was selected by Arnold and fortified by the engineer Kosciusko. The principal hill was occupied on three sides by extensive intrenchments and redoubts with an abatis. A line of breastworks on the east extended from the hill to the Hudson, to guard a floating bridge across the river and to sweep the plain in front; and on the west was a lower hill which was only partially fortified. The whole position was covered by a ravine in front, through which flowed a branch of Mill Creek.

Gates took personal command of the right wing of the army, occupying the intrenchments between the Hudson and the heights to the west; Learned held the centre; while Arnold had charge of the left wing, comprising Morgan's riflemen, some Continental troops, and a body of militia.

To coöperate in checking the advance of the enemy, General Lincoln with 2,000 militia was sent to threaten Burgoyne's communications. Colonel Brown with 500 of Lincoln's force, on September 18th, surprised the outposts and key-points of Ticonderoga, destroyed over two hundred bateaux and gunboats, captured 293 prisoners and 5 cannon, released 100 Americans, and brought away the Continental standard left flying over the fort when abandoned by St. Clair.

Burgoyne was greatly perplexed. To retreat was to acknowledge his weakness, and to advance was possibly to sacrifice his army and lose his coveted peerage. Under these circumstances he stood still, hoping his recent defeats would soon be forgotten, and he should be strengthened for the future.

Having finally received from Lake George his artillery, military stores, and thirty days' provisions, Burgoyne crossed to the west bank of the Hudson; September 13th–14th, he moved with his army to Saratoga; on the 15th–16th he tarried at Dovegot (near Coveville) to reconnoitre, repair bridges, and open roads over this rugged country; on the 17th he marched to Sword's Farm; on the 18th he advanced to Wilbur's Basin, within two miles of the American position, having constantly to skirmish with Arnold; and on the morning of the 19th he was engaged in reconnoitring and making preparations to attack Gates, if deemed expedient.

A table-land, intersected with ravines through which flowed Mill Creek and its branches, separated the two armies. Except a narrow cultivated strip, adjoining the Hudson, the ground was covered in great part by a dense forest. The river formed its eastern boundary, and on the north, west, and south sides were wooded heights, separated from each other by valleys.

While the Americans occupied the south heights, the Anglo-German army made ready to take possession of those on the north, and then to turn the western hills, thus to get in rear of the American left by a flank

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movement of their right, while their centre attacked in front and was supported by their left.

About eleven o'clock on the morning of the 19th, Burgoyne's army advanced in three columns. He, in person, in command of the centre column, moved towards Freeman's Farm, opposite to the American left; Riedesel and Phillips with a large train of artillery, forming the left column, followed the river road, and, after the attack had begun, turned westward to support and prolong the line of battle of the deployed centre; while, by a circuitous march, Fraser, with Breyman's German riflemen, having his flanks covered by Canadians, loyalists, and Indians, moved with the right column, taking post westward of the centre, thus greatly overlapping the American left, which it was designed to turn and rout.

Gates, called by Burgoyne "an old midwife," impassively looked on, giving no orders and evincing no desire to fight, while the impatient Arnold, foreseeing the enemy's movement to turn his left, sent Morgan's riflemen and some of Dearborn's light infantry to check it. They rushed upon the enemy, and dispersed the Canadians and Indians; but following up their success too eagerly, they soon encountered the British line of battle, and were overpowered by superior numbers. This being reported to Gates, the Continental troops were sent to support Morgan, but the entire force proved insufficient to cope with and counteract Fraser's movement. Arnold, undismayed, then changed his direction, and fell suddenly upon the enemy's centre with a view of separating Burgoyne from Fraser. The battle was waged with great fury by both antagonists, and as each received reinforcements the conflict deepened, and, with varying success, became more and more stubborn. Burgoyne finally escaped defeat by the timely coming up of Riedesel with Pausch's artillery. After this death-struggle of four hours' duration, darkness terminated the contest. The Americans fell back in good order to their intrenchments, while the Anglo-German army, lying on their arms, retained the barren field of their foiled efforts to advance. Though both sides claimed the victory, neither had triumphed at "Freeman's Farm." It was in reality a drawn battle. The forces engaged in the conflict were nearly equal, the Americans having about 3,000 and the enemy nearly 3,500 of their best troops. The loss of the former was 65 killed, 218 wounded, and 38 missing; while that of the latter, according to their own authorities, was about 600 killed and wounded. British bayonets and abundant artillery were fully matched by American rifles, without a single piece of ordnance. Had Arnold been properly reinforced by Gates, he might have broken the enemy's line and have gained a complete victory.

Gates's army was confident and jubilant as to the issue of the campaign, Burgoyne's anxious and despondent; while both generals strengthened their positions, and their camps resounded with "dreadful note of preparation" for a coming conflict.

The quarrel which had been brewing between Gates and Arnold, grow-

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ing out of former jealousy and the supersedure of Schuyler, ripened into open hostility. The crisis of the feud came when Gates failed in his official report to make any mention of Arnold's personal participation in the battle of Freeman's Farm. Thereupon a violent altercation ensued, resulting in Arnold being relieved of his command and excluded from headquarters. Though unemployed, he continued with the army, the officers of his division begging him not to leave them, as another battle was impending.

H. Clinton [1]

The two armies confronted each other within cannon-shot, and scarcely a night passed without some contest between pickets or foraging parties. Burgoyne, anxiously awaiting news of Sir Henry Clinton's coöperation from New York, tenaciously held his ground, though living upon half rations. Gates in the mean time supinely rested in his camp, awaiting the day when the ripened fruit of Schuyler's skill, in retarding the enemy's march and cutting off his detachments, should fall at his feet, and Burgoyne be compelled to starve or pass under the Caudine Forks.

Sir Henry Clinton, having been reinforced from England, left New York, October 3, with a large fleet and 3,000 troops, to effect the long-expected junction with Burgoyne. On the 5th he reached Verplanck's Point, on the Hudson River, from which he made a feint upon Peekskill. Having by this ruse deceived the aged Putnam, in command of the Hudson Highlands, Clinton crossed with his main body on the 6th to King's Ferry, and, by following a circuitous route around the Dunderberg Mountain, the British general in the afternoon carried by assault the feebly garrisoned

[1] [From Andrews's *Hist. of the War*, London, 1785, vol. iii. There is also a likeness in Murray's *Impartial Hist.* Cf. *Mag of Amer. Hist.* October, 1883, p. 326. — Ed.]

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but bravely defended Forts Montgomery and Clinton. The enemy's fleet then destroyed the boom and chain across the river, forced the Americans to burn two frigates, which could not escape, and ended their excursion up the Hudson at Esopus (now Kingston) by laying it in ashes and returning to New York, it being too late to save Burgoyne.

The American army, after the battle of Freeman's Farm, was daily growing stronger in men and fortifications, while the Anglo-German force was constantly becoming weaker and worn out by watching and incessant alarms. Burgoyne's situation was critical, for he could neither advance nor retreat with safety, and to stand still was to starve. Already the loyalists and Canadians were deserting in numbers, and his Indians, having little opportunity for plundering and scalping, were abandoning him altogether.

SIR HENRY CLINTON.[1]

Receiving no tidings from Sir Henry Clinton, Burgoyne determined to make an armed reconnoissance of the American left on the 7th of October, and attack the next day, should there be a reasonable prospect of success; if not, to fall back on the 11th behind the Batten-Kill.

Accordingly, leaving proper guards for his camp, Burgoyne in person, at ten A. M. of the 7th, with 1,500 choice troops and ten pieces of artillery, moved out for the contemplated reconnoissance, which was at the same time to cover a foraging party to gather wheat for the pressing necessities of his army. His troops were formed in three columns, and when within three quarters of a mile of the American left were deployed in line of battle upon open ground behind a screen of dense forest. Fraser, with 500 picked men, formed the right, ready to fall upon Gates's left; Riedesel, with his Brunswickers, held the centre; Phillips was in charge of the British left; while the Indians, rangers, and provincials were to work their way through the woods to gain the left and rear of the American camp, in which Lincoln then commanded the right, and Gates had taken Arnold's place on the left.

So soon as the enemy moved and the foragers were at work, Gates ordered out Morgan. Divining Burgoyne's intention, Morgan was to seize

[1] [From Murray's *Impartial Hist. of the Present War*, i. p. 526. — ED.]

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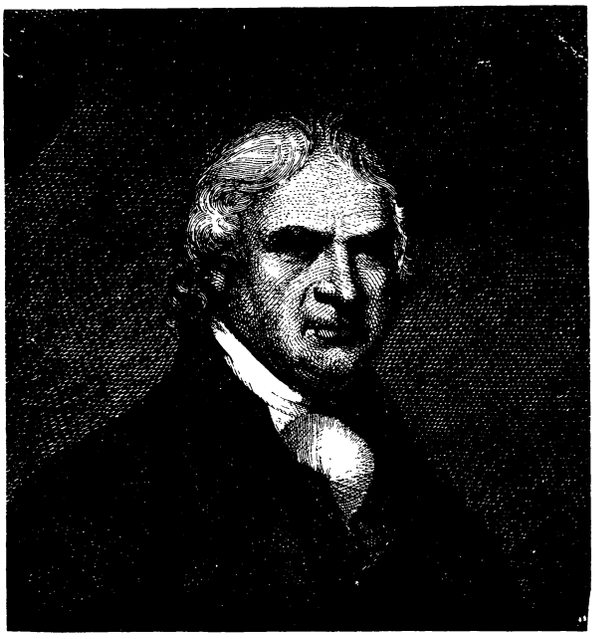
the high ground on the enemy's right by making a wide sweep ; Learned was to hold the German centre in check ; and Poor, with his brigade of Continentals and some militia, concealed by the woods, was to assail the British left. Poor, supported by Learned, opened the battle at half past two with great fury against Major Acland's grenadiers, and extended his blows to Riedesel's centre ; Morgan and Dearborn almost simultaneously fell like a thunderbolt upon the enemy's right.

Burgoyne, seeing the danger of Fraser's right being turned, ordered him to fall back to a new position, in doing which Fraser was mortally wounded



GEORGE CLINTON.[1]

by one of Morgan's sharpshooters. In the mean time, Poor was playing wild havoc with Acland's grenadiers, captured Phillips's artillery after killing nearly all of its gunners, and then turned their own pieces upon the British, putting the entire left of their army to flight.

The Germans still firmly held their ground in the centre, when Arnold, maddened by his wrongs, dashed wildly into the thickest of the fight, without authority assumed command of his old division, with audacity and judg-

[1] [Reproduced from Delaplaine's *Repository of the lives and portraits of Distinguished Americans* (Philad.). It was painted by Ames. It is engraved on steel in Allen C. Beach's *Centennial Celebrations of the State of New York* (Albany, 1879), and by J. B. Forrest in Irving's *Washington*, ii. 209. A profile likeness by St. Memin is engraved in the *Doc. Hist. N. Y.*, vol. iv. A portrait in uniform at an earlier age was etched by H. B. Hall, in 1866, and appears in the *Mag. of American History*, December, 1881. An engraving of a bust by Ceracchi (owned by the N. Y. Hist. Soc.) accompanies a memoir of Clinton by W. L. Stone in *Ibid.*, iii. 336. — Ed]

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ment led regiment after regiment to the attack at different points, roused his troops to the highest enthusiasm, and forced back by his impetuous assaults the already shattered British line, which Burgoyne then courageously led in person. But all of the British commander's determination was of little avail, his entire forces being driven back into their intrenched camp. Here the wreck of the Anglo-German army made a firm stand; but Arnold still sought new dangers. With desperation he and his fearless followers mounted embankments and abatis to assail Balcarras, then dashed upon the strong works of the German camp, and ceased not his furious onsets till the whole of the enemy's fortified position lay open, when night closed the scene.

The American army in this decisive battle lost 50 killed and 150 wounded, including among the latter the dauntless Arnold. The enemy, besides nine guns, a large supply of ammunition, and much baggage, lost 176 killed, about 250 wounded, and some 200 prisoners. Among those who lost their lives were the gallant Fraser and the sturdy Breyman, and included in the wounded were several British officers of high rank.

Burgoyne, signally defeated and exposed to a new attack by double his fighting force, prudently retreated, on the stormy night of the 8th, to Saratoga, leaving behind his sick, wounded, and everything he could possibly spare. General Fraser was buried, as he had requested, in a large redoubt near the Hudson, the guns fired over his grave being the American artillery aimed at the group of distinguished mourners before knowing the occasion of their assembling.

Gates, who had not been personally engaged in either battle of his army, remained two days with his main body in the abandoned camp of the enemy at Wilbur's Basin, he judiciously having sent detachments to take advantageous positions to hem in Burgoyne. On the 11th, Gates ordered his main body to cross the Fishkill, supposing Burgoyne had further retreated; but his advanced guard of 1,500 men under Nixon quickly withdrew, having discovered the enemy intrenched and in battle array on the other side of the stream.

Burgoyne, now finding himself exposed to the concentric fire of the Americans, who nearly surrounded him, and having no opening through which to retreat to Lake George or to Lake Champlain, called a council of war to deliberate upon his desperate situation. "By their unanimous concurrence and advice," says he, "I was induced to open a treaty with Major-General Gates." At ten A. M. of the 14th, a flag of truce was sent by Burgoyne, asking for a parley, during which Gates demanded an unconditional surrender of the enemy's troops as prisoners of war. This proposition Burgoyne peremptorily refused to entertain. Hostilities in the mean time were suspended, and modified proposals were made. After two days' delay, Gates, hearing of Sir Henry Clinton's advance up the Hudson, and fearing that he might reach Albany, agreed upon the terms, dictated by Burgoyne, as follows: —

The Anglo-German troops to march out of their camp with all the

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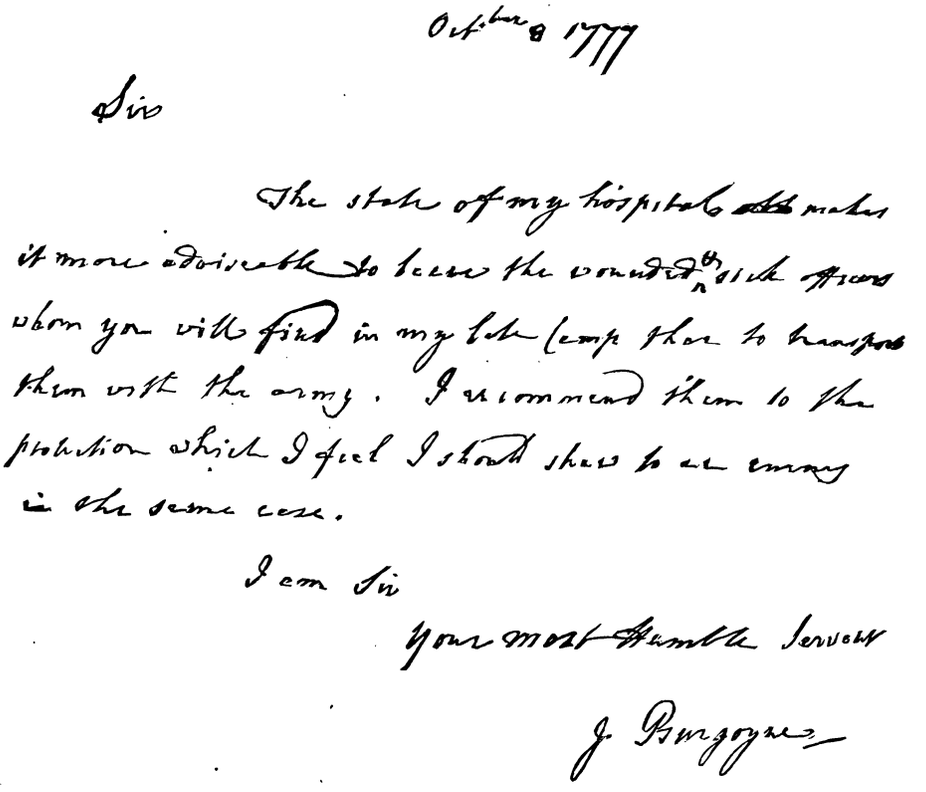
honors of war, and their artillery to be moved to the bank of the Hudson River, and there left, together with the soldiers' arms, which were to be piled at the word of command from their own officers. It was further agreed that a free passage to Great Britain should be granted to the troops on condition of their not serving again in the present contest; that all officers should retain their baggage and side-arms, and not be separated



Oct.br 8 1777

Sir

The state of my hospitals makes it more eligible to leave the wounded sick officers whom you will find in my late camp than to transport them with the army. I recommend them to the protection which I feel I should shew to an enemy in the same case.

I am Sir

Your most Humble Servant

J. Burgoyne

M. Gen.l Gates

BURGOYNE TO GATES.[1]

from their men; and that all, of whatever country they might be, following the camp, should be included in the terms of capitulation. Before signing the treaty, Burgoyne demurred to designate it as a *capitulation*, whereupon Gates readily consented to its being called a TREATY OF CONVENTION, and as such it was signed October 16, 1777.

Burgoyne in a rich uniform, accompanied by his brilliant staff and general officers, rode, on October 17, to the headquarters of General Gates, who was simply attired in a plain blue coat. Reining up their horses, Bur-

[1] [Somewhat reduced, after the fac-simile in Wilkinson's *Memoirs*, i. 282. — ED.]

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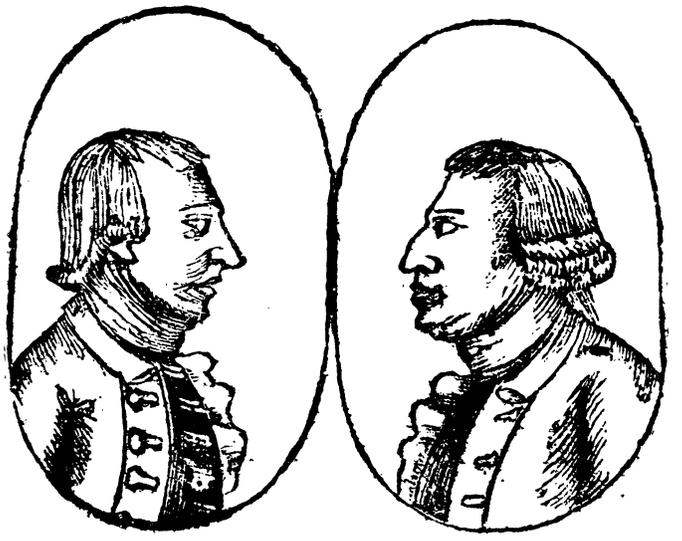
goyne gracefully raising his cocked hat, said, "The fortune of war, General Gates, has made me your prisoner;" to which the victor, gracefully returning the salute, replied, "I shall always be ready to bear testimony that it has not been through any fault of your excellency."

On the site of old Fort Hardy the Anglo-German army, October 17, grounded their arms at the command of their own officers, none of the American troops being present to witness this humiliation of the enemy. In the afternoon the captured troops crossed the Hudson, and, escorted by



WASHINGTON AND GATES.[1]

a company of light dragoons, were marched between the parallel lines of American soldiers, preceded by two officers, unfurling "the stars and stripes" just adopted by Congress. While this ceremony took place in the presence of Burgoyne and Gates, the former drew his sword and presented it to the latter, which being received was courteously returned, when both generals retired into Gates's tent.[2]

While the prisoners, under guard of General Heath, were marching to

[1] [From *Bickerstaff's Boston Almanac*. This is from the title of the number for 1778, and shows the kind of effigies popularly current in such publications. — ED.]

[2] The total losses in this campaign of the Anglo-British army were: British prisoners, 2,442; foreign prisoners, 2,198; General Burgoyne and staff officers (including six members of Parliament), 12; sent to Canada, 1,100; sick and wounded, 598; making the total surrendered, October 17, 1777, to be 6,350. Then there were taken prisoners before the surrender, 400; deserters, 300; lost at Bennington, 1,220; killed between September 17 and October 17, 1777, 600; taken at Ticonderoga, 413; killed at Oriskany, 300; giving an entire loss of 3,233, — which, with those surrendered, make a total loss of 9,583.

Besides the *personnel*, there were lost in the campaign, 6 pieces of cannon at Bennington; 2 pieces and 4 royals at Fort Stanwix; 400 set of harness; a number of ammunition wagons and horses; 5,000 stand of arms; 37 pieces of brass cannon, implements and stores complete, camp equipage etc., etc.

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Boston, Gates hurried to Albany to oppose any movement of Sir Henry Clinton; and Major Wilkinson was sent to Congress to communicate the joyful tidings of Burgoyne's surrender. Rejoicings were heard throughout the United States, and the successful general was so elated and his vanity so stimulated that he aspired to supplant Washington, as he had Schuyler.

A few criticisms upon the plan of the campaign of 1777, and the mode of conducting it, may be permitted. The British cabinet wisely decided upon the seizure of the Hudson as the most efficient way of breaking the power of the revolted colonies; but, in carrying out its design, it violated a fundamental maxim of war. No principle of strategy is better established than the superiority of *interior* as against *exterior* lines of operation of armies, as was so admirably illustrated in the "Seven Years' War." Frederic the Great, without any frontier barriers and open to attack on all sides, from his central position kept at bay France, Austria, Russia, Saxony, Sweden, and the Germanic body, whose united population was over twenty times as great as that of Prussia, including Silesia, a recently conquered province. In like manner, the Americans, in July, 1777, were within a great circle, — Schuyler on the upper Hudson, Putnam at the Highlands, and Washington in New Jersey, within supporting distance of each other; while the British armies were widely separated upon its vast circumference, — St. Leger moving to the upper Mohawk, Burgoyne from Canada, Clinton at New York, and Howe sailing to the Chesapeake.

In the struggle for the Hudson, the two independent British armies — one in Canada and the other in New York — were expected to coöperate in order to attain a common object, while Burgoyne with the one was tied down by fixed orders, and Clinton with the other had no instructions as to the part he was expected to perform. Besides, their bases were separated by about four hundred miles of wild, hostile, and thinly populated country, rendering intercommunication so difficult that, of ten messengers sent out by different routes to Howe, not one returned to Burgoyne.

No precaution was taken to provide for the losses of Burgoyne's army, nor to supply the necessary drafts upon it to garrison the posts in his rear, guarding his communications with Canada. When he gained possession of Ticonderoga, he called upon Sir Guy Carleton to furnish the necessary force to hold the place; but Carleton did not feel justified, under his precise orders, to send troops beyond his jurisdiction. Consequently, Burgoyne "drained the life-blood of his force" in the field to provide for the defence of this and other works left behind.

Burgoyne's *logistics*, or means of supplying and moving his army, were very defective. Not till June 7, 1777, a month after his arrival in Canada, did he make provision for the transportation of either stores or artillery, and then his arrangements were so entirely inadequate that they seemed based upon the assumption that his adversary was his inferior in all military

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qualities. Hence, he decided "to trust to the resources of the expedition for the rest," while for his own personal baggage he used no less than "*thirty carts.*" Most of his provisions had to be brought from England, a distance of 3,600 miles; some from Canada; and for the rest he relied upon the meagre resources of the hostile country he was to traverse. Consequently his army was often on reduced rations, sometimes nearly starving, and finally, to secure its existence, he undertook his disastrous raid upon Bennington.

After the pursuit of St. Clair, Burgoyne should have returned with his army to Ticonderoga, and taken the water route by Lake George, instead of forcing his way through an obstructed wilderness to Fort Edward, which he did not reach till July 30th, nor leave till August 14th. Had Schuyler directed Burgoyne's operations he could not have planned measures more conducive to his own advantage. On the Lake George route were only two small armed schooners to oppose any resistance, and from the head of the lake was a direct road to Albany, which had been followed by Abercrombie and Amherst. As it was, Burgoyne was compelled to send his supplies and artillery by the lake, and then carry them over the portage to Fort Edward, which consumed more time than would have been necessary to move in light marching order direct to Albany. General De Peyster, a careful student of this campaign, says: "Burgoyne could have been reassembled at 'Old Ty' by the 10th July; could have been transported to Fort George by the 12th; and, having left his heavy guns and all but his light artillery and indispensable materials there or at Ty, in depot, with a sufficient guard, could have reached Fort Edward on the evening of the 13th July. From this point to Albany is about fifty miles. With six or ten days' rations and an extra supply of ammunition sufficient for a battle of that period, Burgoyne could have swept Schuyler out of his path with ease, and, allowing one day's delay for a fight, could have occupied Albany on the 16th July." But the British commander had proclaimed, "This army must not retreat." Though he subsequently tried to palliate his mistake, all his correspondence shows that pride in carrying out his declaration, not military principles, made him persevere in the false movement which lost him the campaign, and secured in the end American independence.

Burgoyne, after his brilliant success at the opening of the campaign, suddenly relapsed into the sluggishness of his German allies. Instead of rapidly pursuing his demoralized foe, he tarried at Skenesborough till his pathway was thoroughly obstructed and the fugitives had recovered from their panic. After he had lost his prestige and the Americans had gained confidence by success at Stanwix and Bennington, he attempted with diminished forces to cope with the growing strength of his opponent. Thus, by delay, he lost in September what he might have achieved in July. From his arrival at Skenesborough till he had reached his southernmost point at Freeman's Farm, he moved only *fifty miles in seventy-four days.*

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Slow in all his movements, Burgoyne's tardiness was increased by his large and superfluous train of artillery which accompanied all his toilsome marches. Even when he required the greatest celerity, he chose for his raid upon Bennington, not the nimble-footed light infantry under the dashing Fraser, but cumbrous dismounted German dragoons moving only a mile and a third an hour.

Burgoyne was not only slow, but he was irresolute. After his disastrous defeat at Bemis's Heights he lost five precious days in fatal indecision while retreat was possible. On October 12th his last chance had passed, he then being completely invested by the Americans, and nothing was left to him but surrender. According to Madame Riedesel, he had given in this crisis of his fate more attention to his mistress than to his army. Aspasia had triumphed over Mars.

While Burgoyne committed many blunders, his opponents had their shortcomings also. The fortifications of Ticonderoga, after falling into the hands of the Americans, were too much extended for their defence by a moderate garrison; but the most fatal error was the failure to occupy Mount Defiance, which completely commanded all the American works, and, when seized by the British, left St. Clair no alternative but hasty retreat and the abandonment of much artillery and considerable supplies. The fugitives then counted largely on the delay of their pursuers, who followed them with celerity, severely punishing them at Skenesborough and Hubbardton.

Congress committed the most criminal error, outweighing all others, in substituting, at the most critical moment of the campaign, a military charlatan for an accomplished soldier, — in supplanting Schuyler, who was the organizer of the victories, by Gates, who "had no fitness for command and wanted personal courage." To say nothing of the difference in merit of the two commanders, the time for making the change was most inopportune.

Putnam, a brave officer but no general, managed things so badly in the Highlands that Forts Montgomery and Clinton were lost, and the Hudson was opened to the enemy whenever he chose to advance.[1]

[1] Captain John Montressor, a British "Chief Engineer of America" in the Revolution, who was with Putnam under Colonel Bradstreet in 1764, goes so far as to intimate (very likely without warrant) a still stronger reason for the general's inefficiency at Long Island and in the Hudson Highlands. In his journal (page 136), published by the New York Historical Society, 1882, speaking of the venality of the American "Rebel Generals," he says: "Even Israel Putnam, of Connecticut, might have been bought, to my certain knowledge, for *one dollar per day*."

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CRITICAL ESSAY ON THE SOURCES OF INFORMATION.

THE titles alone of the numerous works which have been consulted in the preparation of the foregoing narratives would fill many of these pages. Therefore, to avoid repetition, as most of them are common to all the chapters of this History of the American Revolution, reference will be made only to those authorities which have a bearing upon disputed points, or to newly discovered facts respecting the "Struggle for the Hudson."

Of the many authors who have written of the New York campaign of 1776, nearly all have followed the narrations given in Sparks's *Washington* and in the official despatches of the various officers engaged. For topographical details we have relied upon Des Barres' *Atlantic Neptune* (1780–81), with its plans of battles, sieges, etc., and maps of the seat of war, and upon the recent Coast Survey charts. Local historians have supplied many minor particulars, which need not be enumerated, except, perhaps, the one relating to the treason of William Demont, already referred to in the text. Much new light has been thrown upon the Burgoyne campaign by works published within the last few years.[1]

One of the most earnestly disputed points of Burgoyne's campaign is whether Arnold was personally engaged with the enemy at the battle of Freeman's Farm, on Sept. 19, 1777. Some authorities, notably Bancroft, while admitting that Arnold's troops were in the thickest of the fray, deny that the general himself was on the battlefield; while Stedman, Irving, Stone, and many others, equally competent to weigh the facts, maintain that Arnold was the conquering hero of the fight, and that, but for him, Burgoyne would have marched straight on to Albany.

Just after Gates had superseded Schuyler in the command of the Northern army, Arnold had returned from the Mohawk valley flushed with success and impatient to win new laurels. He was incessantly engaged in skirmishing with the enemy and adding to his reputation as a brilliant, dashing officer. Gates was envious of Arnold's growing fame, and resentful of his partiality for Schuyler. Hence arose a coolness towards Arnold, which rapidly ripened into bitter hostility. That the action of Freeman's Farm, a five hours' battle, full of skilful movements, was purely a series of chance operations without a guiding spirit, is utterly preposterous. As Gates was not engaged, whose was the directing mind but Arnold's, the second in command?

It seems impossible that one devoid of fear, brave even to rashness, who even courted danger at the risk of death, and one too who was filled with ambition and love of military glory, could possibly have allowed his command to go into action without leading its movements and sharing its perils. His subsequent heroism amid the carnage of battle at Bemis's Heights would seem a sufficient refutation of the charge that he who was always in the thickest of the fight was only a looker-on while the conflict of September 19th was raging around Freeman's Farm.

[1] *Life and Times of General Philip Schuyler, by Benson J. Lossing*, N. Y., 1872; *Battles of the American Revolution, by General Henry B. Carrington*, N. Y., 1876; *Life and Correspondence of Lieutenant-General John Burgoyne, by Edward B. de Fonblanque*, London, 1876; *Burgoyne and the Northern Campaign, by Ellen Hardin Walworth*, 1877; *The Campaign of Lieutenant-General John Burgoyne and the Expedition of Lieut.-Col. Barry St. Leger, by William L. Stone*, 1877; Addresses and Papers upon Major-General Philip Schuyler and the Burgoyne Campaign, by General J. Watts de Peyster, published variously, 1877–83; *Centennial Celebration of the State of New York*, 1879; *Life of Major-General Benedict Arnold — his Patriotism and Treason, by Isaac N. Arnold*, 1880; *Sir John Johnson's Orderly Book, annotated by William L. Stone, with an introduction on his Life by General J. Watts de Peyster, and Sketch of the Tories or Loyalists by Colonel T. Bailey Myers*, 1882; *Hadden's Journal and Orderly Book, annotated by General Horatio Rogers*, Providence, 1881; *The Hessians in the Revolution, by Edward J. Lowell*, 1884.

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Gates, in his official report of the battle of Freeman's Farm, makes no mention of Arnold being engaged; and his adjutant-general, Wilkinson, in his *Memoirs*, written long after Arnold's good name had been blasted by his treason, says: "Not a single general officer was on the field of battle on the 19th of September, until evening, when General Learned was ordered out."

Under ordinary circumstances, the testimony of the commander-in-chief and his adjutant-general would be considered conclusive; but it must be borne in mind that both of these officers were inimical to Arnold, that neither was personally engaged in the battle, and that the wooded character of the ground precluded either from following any one's movements through the conflict.

On the other side, we have the contemporary testimony of officers present on the battle-field, newspaper accounts of the time, and Arnold's own division order of the day after the battle, in which he speaks of the zeal and spirit of the company officers engaged, in a manner which none but a close observer could notice. Besides, we have the direct evidence of two of Arnold's staff officers — Colonels Livingston and Varick — that their chief was the hero of the battle of Freeman's Farm; the former warmly lauding "his conduct during the late action," and declaring that "to him alone is due the honor of our late victory." Even the enemy's chief, Burgoyne, said in the British House of Commons: "Mr. Gates had determined to receive the attack in his lines. Mr. Arnold, who commanded on the left, foreseeing the danger of being turned, advanced without consultation with his general, and gave instead of receiving battle."

Another much-disputed point is whether to Schuyler or Gates is chiefly due the triumph of our arms in the Burgoyne campaign. Bancroft, in his *History of the United States* (vol. ix. ch. 21, orig. ed.), states that Schuyler lacked military talents, failed to harry the advance of Burgoyne, wanted personal courage, and had no influence with the people. All these charges have been triumphantly refuted by his grandson and by his biographer.[1]

General Schuyler's zeal, energy, ability, and sterling virtues have been so fully set forth in the preceding narrative of the Burgoyne campaign that any amplification here is needless; but it may be proper to add the testimony of some of our most distinguished countrymen as to the merits of this true gentleman, noble soldier, and patriotic Fabian hero. Chief Justice Marshall says: "In this gloomy state of things no officer could have exerted more diligence and skill than Schuyler." Chancellor Kent writes: "In acuteness of intellect, profound thought, indefatigable activity, exhaustless energy, pure patriotism, and persevering and intrepid public efforts, Schuyler had no superior." Daniel Webster said: "I consider Schuyler as second only to Washington in the services he rendered to the country in the war of the Revolution. His zeal and devotion to the cause under difficulties which would have paralyzed the efforts of most men, and his fortitude and courage when assailed by malicious attacks upon his public and private character, *every one of which was proved to be false*, have impressed me with a strong desire to express publicly my sense of his great qualities."

Washington, Hamilton, Jay, Jefferson, and most of the great men of the Revolution had unbounded confidence in Schuyler; and modern historians, such as Irving, Sparks, Lossing, and others, bear like testimony to his virtues and services. Even Congress, which had so unjustly removed Schuyler from his command, when convinced of its error, would not consent to his resignation from the army till he persistently demanded it.

Though Schuyler's military career did not sparkle with "feats of broil and battle," he exhibited those great qualities which are as conducive to the success of war as "the magnificently stern array" of arms in the heady fight. He was ready in expedients to foil the enemy, skilful and persevering in executing them, and resolute and untiring till his end was obtained. Never discouraged by disaster, and stimulated to higher effort as fortune

[1] *Correspondence and Remarks upon Bancroft's History of the Northern Campaign of 1777, and the Character of Major-General Philip Schuyler, by George L. Schuyler; The Life and Times of Major-General Philip Schuyler, by Benson J. Lossing, LL. D.*

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frowned, he continued sanguine of success in the darkest hour of adversity. Every assault upon his reputation fell harmless before his invulnerable patriotism; no injustice could swerve him from the path of honor; and to him, as to all true men, the meaning of life was concentrated in the single word DUTY.

Geo. W. Cullum

Brt. Maj. Gen'l, U. S. Army.

NOTE BY GENERAL CULLUM.

DISPOSAL OF THE CONVENTION TROOPS.[1] — In accordance with Article IV. of the convention, the captured army was marched, under guard of General Glover, to the neighborhood of Boston, where it arrived about Nov. 6th. The British troops were barracked on Prospect Hill and the German troops on Winter Hill, the officers being quartered in Cambridge and the

[1] The ARTICLES of Oct. 16, 1777, were as follows, viz.: —

"I. The troops, under Lieutenant-General Burgoyne, to march out of their camp with the honors of war and the artillery of the intrenchments, to the verge of the river where the old fort stood, where the arms and artillery are to be left; the arms to be piled by word of command from their own officers.

"II. A free passage to be granted to the army, under Lieutenant-General Burgoyne, to Great Britain, on condition of not serving again in North America during the present contest; and the port of Boston is assigned for the entry of transports to receive the troops whenever General Howe shall so order.

"III. Should any cartel take place, by which the army under General Burgoyne, or any part of it, may be exchanged, the foregoing article to be void as far as such exchange shall be made.

"IV. The army under Lieutenant-General Burgoyne to march to Massachusetts Bay, by the easiest, most expeditious, and convenient route; and to be quartered in, near, or as convenient as possible to Boston, that the march of the troops may not be delayed when transports arrive to receive them.

"V. The troops to be supplied on their march, and during their being in quarters, with provisions by General Gates's orders, at the same rate of rations as the troops of his own army; and if possible, the officers' horses and cattle are to be supplied with forage at the usual rates.

"VI. All officers to retain their carriages, bat-horses, and other cattle, and no baggage to be molested or searched; Lieutenant-General Burgoyne giving his honor that there are no public stores secreted therein. Major-General Gates will of course take the necessary measures for the due performance of this article. Should any carriages be wanted during the march, for the transportation of officers' baggage, they are, if possible, to be supplied by the country at the usual rates.

"VII. Upon the march, and during the time the army shall remain in quarters in Massachusetts Bay, the officers are not, as far as circumstances will admit, to be separated from their men. The officers are to be quartered according to rank, and are not to be hindered from assembling their men for roll-call and other necessary purposes of regularity.

"VIII. All corps whatever of General Burgoyne's army, whether composed of sailors, bateau-men, artificers, drivers, independent companies, and followers of the army, of whatever country, shall be included in the fullest sense and utmost extent of the above articles, and comprehended in every respect as British subjects.

"IX. All Canadians, and persons belonging to the Canadian establishment, consisting of sailors, bateau-men, artificers, drivers, independent companies, and many other followers of the army, who come under no particular description, are to be permitted to return there; they are to be conducted immediately by the shortest route to the first British port on Lake George, are to be supplied with provisions in the same manner as the other troops, and are to be bound by the same condition of not serving during the present contest in North America.

"X. Passports to be immediately granted for three officers, not exceeding the rank of captains, who shall be appointed by Lieutenant-General Burgoyne, to carry despatches to Sir William Howe, Sir Guy Carleton, and to Great Britain by way of New York; and Major-General Gates engages the public faith that these

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neighboring towns. Much complaint was made of the character and insufficiency of their accommodations, but considering the limited supply of houses at the disposal of General Heath, commanding the Eastern department, he did the best in his power, without the aid of the State of Massachusetts, to whose Council he appealed for the use of "at least one of the colleges" for their comfort. At the worst, however, these captives fared far better than our own troops at Valley Forge during that winter.[1]

Under Article V. supplies were to be furnished to Burgoyne's army "at the same rates." This was interpreted by Congress, Dec. 19th, to mean "that the accounts of all provisions and other necessaries which already have been or which hereafter may be supplied by the public to prisoners in the power of these States shall be discharged by either receiving from the British Commissary of Prisoners, or any of his agents, provisions or other necessaries, equal in quality and kind to what had been supplied, or the amount thereof in gold or silver."

Exacting provisions *in kind*, though inconvenient to the British commissary, was not unreasonable, considering their scarcity; but the condition that expenditures made in depreciated Continental money should be liquidated, dollar for dollar, in gold and silver, was a hard one. As a justification for this latter requirement, it was stated by Congress "that General Howe had required that provisions should be sent in for the subsistence of the American prisoners in his possession, and that for the purchase of such necessaries he had forbidden the circulation of the currency of the States within such parts as are subject to his power."

By Article II. General Howe was authorized to send transports to Boston to receive the troops for their conveyance to England. For its failure to carry out the obligation imposed upon it by its own general, the American government, through Congress, justified itself by claiming that Burgoyne had already evaded the provisions of Article I. of the convention. Bancroft, in his *History of the United States*, contends that it had been broken by Burgoyne at the time of the surrender, by the concealment of the military chest and other public property, of which the United States were thus de-

despatches shall not be opened. These officers are to set out immediately after receiving their despatches, and are to travel the shortest routes and in the most expeditious manner.

"XI. During the stay of the troops in Massachusetts Bay, the officers are to be admitted on parole, and are to be allowed to wear their side arms.

"XII. Should the army under Lieutenant-General Burgoyne find it necessary to send for their clothing and other baggage to Canada, they are to be permitted to do it in the most convenient manner, and the necessary passports granted for that purpose.

"XIII. These Articles are to be mutually signed, and exchanged to-morrow morning at nine o'clock, and the troops under Lieutenant-General Burgoyne are to march out of their intrenchments at three o'clock in the afternoon. (Signed) HORATIO GATES, *Major-General.*
(Signed) J. BURGOYNE, *Lieutenant-General.*

"SARATOGA, October 16th, 1777."

[1] [A letter of Glover about the march, dated Cambridge, Jan. 27, 1778, is in the *Sparks MSS.* (lii. vol. iii.). The line of their march is shown in Anburey's *Travels.* Mrs. Hannah Winthrop's letter, Nov. 11, 1777, describing the entry of Burgoyne's army into Cambridge, is cited in Mrs. Ellet's *Women of the Revolution*, i. 96. A journal of the Northern campaign of 1777 (Oct. 6th to Nov. 9th), at which last date the writer "attended Mr. Burgoyne to Boston," is among the Langdon Papers, copied in the *Sparks MSS.* (lii. vol. ii.). The commander of the Eastern department at this time was Gen. Heath (Heath's *Memoirs*, p. 134; *Hist. Mag.*, iii. 170; *Mem. Hist. Boston*, iii. 183). Letters of Burgoyne to Heath are in the *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, 1885, p. 482, etc. A letter of Burgoyne (copy) to the president of Congress, dated at Cambridge, Feb. 11, 1778, is in *Letters and Papers, 1777–1780* (MSS. in Mass. Hist. Soc.). Burgoyne preferred charges against Capt. David Henley, an officer of the guard, for cruel behavior towards the prisoners. He was tried and acquitted. *An Account of the Proceedings of a Court Martial held at Cambridge by order of Maj. General Heath for the trial of Col. David Henley, taken in short hand by an officer who was present*, was published in London, 1778. The trial lasted from Jan. 20 to Feb. 25, 1778. The proceedings were also printed in Boston (*Brinley Catal.*, nos. 4,024–25). The trial is epitomized in P. W. Chandler's *Amer. Criminal Trials* (ii. 59). There are jottings about the influence of the prisoners in Boston at the time in Ezekiel Price's diary in the *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, October, 1865. The orders of Burgoyne issued in Cambridge are given in *Hadden's Journal.* Gen. Phillips commanded the convention troops after Burgoyne's departure. There are letters of Phillips in the *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, July, 1885, p. 91. The parole which the English and German officers signed, to keep within certain limits of territory, is in the Boston Public Library (Lossing's *Field-Book*, ii. 878, and *Burgoyne's Orderly-Book*). There are details of their life in Cambridge in Schlözer's *Briefwechsel* (iv. 341); the memoirs of Riedesel and Madame Riedesel; and in Eelking's *Hülfstruppen.* Cf. Lossing's *Field-Book;* Drake's *Landmarks of Middlesex;* and Mrs. Ellet's *Domestic Hist. of the Amer. Rev.* (N. Y., 1850), p. 85. A MS. copy of Nathan Bowen's *Book of General Orders* is in the Boston Public Library. — ED.]

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frauded.[1] He therefore sustains Congress in its subsequent demand for the descriptive lists "of all persons comprehended in the surrender," and the postponing of the embarkation of Burgoyne's army "until his capitulation should be expressly confirmed by Great Britain."

On the other side are many high authorities, among whom is Dr. Charles Deane, who, Oct. 22, 1877, made an exhaustive report upon the subject of the Convention of Saratoga to the American Antiquarian Society. He contends that the acts of Congress "were not marked by the highest exhibition of good policy or of good faith."[2]

Fair inferences, from the facts in evidence, lead to the belief that neither party was scrupulous in carrying out its obligations. Burgoyne, after a preliminary agreement to the terms of the convention, *was in favor of breaking the treaty*, because, before affixing his signature to it, he had heard of the success of Sir Henry Clinton in the Hudson Highlands. He was willing, therefore, to barter his plighted promise to further his own interest, and actually submitted to a council of his officers "whether it was consistent with public faith, and if so, expedient, to suspend the execution of the treaty, and trust to events." To the honor of the officers of the Anglo-German army, a decided majority of the council overruled the wishes of the general-in-chief, whereupon Burgoyne, Oct. 17, signed the convention.

Its second article stipulated that "a free passage be granted to the army, under Lieutenant-General Burgoyne, to Great Britain, on condition of not serving again in North America during the present contest." It seems almost incredible that even Gates could have been guilty of such fatuity in sacrificing by this article all the fruits of the past campaign, and jeopardy American independence. It would have been better to have disarmed and disbanded these demoralized troops on the spot. He could thus have saved the country much anxiety, inconvenience, and expense, in guarding, housing, and caring for them till rested from their fatigues and embarked for England, where they could be exchanged for an army of fresh troops, which might cross the ocean in the spring to plague the inventors of such a stupid compact, or convention.

Burgoyne was not slow to avail himself of a *literal* interpretation of words he had designedly used in drawing up the convention, for we find him, only three days after the surrender, writing to his friend, Colonel Phillopson: "I dictated terms of convention which save the army to the State for the next campaign."

Was it in the same spirit that Burgoyne carried out the first article of the convention, by which his "arms and artillery" were to be left piled on the banks of the Hudson? By a *literal* interpretation this might mean only muskets and cannon, but certainly such would not be the accepted military meaning of that article, especially as it had to be construed in connection with the sixth article, permitting all officers "to retain their carriages, bat-horses, and other cattle, and no baggage to be molested or searched; Lieutenant-General Burgoyne giving his honor that there are no public stores secreted therein." But, notwithstanding all this, Madame Riedesel, the wife of General Riedesel, says in her journal: "Now I was forced to consider how I should safely carry the colors of our German regiments still further, as we had made the Americans at Saratoga believe that they were burnt up — a circumstance which they at first took in bad part, though afterwards they tacitly overlooked it. But it was only the staves that had been burned, the colors having been thus far concealed. Now my husband confided to me his secret, and entrusted me with their still further concealment. I therefore shut myself in with a right honorable tailor, who helped me make a mattress in which we sewed every one of them. Captain O'Connell, under pretence of some errand, was dispatched to New York and passed the mattress off as his bed. He sent it to Halifax, where we again found it on our passage from New York to Canada, and where — in order to ward off all suspicion in case our ship should be taken — I transferred it into my cabin, and slept during the whole of the remaining voyage to Canada upon those honorable badges." She truly called them "honorable badges," for to an army they are the insignia of nationality and emblems of power, under which the soldier ventures his life and reputation.

How was it with the British flags? Burgoyne stated that they were all left in Canada. But it happens that one of them was displayed at Ticonderoga upon the evacuation of that place by St. Clair; and five of them were captured at Fort Stanwix from St. Leger, whose detachment accompanied Burgoyne till just before leaving Canada upon his great campaign. Further, it is written in the *Historical Record of the Ninth Regiment* that Lieutenant-Colonel Hill, of that regiment, being anxious to preserve the colors, took them off the staves and concealed them in his baggage, which he was permitted to retain." Subsequently these colors, hidden among his baggage, in which Burgoyne had given his honor that no public property was secreted, Colonel

[1] [Bancroft, orig. ed., ix. 466, x. 126. Cf. Lafayette's *Mémoires*, i. 21; Hildreth's *United States*, iii. 237, 255; Lowell's *Hessians*, ch. 12. — ED.]

[2] [Cf. also Geo. W. Greene in the *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, iii. 231; De Lancey in Jones's *N. Y. during the Rev.*, i. 698. — ED.]

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Hill presented "to George III., who rewarded his faithful services with the appointment of aide-de-camp to his Majesty, and the rank of Colonel in the army."

As Burgoyne was by Article I. allowed to march to the ground of surrender "with the honors of war," General Horatio Rogers, with the sentiment of a true soldier, says in one of his admirable annotations of *Hadden's Journal*: "Had Burgoyne's officers believed that their colors were not embraced in the terms of the convention, they would have flung them to the breeze and proudly marched out under them, as an indication of how much of their honor they had preserved, especially when they supposed they were about to embark for England; for soldiers lay down their lives for their flags, the loss, surrender, or concealment of which, save in rare instances, is synonymous with defeat and humiliation." [1]

Though it appears that all of the accoutrements and other public property of the Anglo-German army were not surrendered and a considerable part was found unserviceable, it is unnecessary to make a special point of this minor matter, after presenting the graver delinquencies on Burgoyne's part.

General Halleck, one of the best authorities on the Laws of War, in his work on *International Law*, says: "The general phrase, 'with all the honors of war,' is usually construed to include the right to march with colors displayed, drums beating, etc. . . . A capitulation includes all property in the place not expressly excepted, and a commander who destroys military stores or other property after entering into such agreement not only forfeits all its benefits, but he subjects himself to severe punishment for his perfidy. So, after a capitulation for the surrender of an army in the field, any officer who destroys his side arms or his insignia of rank deprives himself of all the privileges of that rank, and may be treated as a private soldier. The reason of the rule is manifest. The victor is entitled to all the honors and benefits of his agreement the moment it is entered into, and to destroy colors, arms, etc. thereafter is to deprive him of his just rights. Such conduct is both dishonorable and criminal."

Whether the shortcomings of the British general-in-chief were known to Washington cannot be determined, but the latter's correspondence clearly indicates what he believed would be the action of George III. upon the arrival of the convention troops in Great Britain. Hence he writes, November 13, to General Heath: "Policy and a regard to our own interest are strongly opposed to our adopting or pursuing any measures to facilitate their embarkation and passage home, which are not required of us by the capitulation." [2] Congress, December 17, concurred in these views, and consequently refused Burgoyne's application for his army to embark from Newport or some port on Long Island Sound, to avoid the long and dangerous winter passage around Cape Cod of the British transports which were to receive the troops.

In this, as in all matters involving the success of the Revolution, Washington was not only patriotic, but morally right. We had committed a blunder at Saratoga, but there was no reason why we should increase the mischievous effect of it by expediting the enemy's movements from Boston, and thus add to the danger of our destruction by enabling him to replace Burgoyne's troops in America by others they might relieve elsewhere, in time for the next year's campaign.

Congress had, November 8th, instructed General Heath to require descriptive lists of all the convention troops, to secure us against their reappearing in arms against us during the war. This Burgoyne resented as impeaching the honor of his nation, but he subsequently complied with a measure so essential to our protection.

In Burgoyne's complaint of November 14th regarding the quarters for his officers and men, he inadvertently said, "The public faith is broke," which unguarded expression was at once seized upon by Congress; when a committee, of which Francis Lightfoot Lee was chairman, submitted its report, upon which Congress, then composed "of but a few members, and all of them not the most suitable for the station," adopted, January 8, 1778, the following resolutions: —

"*Resolved*, that as many of the cartouch-boxes and several other articles of military accoutrements annexed to the persons of the non-commissioned officers and soldiers included in the Convention of Saratoga have not been delivered up, the Convention, on the part of the British army, has not been strictly complied with.

"*Resolved*, that the refusal of Lieutenant-General Burgoyne to give descriptive lists of the non-commissioned officers and privates belonging to his army, subsequent to his declaration that the public faith was broke, is considered by Congress in an alarming point of view; since a compliance with the resolution of Congress could only have been prejudicial to that army in case of an infraction of the convention on their part.

"*Resolved*, that the charge made by Lieutenant-General Burgoyne, in his letter to Major-General Gates of the 14th of November, of a breach of the public faith on the part of these States, is not warranted by the just construction of any article of the Convention of Saratoga; that it is a strong indication of his intention, and affords just ground of fear that he will avail himself of such pretended breach of the convention, in order to disengage himself and the army under him of the obligation they are under to these United States; and that the security which

[1] *Hadden's Journal*, p. 397.

[2] Sparks, *Washington*, v. 144.

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these States have had in his personal honor is thereby destroyed.

"*Resolved, therefore*, that the embarkation of Lieutenant-General Burgoyne and the troops under his command be suspended till a distinct and explicit ratification of the Convention of Saratoga shall be properly notified by the court of Great Britain to Congress."[1]

Delays followed these resolutions, and finally, February 3, 1778, General Heath was instructed that the embarkation of the troops was to be indefinitely postponed, the transports upon their arrival to be ordered away from the port of Boston, and the guard over the prisoners to be strengthened. General Burgoyne, of course, was indignant, and offered that, "should any doubt still subsist that the idea of being released from the engagement of the convention has been adopted by any part of the troops," he would give a further pledge of the faith of every officer in his command, "provided the suspension is immediately broken off." This frank offer was referred to a committee, which reported that in their opinion it contained nothing "sufficient to induce Congress to recede from their resolution of the 8th of January;" and the report was agreed to March 2, 1778.

This disingenuous resolution of Congress, "that the embarkation be suspended" until the happening of some further contingent event, was returning the poisoned chalice to Burgoyne's lips, being exactly in keeping with his proposition submitted, October 15, 1777, to a council of his officers, "whether it was consistent with public faith, and if so, expedient, to suspend the execution of the treaty and trust to events."

Notwithstanding many members had no confidence in the political integrity of Great Britain,[2] such holding of the convention troops as prisoners of war, contrary to the principles of international law, certainly placed Congress in a most unfavorable light. Even so distinguished a member as Richard Henry Lee, writing to Washington, says: "It is unfortunately too true that our enemies pay little regard to good faith, or any obligations of justice and humanity which render the Convention of Saratoga a matter of great moment; and it is also, as you justly observe, an affair of infinite delicacy. The undoubted advantage they will take even of the appearance of infraction on our part, and the American character, which is concerned in preserving its faith inviolate, cover this affair with difficulties, and prove the disadvantage we are under in conducting war against an old, corrupt, and powerful people, who, having much credit and influence in the world, will venture on things that would totally ruin the reputation of young and rising communities like ours." We would further remark that the moral standard of even the most civilized nations was not then as high as in this more advanced age, and that upon the construction of this convention hung the independence of the United States. Napier said of the Convention of Cintra in 1808: "A convention implies some weakness, and must be weighed in *the scales of prudence, not those of justice*."

General Burgoyne and his staff were allowed by Congress to return to England on parole. Soon after their departure the British troops were removed to Rutland, Mass., because of fears of their being rescued by the British forces then at Newport, R. I. Congress finally directed that the Convention troops, in order to be more easily subsisted, should be removed to Charlotteville, Virginia,[3] where they arrived in January, 1779, and they were detained in the United States

[1] [*Journals of Congress*, ii. p. 18. Cf. Jones, *N. Y. during the Rev. War*, App. p. 699. Cf. further in *Journals of Congress*, ii. 343, 397; *Pennsylvania Archives*, vi. 162. — ED.]

[2] [Lafayette told Sparks that there was the strongest circumstantial evidence that the British intended to take the troops, not to England, but to New York, the vessels not being provisioned for an Atlantic voyage, and that they claimed justification in this purpose because the Americans had themselves broken the convention. He also added that the British government would not ratify the convention, because they could not keep faith with rebels.

Much of the correspondence about the detention is copied in the *Sparks MSS.*, no. lviii., part 2. The English files are in the War Office, London, in the collection "Quebec and Canada, 1776–1780;" and other papers are in the Headquarters or Carleton Papers. — ED.]

[3] [There is a map of their route and a view of their encampment at this place in Anburey's *Travels*, which last is reproduced in Lossing's *Field-Book*, ii. 552. Cf. also the print as published by Wm. Lane, London, Jan. 1, 1789 (*Catal. Cab. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, p. 89, no. 612). The command of the encampment in Virginia was given to Col. Theodorick Bland, Jr., and copies of some of his papers are in the *Sparks MSS.* (no. xli.) The *Bland Papers*, edited by Chas. Campbell, were published at Petersburg, 1840–43. Accounts of the troops' sojourn in Virginia are given by Anburey, Riedesel, and Eelking. Cf. also Jefferson's *Writings* (i. 212); lives of Jefferson, by Tucker (i. ch. 5), Randall (i. 232, 285), and Parton (p. 222); Howison's *Virginia* (ii. 250); Lowell's *Hessians*. On October 26, Jefferson had urged upon Washington the removal of the convention troops, as it might not be possible to protect them in case of an invasion of Virginia (*Sparks MSS.*, lxvi.). In November the English troops were removed to Fort Frederick. Large numbers deserted (Sparks's *Corresp. of the Rev.*, ii. 324). — ED.]

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till the conclusion of peace with Great Britain. Most of the officers had in the mean time been exchanged.

Dr. Deane, in concluding his investigation of this subject, says: "There can be no doubt that the supreme authority in the State would always have the right, as it has the power, to revise a treaty made by its agents, as in the case we have been considering. This follows from the nature of sovereignty itself. An Arnold might be bribed to capitulate to the enemy. But where such treaties are entered into in good faith, and the obvious powers of the commanders have not been exceeded, the agreements between the victor and the vanquished are regarded by the highest authorities as to be sacredly kept. Humanity demands it; otherwise there would be no cessation of hostilities till the annihilation of both belligerents."[1]

While Great Britain had just cause to complain of the violation of the Convention of Saratoga by the American Congress, she might ask herself, did she always observe strict faith with her revolted colonies.

According to the Articles of Capitulation of Charleston, S. C., May 12, 1780, the garrison were allowed some of the honors of war. They were to march out and deposit their arms between the canal and the works of the place, but the drums were not to beat a British march, nor the colors to be uncased; the Continental troops and seamen, keeping their baggage, were to remain prisoners of war until exchanged; the militia were to be permitted to return to their respective homes as prisoners on parole, and while they kept their parole were not to be molested in their property by the British troops; the citizens of all descriptions were to be considered as prisoners on parole, and to hold their property in the town on the same terms as the militia.

After the capitulation, Sir Henry Clinton sent out three expeditions and issued three proclamations, all having in view the subjugation of South Carolina. The butchery which Tarleton inflicted is well known; and even the British historian, Stedman, who was then an officer under General Clinton, says of it: "The virtue of humanity was totally forgot." The enemy's detachments, sent to various parts of the State, paid little regard to the rights and property of its inhabitants. Sir Henry, assuming that the province was already conquered, issued, before his departure to New York, a proclamation discharging all the military prisoners, except those captured in Fort Moultrie and Charleston, from their parole after June 20, 1780. Thus, without their own consent, by Clinton's arbitrary fiat, these paroled persons were converted from their neutrality into British subjects, and compelled to take up arms against their neighbors, or, failing to comply with this enforced allegiance, were treated as rebels. The Whig inhabitants were worried, plundered, and murdered by Tories, in open violation of all British pledges; leading men were confined in prison-ships; and patriotic citizens, who had resumed their swords upon finding all guaranties violated, had their property sequestrated, and themselves were severely punished, sometimes with death. The British rule was truly a reign of terror.

Lord Mahon stigmatizes in the severest language American faith as utterly derelict in carrying out the Convention of Saratoga,[2] while of the sequel of the capitulation of Charleston he has no holy horror. His only remark is: "*Perhaps* these measures exceeded the bounds of justice; certainly they did the bounds of policy." This same English historian, in his account of Arnold's treason, speaks of the death of André as the "greatest blot" upon the career of Washington. He contends that it was unjust to arrest André, because he had a safeguard from Arnold; and sneers at the twelve distinguished American generals upon the Board which condemned the spy, as incompetent plebeians, drawn from "the plough-handle and from the shop-board." According to Mahon's fallacious mode of reasoning, Washington should not only have let André go free, because protected by the traitor's pass, but should have given up West Point, its garrison and arms, to Sir Henry Clinton, as fully agreed upon by Arnold, the duly constituted American commander. According to such reasoning, Judas Iscariot was justified in betraying the Saviour, because he had been one of the trusted twelve who sat down to the Last Supper. The just fate of the spy and betrayer was the same, except that Judas was his own executioner.

Of the various military conventions, that of Kloster-Zeven, of September 8, 1757, between the Duke of Cumberland and Marshal Richelieu, most resembles that of Saratoga. In both the victors had the vanquished at their mercy; in both the terms of surrender, under the circumstances, were moderate beyond all necessity; in both the capitulations were unsatisfactory to the governments concerned; and in both the treaties were broken from motives of expediency, frivolous pretexts being used to cover the odium of bad faith.

George II., as Elector of Hanover, "to clear

[1] By this exercise of sovereignty, the government of the United States unhesitatingly repudiated Major-General W. T. Sherman's agreement with Lieutenant-General Joseph E. Johnston, for the surrender of the Confederate Army, April 13, 1865, at Durham Station, North Carolina.

[2] ["It matters little what terms are granted, if it be not intended to fulfil them." Mahon, vi. 278. Cf. Lecky, iv. 96. — ED.]

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himself," says Sir Edward Cust, "from the dishonor of the convention, disavowed his son's authority to sign it," recalled him from his command, and declared that the hero of Culloden had ruined his father and disgraced himself. We cannot enter into the reasons assigned by the British ministry for abrogating this compact, but they were at the least as invalid as those used by our Congress in suspending the execution of the Convention of Saratoga. When the Hanoverian army, under Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, took the field in contravention of agreement, Marshal Richelieu declared his own fidelity in keeping the treaty, and that, should the enemy "commit any act of hostility," he, as authorized by the laws of war, "would push matters to the last extremity." The declaration of the French marshal "was seconded," says Smollett, the British historian, "by the Count de Lynar, the Danish ambassador, who had meditated [mediated ?] the Convention of Kloster-Zeven under direction of his master to save Hanover from the horrors of war."

EDITORIAL NOTES ON THE AUTHORITIES.

I. THE CAMPAIGN AROUND NEW YORK CITY IN 1776. — The Americans had been early warned of the British plans to secure the line of the Hudson (*Journal of the Provincial Congress of New York*, 172; Lossing's *Schuyler*, ii. 16), and on the American side plans of obstructing and defending the river had been made as early as Sept., 1775, and they ever after constituted a chief anxiety of the continental and provincial authorities.[1] Several early maps making record of these efforts have been preserved.[2]

The anomalous condition of New York during the later part of 1775 is shown from the Tory point of view in Jones's *New York during the Revolution*. Rivington's press was destroyed in Nov., 1775 (*N. Y. City Manual*, 1868, p. 813). There was an irruption from New Jersey into Long Island in Jan., 1776 (Jones, i. 68). In

[1] 4 Force's *Amer. Archives*, vol. iii., iv., v., and vi.; Sparks's *Washington* (iv. 416); his *Correspondence of the Rev.* (i. 377); Heath's *Memoirs*, 47; Boynton's *West Point;* Duer's *Stirling;* Lossing's *Schuyler*, and *Field-Book* (ii. 135); and particularly Edward Manning Ruttenber's *Obstructions to the navigation of Hudson's River; embracing the minutes of the secret committee, appointed by the Provincial convention of New York, July 16, 1776, and other original documents relating to the subject. Together with papers relating to the beacons* (Albany, 1860), being no. 5 of *Munsell's Historical Series*.

[2] Among the Sparks maps at Cornell University are two sheets showing the Hudson River with soundings, in part at high tide and in part at half tide. They are each thirty inches long, and appear to be by the same draftsman. One of them is indorsed: "Drawn by the request and under the inspection of the Commissioners of Fortifications in the Highlands, Province of New York, by JOHN GRENELL." One shows Haverstraw Bay and Tappan Bay to a point above Dobbs Ferry, and indicates the site of Tarrytown. The other extends from Stony Point to "Polyphemes Island," below Newburgh. Constitution Island is called "Martler's Rock;" and beside Bunn's house, there is indicated at that point the block house, a "curtain fronting the river, mounting fourteen cannon," the wharf, barracks, storehouse, and commissioner's room, and landing place. West Point is opposite, unoccupied, and Moore's house is above. Fort Montgomery and a higher battery is delineated at "Poop Lopes Kill," and from it along the river towards West Point is the inscription: "By good information there is a waggon road from Poop Lopes Kill to West Point."

Another sheet contains "a plan of a fort proposed on the east of Fort Constitution, laid down by scale of twenty feet to an inch per Isaac Nicoll," and indorsed "Received May 10, 1776." Another has a distant view of fortifications, topping a range of hills, and is marked "Fort Montgomery." It is not clear what is meant by it.

There is in the same collection "A rough map of Fort Montgomery, showing the situation on Puplopes [*sic*] Point; ground plot of the buildings, etc, etc, Pr. T. P. No. 2," which is indorsed also "Plan of the works at Fort Montgomery, May 31, 1776, no. 2." Mr. Sparks has written upon the original draft, "For an explanation see Ld. Stirling's letter to Washington, dated June 1, 1776."

There are likewise two plans in colors among the Sparks maps at Cornell University, marked "No. 1" and "No. 3," which seem to have been made in 1776. The first shows the Hudson River from Stony Point to Constitution Island. West Point, which is opposite, is not named. It bears no indorsement and no names, but in one corner is a profile view of the bank in the neighborhood apparently of Peekskill. The works on Constitution Island are indicated, and Sparks has noted on it, "See Ld. Stirling's letter to Washington, June 1, 1776." The other plan shows the neighborhood of Fort Constitution (opposite West Point) on a larger scale, a sketch of which, reduced, is given herewith and marked "Constitution Island, 1776." Cf. the map from the *American Archives* in Boynton's *West Point*, p. 26.

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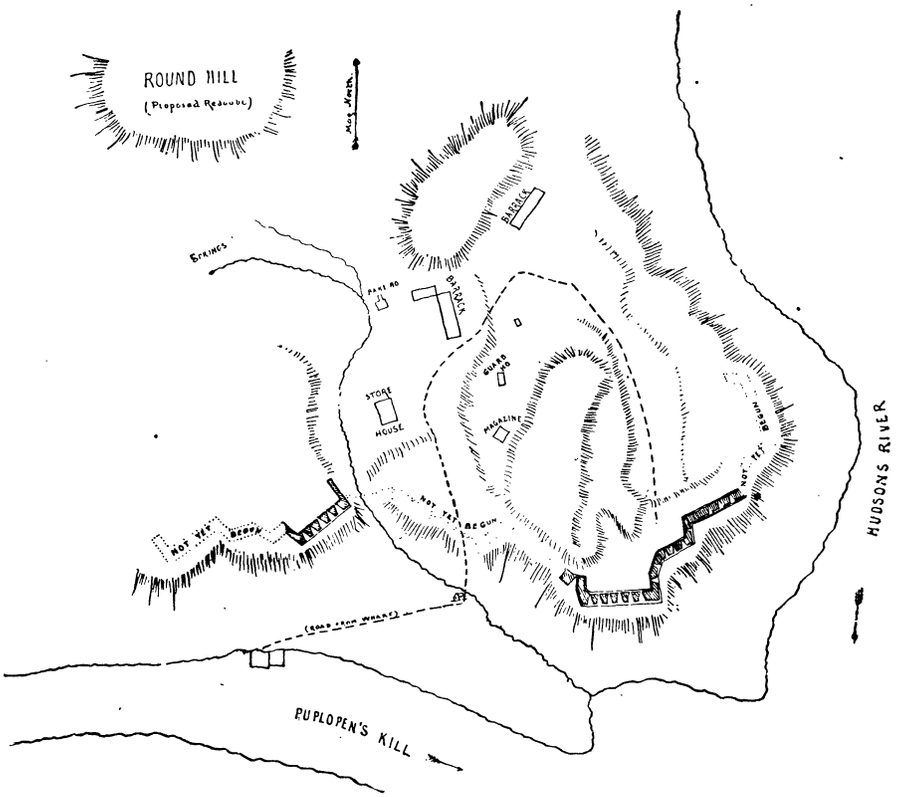
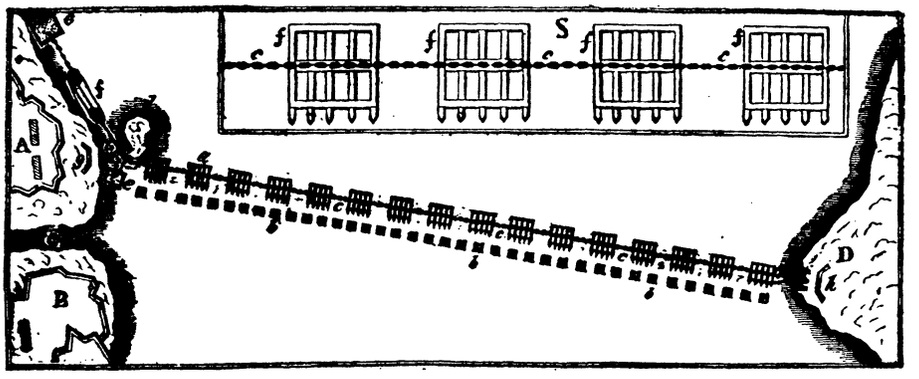


FORT MONTGOMERY, MAY 31, 1776.



CHAIN AT FORT MONTGOMERY.[1]

[1] Reduced from the cut in Ruttenber's *Obstructions to the Navigation of Hudson's River*, p. 64.

KEY. A, Fort Montgomery. B, Fort Clinton. C, Poplopen's Kill. D, Anthony's Nose. *a*, floats to chain. *b b b*, boom in front of chain. *c c c*, chain. *d*, rock at which the chain was secured and large iron roller. *e e*, cribs and anchors. *f*, blocks and purchase for tightening chain. *g h*, ground batteries for defence of chain. [S, section showing floats and chain; *c c c*, chain; *f f f*, floats.]

The cut follows the original drawing found in the papers of the secret committee. There is a plate showing the boom and chain at West Point in Boynton's *West Point*, p. 70.

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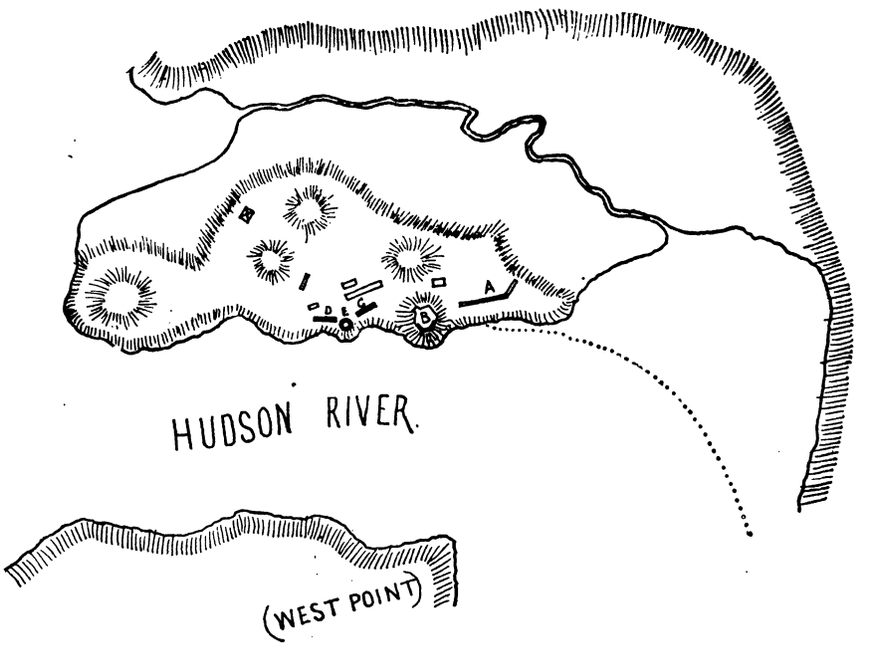

CONSTITUTION ISLAND, 1776.[1]

Feb. the military control appears in Col. David Waterbury's orderly-book (*Mag. of American Hist.*, Dec., 1884, p. 555). Moore gives current published reports, including Gov. Tryon's proclamation in March (*Diary of the Rev.*, i. 216). During the same month Lee made a report on the fortifications of the city (*N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, 1871, p. 354), and Field, in his *Battle of Long Island*, traces the measures of Lee to convert New York into a camp and to root out the Tories on Long Island.

Stirling had also been exercising command in New York (Duer's *Stirling*, 139), and had seized Gov. Franklin of New Jersey (*N. J. Archives*, x. 702). In April, 1776, Putnam arrived with instructions from Washington (Sparks's *Washington*, iii. 337), finding Heath fresh from a review of the troops (Moore, i. 228).[2]

With the arrival of Washington in the middle of April, 1776, the campaign may be said to have begun. His batteries soon sent the few British ships in the harbor down to Sandy Hook, and Benjamin Tupper, commanding the little American flotilla, tried to destroy the lighthouse at that point, June 21.[3] Beside the official letters of this time there are numerous private ones.[4]

[1] From the *Sparks Maps*. KEY: "A, Gravel Hill battery, 11 guns. B, Hill clift battery, 3 in front, not finished. C, Marine battery, 8 guns. D, Romain's battery, 14 guns. E, Round Tower, 8 guns." These works were later commanded by those erected at West Point.

[2] For this period see 4 Force, vol. v.; Heath's *Memoirs;* Sparks's *Gouverneur Morris* (i. ch. 5); lives of Putnam; Almon's *Remembrancer;* histories of New York, city and province. There is much of detail with references in Dawson's *Westchester County, during the American Revolution* (Morrisania, 1886), p. 159, etc., particularly as respects the political influence of the provincial congress and the treatment of suspected persons. This book, for the period covered by it, is one of the thoroughest pieces of work respecting the history of the Revolution; but it is unfortunately marred by a captious and carping spirit, so characteristic of Dawson's historical work. This monograph is a separate issue of a portion of a *History of Westchester County*, by several hands.

[3] Johnston's *Campaign of 1776*, p. 91. This lighthouse was built in 1762. There is a view of it in the *N. Y. Mag.*, Aug., 1790.

[4] Persifer Frazer to his wife, May 23–June 29, 1776, in *Sparks MSS.* (no. xxi.). General Glover's letters in Upham's *Glover*. Others in 5 Force, ii. Colonel Joseph Hodgkin's in *Ipswich Antiquarian Papers*, vols. ii. and iii. Letter of Samuel Kennedy in June, in *Penna. Mag. of Hist.* (1884, p. 111). Cf. Diary of the Moravian Ewald Gustav Schaukirk, 1775–1783, in *Ibid.*, x. 418. In July, the statue of George III. in Bowling

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Late in June and early in July Lord Howe's fleet arrived in the lower harbor, and the troops were landed on Staten Island.[1]

The harbor of New York necessarily had more or less hydrographical treatment in all the early plans. Before the outbreak of hostilities, this may be seen, not only in the Des Barres series of maps, but in the chart of 1764,[2] reproduced in Valentine's *Manual* (1861, p. 597).[3] After the war began, we find several harbor maps worthy of note.[4]

During June came the plot for assassinating Washington in New York.[5] Washington was discouraged with the progress of the recruiting. "Washington and Mercer's camps recruit with amazing slowness," wrote Jefferson from Philadelphia, July 20th.[6] Mercer commanded the Flying Camp of militia from Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Maryland, which were hovering between the British and Philadelphia.[7]

Clinton's expeditionary force returned from Sullivan's Island Aug. 1st, and the active campaign began when, three weeks later, Howe moved a large part of his force across from Staten Island[8] to Gravesend, on Long Island, Aug. 22d, Sir George Collier commanding the fleet which covered the landing,[9] and the advance then began towards the lines near Brooklyn which General Greene had had the charge of constructing.[10]

Respecting the orders antecedent to and during the battle, those of Washington are in Force; but Johnston adds to them from the orderly-books.[11] Washington's own account can be found in his letters to Congress, to Gov. Trumbull, to

Green was pulled down. P. O. Hutchinson's *Gov. Hutchinson*, ii. 167. George Gibbs's account of the statue in *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, 1844, p. 168.

[1] Jones's *N. Y. during the Rev.*, i. ch. 6. Some of the British frigates ascending the Hudson in July, an attempt was made to destroy them. *Worcester Mag.*, i. 353; *Hist. Mag.*, May, 1866, Suppl., p. 84. Dawson (*Westchester County*, 192, 207, 213, 214, 215, 216) goes into detail, faithfully citing all the authorities.

[2] Cf. Bellin's *Petit Atlas Maritime* (1764), vol. i.

[3] Cf. a MS. map by John Montresor, surveyed by order of General Gage, and dated Sept. 18, 1766, which is among the Faden maps (no. 96) in the library of Congress. A plan by Montresor in 1775 of *New York et Environs*, with the harbor in the corner in much detail, measuring about 48 inches wide by 22 high, is among the Rochambeau maps (no. 23) in the same library.

[4] *A Draught of New York harbor from the Hook to New York town, by Mark Tiddeman*, was issued by Mount and Page in London, and is reproduced in Valentine's *New York City Manual*, 1855. (Cf. also *Ibid.*, 1861, p. 628.) There is another (1776) in the *North American Pilot*, no. 24, which was published separately as *A Chart of the Entrance of Hudson's River from Sandy Hook to New York, with the banks, etc.* (London, Sayer and Bennett, June 1, 1776). One was made in 1779 by Robert Erskine; and another is contained in the *Neptune Americo-septentrional*, no. 19.

A map of New York and Staten Island, with intervening waters, made by order of General Clinton in 1781, is noted in the *King's Maps* (Brit. Mus.), ii. 355. Cf. *N. Y. City Manual*, 1870, p. 845. A MS. draft of Long Island Sound and the entrance of New York harbor is among the Faden maps (no. 54) in the library of Congress.

[5] Known as the Hickey Plot. It is detailed in the *Minutes of the trial and examination of certain persons in the Province of New York, charged with being engaged in a conspiracy against the authority of the Congress and the liberties of America* (London, 1786, — Menzies, no. 1,400), which was reprinted (100 copies) as *Minutes of Conspiracy against the liberties of America*, at Philadelphia in 1865. The ringleader was one of Washington's life guard, Thomas Hickey, who was hanged in June, 1776. David Matthews, the mayor of New York, was implicated, and Governor Tryon was charged with a knowledge of the plot. Matthews was arrested and confined in Connecticut (*Orderly-book of Sir John Johnson*, 214, 215). Cf. *N. Y. in the Rev.* (papers in N. Y. Merc. Library), p. 66; Irving's *Washington*, ii. 232; *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, xxiii. 205; Johnston's *Campaign of 1776*, Doc. 129.

[6] *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, Jan., 1866, p. 69.

[7] Sparks's *Washington*, iii. 451; *Journals of Congress*, June 3 and July 19, 1776; Journal of Algernon Roberts on an expedition to Paulus Hook, in *Sparks MSS.*, no. xlviii.; Johnston's *Campaign of 1776*, p. 113. The New Jersey militia were acting in concert under Livingston. There is a journal of a Lieut. Bangs among them, from April to July. *N. Jersey Hist. Soc. Proc.*, viii.

[8] Cf. letter, Aug. 4, from Staten Island, in Lady Georgiana Cavendish's *Mem. of Admiral Gambier*, copied in *Hist. Mag.*, v. 68.

[9] *Naval Chronicle*, xxxii.

[10] Greene's *Greene*, i. 158.

[11] Col. Moses Little's, beginning April 30, 1776, belonging to Benj. Hale, of Newburyport, Mass., including orders of Greene and Sullivan; the latter's orders of Aug. 25 are in *Hist. Mag.*, ii. 354, and Col. Wm. Douglas's, belonging to Benj. Douglas of Middletown, Conn. That of Capt. Samuel Sawyer, Aug. 22 – Nov. 27, is in the Mass. Archives. Cf. *Journals* of the New York provincial congress. Greene's apprehensions as to the situation on Long Island in the early summer of 1776 can be got from his letters in Greene's *Life of Greene*, ii. 420, etc.

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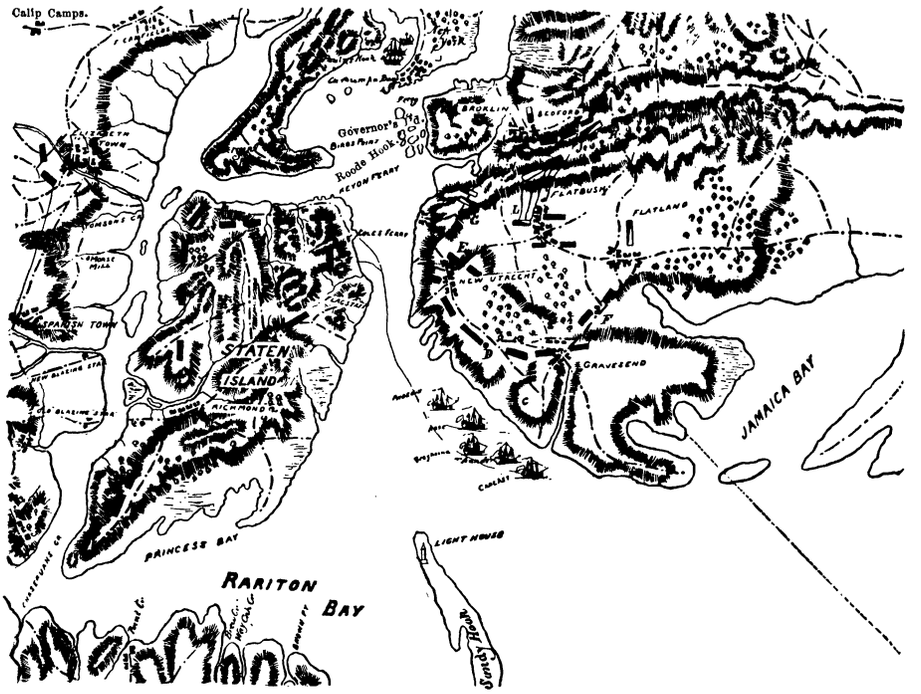
the Mass. Assembly,[1] and he probably dictated the letter of Col. Harrison, his secretary, to Congress.[2] Sullivan's letter is in effect a defence of himself,[3] and other letters from participants and observers are preserved,[4] as well as journals of actors on the field,[5] and other personal re-



BATTLE OF LONG ISLAND, 1776.[6]

[1] 5 Force, i. 1244, ii. 196; Sparks, iv. 59; Field, 383; Johnston, Docs., p. 32.

[2] Sparks, iv. 513; Dawson, i. 150.

[3] Field, 369; Dawson, i. 156; *Penna. Hist. Soc. Bull.*, i. no. 8; Sparks, iv. 517.

[4] Gen. Parsons to John Adams, Aug. 29 and Oct. 8, in Johnston. Smallwood's, Oct. 12, in 5 Force, ii. 1011; Field, 386; Dawson, i. 152; Ridgeley's *Annals of Annapolis*, App. Stirling to Washington in Dawson, i. 151; Duer's *Stirling*, 163; Sparks, iv. 515. Col. Haslet's in Sparks, iv. 516; Dawson, i. 152. Col. Chambers's, Sept. 3, in *Chambersburg in the Colony and the Revolution;* Field, 399. Col. Gunning Bedford's and Cæsar Rodney's in Read's *George Read*, 170. Letters of Pennsylvania soldiers in 2 *Penna. Archives*, x. 305.

[5] Col. Samuel J. Atlee's in 2 *Penna. Archives*, i. 509; 5 Force, i. 1251; Field, 352; *Life of Joseph Reed*, i. 413. Samuel Miles's, in 2 *Penna. Archives*, i. 517.

[6] Sketched from a part of a MS. Hessian map in the library of Congress, called *Plan générale des opérations de l'armée Britannique contre les Rebelles*, etc.

KEY: "A, Le camp du Général Howe sur Staten Island à l'arrivée du général de Heister avec la 1re division des troupes Hessoises le 22 d'Aoust, 1776. B, Le camp qu'on occupa sur Staten Island cette division après du debarqué. C, L'endroit où les troupes debarquerent sur Long Island. D, Camp du général Howe près de Gravesend. E, Camp du général de Heister après la descente sur Long Island le 27 d'Aoust, 1776. F, Marche de la colonne droite commandée par le général Clinton vers Bedford dans la nuit du 26 au 27 Aoust. G, Marche de la colonne gauche, commandée par le général Grant. H, Attaque de l'avant garde du général Clinton du 27me Aoust. J, Où le général Clinton forma sa colonne pour continuer l'attaque. K, Attaque du général Grant. L, Attaque du général de Heister. M, Les lignes des enemis à Brooklin. N, Corps détachés de l'enemis hors de ses lignes. O, Les redoutes de l'enemis à Readhook. Q, Les redoutes à Gouverneur island."

The lines (. — . —) represent roads. The blocks, half-black and half-white, are the Americans; those divided diagonally are the Hessians; the solid black are the British.

A Hessian officer's map, obtained from Brunswick, and showing Ratzer's topography, is given in fac-simile in Field's monograph (p. 310), and a German map of Long Island is given in the *Geographische Belustigungen* (Leipzig, 1776). There is a somewhat coarse-colored map among the Rochambeau maps (no. 25), meas-

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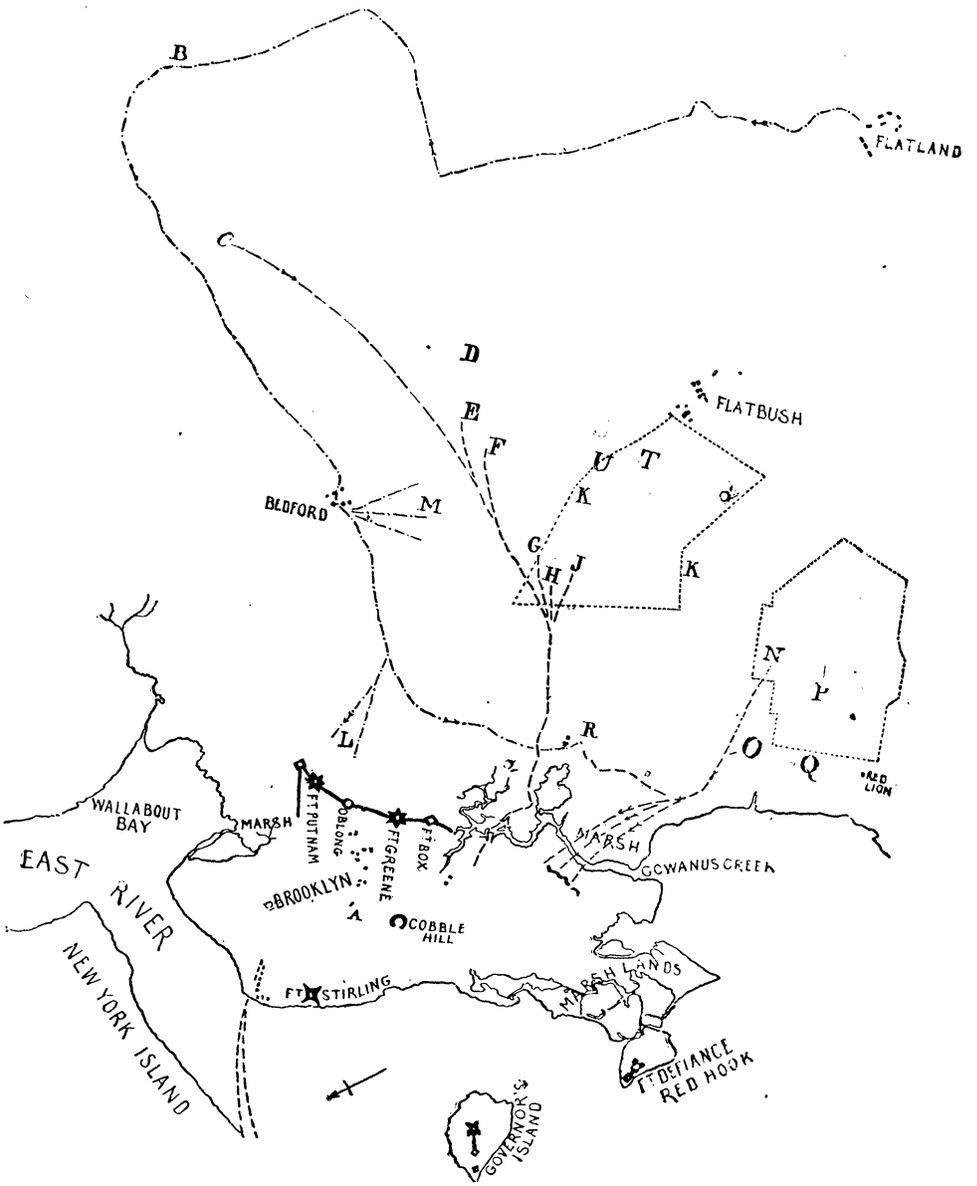

LONG ISLAND, AUGUST, 27, 1776.[1]

uring fifteen inches wide by eighteen high, called *Attaque de l'armée des Provinciaux dans Long Island du 27 Août, 1776. Publié, 1776.* A MS. "Plan of the Attack of the Rebels on Long Island by an officer of the army" is among the Faden maps (no. 56) in the library of Congress. The map used in Stedman is re-engraved, with additions, in Irving's *Washington*, illus. ed., ii. 309.

[1] Sketched from a large *Plan of the Battle of Long Island and of the Brooklyn defences, Aug. 27, 1776, compiled by Henry P. Johnston*, which accompanies his *Campaign of 1776*, and is based, as he says, on Ratzer's map of Brooklyn (1767–68) and the United States coast survey. Before daylight on the morning of the 27th, the British advance under General Grant disturbed the American pickets at the Red Lion, which is near the westerly angle of the present Greenwood Cemetery area, marked on the plan with a dotted line. As the day wore on, the conflict pressed between the British at P and Q and the Americans under Stirling and Parsons at

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citals,[1] and narratives in the public press.[2] On the British side we have Howe's despatch[3] of Sept. 3, with the comments and inquiry which it elicited,[4] and the report and journals of Sir

O and N, — Smallwood's Marylanders holding the extreme right on the water, and Huntington's Connecticut regiment on the extreme left. Johnston (p. 165) says Stirling's position was between 18th and 20th streets of the modern Brooklyn, and not as Sparks's map places him, near the Narrows. Meanwhile, a British column at 9 o'clock the previous evening had begun to move from Flatlands, and at 3 the next morning captured an American patrol at B, and at 6 the British column (marching in this order, — Clinton, Cornwallis, Percy, Howe) neared the American advance under Miles at C, who retired; and at 9 A. M. the British column was at Bedford and threw out a force to M, which began to attack the American outposts of D (Miles), E (Wyley), and F (Chester), forcing them to retire upon Sullivan, who commanded the forces of Johnston (H), Hitchcock (J), and Little (G), with pickets at K, — all within or near the present limits of Prospect Park, shown by the dotted line. Threatened by the British flanking column as well as by the Hessians in front, approaching from Flatbush under Heister with the commands of Von Stirn (S), Von Mirbach (T), and Donop (U), the Americans, after the capture of Sullivan himself, retreated as best they could across the creek and got within the lines. The column of the British advancing from Bedford threw out a force under Vaughan towards L to menace Fort Putnam and that part of the American works, while Cornwallis advancing towards R had a conflict there round the Cortelyou house at 11.30 A. M. with Stirling, who was trying to check this rear attack of the British, while such of his troops as could be controlled retreated from N and O, and, passing the marsh, crossed the creek (half a dozen or so being drowned), and reached dry land near some redoubts within the American line of defence. The point A represents the position of the present City Hall of Brooklyn. Stirling, meanwhile, with Smallwood's Marylanders in danger of being crushed between Cornwallis and Grant, and foiled in the attempt to reach Fort Box, retreated towards Flatbush, but encountered in that direction Gen. Heister's Hessians, and gave himself up to that officer.

T. W. Field in his monograph, the *Battle of Long Island*, gives a large plan showing the relations of the modern streets to the old landmarks, and marking "the natural defensible line, as nearly as it could be authenticated by documentary and traditionary evidence." Field adds that "the routes of the British were generally over country roads long since abandoned, and now covered with buildings; but their localities were accurately surveyed by the author before their traces were lost." Field also says (p. 145) that the American works were at once levelled by the British, and new ones were erected on interior lines. (Cf. G. W. Greene's *General Greene*, i. 159.) These latter lines are shown, as well as the earlier American works, in a *Map of Brooklyn at the time of the Revolution*, drawn by Gen. Jeremiah Johnson (Valentine's *Manual*, 1858). A rude map by J. Ewing, made Sept., 1776, is given in fac-simile in Johnston's *Campaign of 1776* (Documents, p. 50) and in 2d ser. *Penna. Archives*, x. 194. Dr. Stiles made a rough plan in his diary, which he based upon a map of the ground and upon the information given him by one who was at Red Hook at the time. It is given in fac-simile by Johnston (p. 70).

The plan in Carrington's *Battles* (p. 214) is extended enough to illustrate the movements after the British occupation of New York; that in H. R. Stiles's *Brooklyn* (vol. i. 250) is an eclectic one, made with care, and his text attempts to identify the position of the lines and forts in relation to present landmarks. Gordon acknowledges receiving from Greene a map improved by that general (*Hist. Mag.*, xiii. 25).

There are other plans in Marshall's *Washington* (large and small atlas); Sparks's *Washington*, iv. 68, repeated in Duer's *Stirling* (p. 162); Guizot's *Washington;* Samuel Ward's lecture on the battle, 1839; J. T. Bailey's *Hist. Sketch of Brooklyn* (Brooklyn, 1840); W. L. Stone's *New York City*, p. 246; Henry Onderdonk, Jr.'s *Queens County*, and *Suffolk and Kings Counties;* Ridpath's *United States;* Lossing's *Field-Book*, ii. 806, 809, 810; Lowell's *Hessians; Harper's Monthly*, Aug., 1876. Ratzer's map of Brooklyn is reproduced in Stiles's *Brooklyn* (i. 63), with a view of the same date (p. 217). Cf. map in Valentine's *N. Y. Manual* (1856). Cf. the bibliography of Long Island in *Amer. Bibliopolist*, Oct., 1872, and in Furman's *Antiquities of Long Island*, App.

[1] Graydon's *Memoirs*, ch. 6; *Mem. of Col. Benj. Talmadge* (N. Y., 1858), cited in Johnston. James Sullivan Martin's *Narrative of some of the adventures of a revolutionary soldier* (Hallowell, 1830, p. 219), cited in Field, 507. Brodhead in 1 *Penna. Archives*, v. 21, cited by Johnston. Hezekiah Munsell's account in Stiles's *Ancient Windsor, Conn.*, 714. Cf. further, *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, 1875, p. 439; Onderdonk's *Rev. Incidents in Queens County;* S. Barclay's *Personal Recollections of the American Revolution.*

[2] *Freeman's Journal* and *Penna. Journal*, quoted in Moore's *Diary*, i. 295–297. Dr. Stiles's diary, giving the news as it reached him, is cited by Field and Johnston.

[3] *Gazette Extraordinary*, Oct. 10, also in 5 Force, i. 1255–56; *Naval Chronicle* (1841); Field, 378; Moore's *Diary*, 300; Dawson, i. 154. Howe's letters during this campaign are in the *Sparks MSS.*, no. lviii.

[4] Israel Mauduit's *Remarks upon Gen. Howe's account of his proceedings on Long Island* (London, 1778). Howe defended himself in his *Narrative of his Conduct in America.* Field (p. 460) gives the parliamentary testimony, and the examination of Howe's statements (p. 471) from the *Detail and Conduct of the Amer. War* (3d ed., 1780, p. 17). There were mutual criminations by Howe and the war minister, Lord George Germain. Cf. Stedman, i. 193; Smyth's *Lectures on Modern Hist.* (Bohn ed., ii. 463–65); *Parliamentary*

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George Collier, in command of the fleet.[1] In addition we have a number of personal experiences and accounts of eye-witnesses,[2] as well as statements from the German participants.[3]

The circumstances of the battle and retreat have occasioned some controversy, in which Bancroft has been criticised by the grandsons of Gen. Greene[4] and Joseph Reed.[5]

Respecting the armies on both sides and their losses, there is ground for dispute. It is claimed that the British had about double the numbers of the Americans, and the losses of killed and wounded were about equal on both sides, though the Americans also lost heavily in prisoners.[6] But on this point see the preceding chapter.

Without enumerating at length the treatment of the general histories[7] and the biographies of participants,[8] the battle of Long Island has had much special local[9] and monographic treatment,

Reg., xi. 340; Almon's *Debates*, xii.; Almon's *Remembrancer*, iii. A loyalist's view of the opportunity lost in not forcing the American lines is in Jones's *N. Y. during the Rev.*, i. 112. Johnston (p. 185) points out how the English did the real fighting, while the Hessians joined in the pursuit. Major James Wemys, an officer of the British army serving in America, dying in New York in 1834–35, left papers, which were copied by Sparks while in the hands of Rev. Wm. Ware (*Sparks MSS.*, xx.). They include his estimates of various generals of the British army; strictures on the peculations of some of them; including criticisms of Howe's conduct in the fights at Long Island, Whiteplains, and Trenton.

[1] *Naval Chronicle*, xxxii. 271. Field (p. 407) gives G. S. Rainer's account from the journals of Collier. Cf. Ithiel Town's *Particular Services* (N. Y., 1835).

[2] *Evelyns in America*, pp. 266, 325. Lushington's *Lord Harris*, cited by Field (p. 405). A letter of Earl Percy, Newtown, on Long Island, Sept. 1, in which he says that the English loss was 300, the American 3,000, with 1,500 privates, beside officers, taken prisoners, and "he flatters himself that this campaign will put a total end to the war" (MSS. in Boston Pub. Library). The *Hist. MSS. Com.*, 2d *Report*, p. 48, shows a letter of Sir John Wrottesley to his wife, dated Long Island, Sept. 3.

[3] Eelking's *Hülfstruppen*, ch. 1; Lowell's *Hessians*, p. 58; and the appendix of Field. There is a French view in Hilliard d'Auberteuil's *Essais*, vol. ii.

[4] Bancroft made some adverse criticisms of Greene in his orig. ed., ix. ch. 4. George W. Greene replied in a pamphlet, which he has reprinted in his *Life of Greene*, vol. ii., in which (book ii. ch. 7) he gives his own version of the battle. Cf. *Hist. Mag.*, Feb. and Aug., 1867.

[5] Respecting the retreat, Washington had ordered Heath (5 Force, i. 1211) to send down boats from up the Hudson, which he did (Heath, *Memoirs*, 57). Washington's reasons for a retreat are told in a letter of Joseph Reed, Aug. 30th, to Wm. Livingston, given in Sedgwick's *Livingston*, 201. (Cf. Sparks, *Washington*, iv. 81.) Johnston collates the authorities upon the reasons (p. 215), and thinks Gordon's account the most probable, that the American lines were unfit to stand siege operations, which Howe had begun. The proceedings of the council of war (Aug. 29th) which decided upon the retreat are in 5 Force, i. 1246, and in Onderdonk's *Rev. incidents in Suffolk County*, p. 161.

Bancroft (final revision, v. 38) and Wm. B. Reed (*Life of Jos. Reed*, i. 121–126) are at issue upon the point whether the lifting of the fog, which revealed the purpose of the English ships to get between Brooklyn and New York, took place before the retreat was ordered, or after it was nearly over. Bancroft's witnesses seem conclusive against the claim of W. B. Reed that such a revelation induced Joseph Reed to urge the retreat upon Washington (note in Bancroft, orig. ed., ix. 106; final revision, v. 38). Joseph Reed's own account is in Sedgwick's *Livingston*, 203. Cf. Johnston, ch. 5. Col. Tallmadge (*Memoirs*, p. 11) says that Washington never received the credit which was due to him for his wise and fortunate retreat from Long Island.

[6] Dawson (*Westchester Co.*, 224) puts the British army at over forty thousand men when the campaign opened. Beatson's *Naval and Mil. Memoirs*, vi.; 5 Force, i.; Bancroft, orig. ed., ix. 85–90; final revision, v. 28; Johnston, 195–201, and Docs., p. 167, 176, 180; De Lancey in Jones's *N. Y. during the Rev.*, 600. There is a MS. on the prisoners taken noted in the *Bushnell Catal.* (1883), no. 791. Lecky (*England in the XVIIIth Century*, iv. 2, N. Y. ed.) says: "The English and American authorities are hopelessly disagreed about the exact numbers engaged, and among the Americans themselves there are very great differences. Compare Ramsay, Bancroft, Stedman, and Stanhope, [Mahon]."

There has been a controversy over the death of Gen. Woodhull, who was captured a few days later, and killed, as was alleged, while trying to escape. Cf. 5 Force, ii., iii. (index); De Lancey in Jones, ii. chap. 20, and p. 593; Johnston's *Observations on Jones*, p. 73; Luther R. Marsh's *Gen. Woodhull and his Monument* (N. Y., 1848); *Hist. Mag.*, v. 140, 172, 204, 229; Henry Onderdonk, Jr.'s *Narrative of Woodhull's Capture and death* (1848).

[7] Mercy Warren's *Amer. Revolution;* Bancroft, ix. ch. 4 and 5; final revision, v. ch. 2; Lossing's *Field-Book*, ii.; Gay's *Pop. Hist. U. S.*, iii. ch. 20, etc.

[8] Lives of Washington by Marshall, ii. ch. 7; by Sparks, i. 190; by Irving, ii. ch. 31, 32: of Sullivan by Amory, p. 25; of Stirling by Duer; of Olney by Williams; of Burr by Parton, i. ch. 8, etc.

[9] Most elaborate of such is R. H. Stiles's *Hist. of Brooklyn* (p. 242). Cf. Thompson's *Long Island;* Strong's *Flatbush;* Henry Onderdonk, Jr.'s *Kings County*. Letters of Onderdonk to Sparks in 1844, on the battle,

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particularly at the hands of Field, Johnston, Dawson, and Carrington.[1] On the English side we have contemporary and later examples of historical treatment.[2] It was the first substantial victory for the royal arms, and had little of the disheartening influence which the forcing of the redoubt at Bunker Hill had brought with it. The effect was correspondingly inspiriting to the Tories in America and to the government party in England.[3]

In transferring the scene across the river to New York, it is best in the first place to trace the topography of the town and island by the maps of the period, and to follow the cartographical records of the military movements during the campaign, before classifying the authorities.

John Hill's large plan of New York, extending as far north as Thirty-fourth Street, surveyed in 1782, and dedicated to Gov. George Clinton, was drawn in 1785.[4] He marks all the works of the Revolution, — coloring yellow those thrown up by the Americans in 1776; orange, those of the Americans which the British repaired; and green, those later erected by the royal forces. Johnston's map[5] adopts these yellow lines. Lossing (*Field-Book*, ii. 593, 799), in describing the New York lines, differs somewhat from Hill's map. Johnston controverts Jones and De Lancey (Jones's *New York during the Revolutionary War*), who claim that the American lines were levelled by the British; he also cites Smythe, who described them in March, 1777, as was also done by Thomas Eddis in Aug., 1777,[6] and by Anburey in 1781, and he depends on Hill's draft of them in 1782. Johnston (p. 36) also describes the appearance of the town at the opening of the war.[7] Johnston (p. 194) claims that his eclectic map is the first to give the entire island as it was in 1776. He followed the surveys of Ratzer and Montresor as far north as Fiftieth Street, and from that point to Kingsbridge he used the map of 1814, made by Randall for the commissioners to lay out streets. The annexed sketch of Johnston's map shows the fortifications surrounding the town of New York.

Howe was much criticised for his dilatoriness and his failure promptly to use his fleet to get in

are in the *Sparks MSS.*, no. xlviii. There is a paper by the Rev. J. W. Chadwick, of Brooklyn, in *Harper's Mag.*, liii. p. 333. Cf. Hollister's *Connecticut*, ii. ch. 11. A personal narrative of Thomas Richards, a Connecticut soldier, is in *United Service* (Aug., 1884), xii. 216.

1 The earliest special treatment is Samuel Ward in *Battle of Long Island* (1839; also see *Knickerbocker Mag.*, xiii. 279). Field's monograph makes vol. ii. of the *Memoirs of the Long Island Hist. Soc.*, and nearly half the volume is an appendix of documents. *The Campaign of 1776 round New York and Brooklyn* (Brooklyn, 1878), by Henry P. Johnston, makes vol. iii. of the same series, and chapter 4 is given to the subject, and his narrative is well fortified by documentary proofs. In placing the responsibility of the defeat, he takes issue (p. 192) with Bancroft, Field, and Dawson, who charge it upon Putnam. Dawson (*Battles*, i. 143) gives numerous references. Carrington's *Battles of the Amer. Rev.* (ch. 31 and 32).

2 *Annual Reg.*, xix. ch. 5; *Parliamentary Reg.*, xiii.; *The Impartial Hist. of the late War;* Andrews's *Late War*, ch. 21; Stedman's *Amer. War*, ch. 6; Bissett's *Reign of George III.*, i. 401, also speaks of the retreat as "masterly;" Knight's *Pop. Hist. England*, cited in Field, 447, and Mahon's.

3 John Adams's *Works*, ix. 438; letters of Franklin and Morris to Silas Deane, Oct. 1, 1776, noted in *Calendar of Lee MSS.*, p. 7; Stuart's *Jona. Trumbull;* Sedgwick's *Wm. Livingston*, 201; Donne's *Corresp. of George III. and Lord North*, vol. ii.; *Rockingham and his Contemp.*, ii. 297; Russell's *Life of Fox*, and *Memorials and Corresp. of Fox*, i. 145; Walpole's *Last Journals*, ii. 70.

4 This map of Hill's is reproduced in Valentine's *Manual*, 1857, and in Dunlap's *New York* (vol. ii.).

5 *Campaign of 1776*, p. 84.

6 *Letters from America*, p. 429.

7 Smith tells us that in 1766 a line of palisades, with block-houses, still stretched across New York Island, near the line of the present Chambers St., which had been built in the French war, at a cost of about £8,000. Crèvecœur described the town in 1772, and his description is translated in the *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, ii. 748. Cf. Dawson's account in his *New York during the Revolution.* There are various views of the town during the revolutionary period. One from the southeast and another from the southwest, by P. Canot, 1768, are reëngraved in Hough's translation of Pouchot (ii. 85, 88). Cf. *Doc. Hist. N. Y.*, octavo, ii. 43. There are others in the travels of Sandby and Kalm. See Moore's *Diary of the Amer. Rev.*, p. 311; Valentine's *Manual*, 1852, p. 176; Appleton's *Journal*, xii. 464. A view of New York as seen from the bay, found among Lord Rawdon's papers, is given in *Harper's Mag.*, xlvii. p. 23. Gaine's *N. Y. Pocket Almanac*, 1772, has "Prospect of the City of N. Y." A bird's-eye view of the island, as seen from above Fort Washington in 1781, is in Valentine's *Manual*, 1854. This last publication contains various views of revolutionary landmarks, as of Hellgate (1850, — cf. *London Mag.*, April, 1778); the Battery and Bowling Green (1858, p. 633); the City Hall (1856, p. 32; 1866, p. 547); the Beekman house, headquarters of Sir William Howe in Sept., 1776 (1861, p. 496, — see also Gay, *Pop. Hist. U. S.*, iii. 503); the Rutgers mansion (1858, p. 607); Lord Stirling's house (1854, p. 410); Alexander Hamilton's house (1858, p. 468). Knyphausen's quarters in Wall St. are shown in the *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, June, 1883, p. 409.

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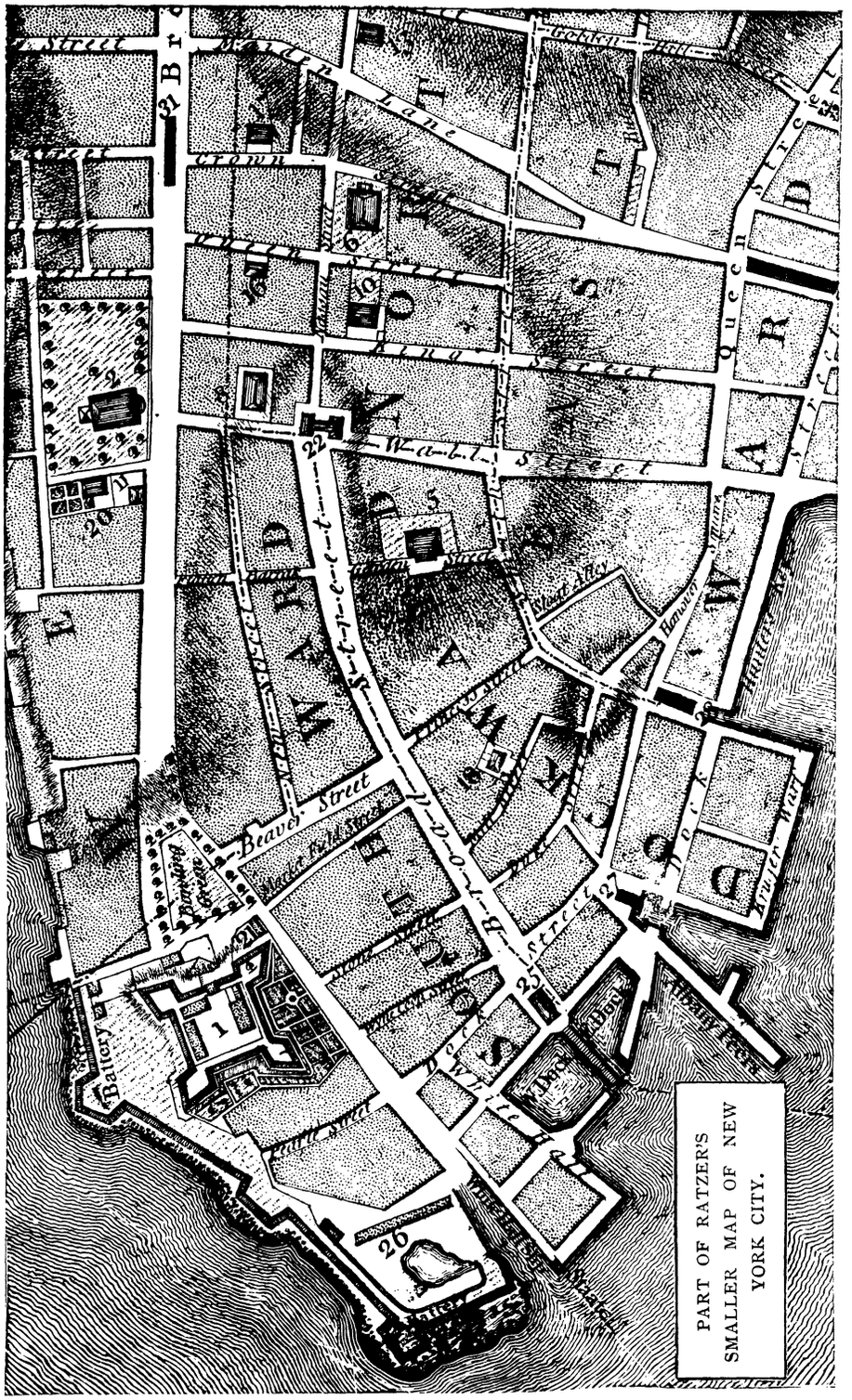
Broadway
Beaver Street
Wall Street
Queen Street
Pearl Street
Battery
Broad Way
Trinity Church
Hanover Square
Exchange
Custom House
Bowling Green
Fort George
Hudson River
East River
Albany Pier
Whitehall Slip
Coenties Slip
Old Slip
Maiden Lane
Crown Street
Liberty Street
Cedar Street
Rector Street
Dock Street
Water Street
Broad Street
Exchange Place
Stone Street
Hanover Square
Pearl Street
Queen Street
Wall Street
Beaver Street
Broadway
Trinity Church
Bowling Green
Custom House

the rear of Washington's army.[1] There was a division of counsels among Washington's officers as to the advisability of attempting to hold the city; but a decision to evacuate finally prevailed.[2] Washington's army was gradually dwindling, for Congress and the country had hardly reached a conception of the necessity of long enlistments.[3] Finally on Sept. 15th the British passed over from Long Island to Kip's Bay, and the Americans fled in a panic;[4] and, with loss of many

NOTE TO THE MAP ON THE OPPOSITE PAGE. — The following key explains the figures: 1, Fort George; 2, Trinity Church; 5, Old Dutch Church; 6, New Eng. Dutch Church; 8, Presbyterian meeting; 10, French Church; 11, Lutheran Church; 13, Calvinist Church; 16, New Scots' meeting; 17, Quakers' meeting; 18, Jews' synagogue; 20, Free English School; 21, Secretary's office; 22, City Hall; 25, Exchange; 26, Barracks; 27, Fish Market; 28, Old slip; 31, Oswego Market.

This is the best contemporary map on a large scale of the city of New York. It is dedicated to Gov. Moore, and made after surveys by Lieut. B. Ratzer in 1767. The whole map is given in Valentine's *Manual*, 1854; Dawson's *New York City during the Amer. Rev.* (1861); Jones's *N. Y. during the Rev. War*, i. 388. There is an original in Harvard College library. Cf. *Map Catal., Brit. Mus.*, 1885, col. 2972. It was reissued in 1776 and 1777. Cf. Lamb's *New York*, i. 757, 760. This map of the town is a different one from Ratzer's map of the city and vicinity, which has at the bottom a southwest view of the town.

Thomas Kitchen, the English cartographer, published a map, after Ratzer's surveys, of New York city and vicinity in the *London Mag.*, 1778. It has been reproduced in Shannon's *N. Y. City Manual*, 1869, and in the *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, 1885, p. 549.

A Plan of the City of New York and its Environs, "surveyed in the winter of 1766," and dedicated to Gen. Gage by John Montresor, is given in Jefferys' *General Topog. of North America and the West Indies* (London, 1768). Another form of it, purporting to be a later work, is the large folding *Plan of the City of New York and its environs, . . . surveyed in the winter, 1775*, also dedicated to Gen. Gage by John Montresor, and published in London. It has been reproduced in D. T. Valentine's *N. Y. City Manual*, 1855, p. 482. It has a corner chart of the bay from Hoboken to Sandy Hook. Cf. the *American Atlas*, nos. 20 and 25. Montresor's plan was reproduced in Paris by Le Rouge in 1777.

Major Holland, the British surveyor-general, made a plan of the city of New York, which appeared separately and as a part of his *Map of New York and New Jersey* (1776). Cf. Valentine's *Manual*, 1863, p. 533, and the small plan of New York and vicinity, eight miles to an inch, which is given in *New York City in the Revolution* (1861). A plan of part of the city made in 1771 is given in Valentine's *Manual*, 1856, p. 426. There are among the Rochambeau maps several plans of New York and its environs, rather coarse and faded (nos. 26, 27, 28, 31). Contemporary printed maps are in Gaine's *Universal Register* (N. Y., 1776) and in the *Universal Mag.*, 1776.

A survey of the region of Turtle Bay in 1771 is given in Valentine's *Manual*, 1860, p. 572, and a view at a later day in *Ibid.*, 1858, p. 600. A MS. plan of Fort George (New York) by Sauthier is among the Faden maps (no. 95) in the library of Congress.

[1] Gordon shows this. Cf. Putnam's letter to Trumbull, Sept. 12, 1776.

[2] *Correspondence of the Provincial Congress of N. Y.;* Sparks's *Washington*, iv.; *Memoirs of Chas. Lee;* Dawson's *N. Y. during the Rev.*, p. 82; Booth's *New York*, p. 493; Irving's *Washington*, ii. ch. 33; Johnston's *Campaign of 1776*, ch. 5; Carrington's *Battles*, ch. 33, and his paper in *Bay State Monthly*, March, 1884. An American orderly-book, Sept. 1–13, is among the Northumberland Papers, Alnwick Castle (*Third Rept. Hist. MSS. Commission*, p. 124). A copy of George Clinton's reasons against evacuating is in the *Sparks MSS.*, no. xlix., vol. i. p. 10. Bancroft (ix. 175; final revision, v. 69) shows how Stedman and W. B. Reed are in error in supposing that Lee's counsels prevailed in ordering a retreat.

[3] Cf. Washington's views, 5 Force, ii. 495, and Niles's *Principles and Acts*, etc. (1876 ed.), p. 464. "As the army now stands," said Knox in 1776, "it is only a receptacle for ragamuffins" (Drake's *Knox*, 32). Cf. Greene's *Life of Greene*, i. ch. 6. The British army was perhaps nearly double in numbers. On the extent of the opposing armies, see 5 Force, i. and ii.; Carrington's *Battles*, p. 224; Johnston's *Campaign of 1776*, ch. 3; Jones's *N. Y. during the Rev. War*, i. App. 599. On Oct. 3d a committee of Congress reported on the condition of the army around New York (5 Force, ii. 1385), and *Ibid.* (iii. 449) there is a return of the entire army made Nov. 3d.

[4] Original sources: Evidence of the Court of Inquiry in 5 Force, ii. 1251; Washington to Congress in Sparks, iv. 94; Greene to Cooke, Sept. 17th, in 5 Force, ii. 370 (cf. Greene's *Greene*, i. 216); Cæsar Rodney to Read, Sept. 18th, in *Life of George Read*, 191; Smallwood, Oct. 12th, in 5 Force, ii. 1013; letter of Nicholas Fish, Sept. 19th, in *Hist. Mag.*, xiii. 33; letter, Sept. 24th, in *Evelyns in America;* Major Baurmeister's account, Sept. 24th, in *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, Jan., 1877, p. 33 (Johnston, p. 95), — a MS. owned by Bancroft; Rufus Putnam's *Memoirs* (Johnston, p. 136); Heath's *Memoirs*, p. 60; Jas. S. Martin's *Narrative* (Johnston, Doc., p. 81). Cf. note on the authorities in Bancroft, orig. ed., ix. p. 122; also Gordon, ii. 327. Later accounts: Johnston, pp. 92, 232: De Lancey in Jones, App. p. 604; Irving's *Washington*, ii. 333.

Captain Nathan Hale, of the Connecticut troops, had been sent over to Long Island to discover the intentions of the enemy; but, being apprehended, was hanged as a spy, Sept. 22, 1776. Cf. Hinman's *Connecticut*

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stores, Washington gathered his forces within the Harlem lines. Johnston's draft of the works on Harlem Heights follows Sauthier's plan. The site of the fight thereabouts is west of Eighth Avenue and north of One Hundred and Twenty-fifth Street of the modern city. Johnston (p. 258) identifies the localities by the present landmarks, and says (p. 264) that "some of the works are well preserved to-day" (1878). He also says that Randall, when he surveyed the island in 1812, found the remains of the works agreeing with Sauthier's drafts.[1]

Sauthier's draft of the conflict at Harlem Plains is reproduced in the *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, May, 1880. Later plans of the locality, drawn with reference to the landmarks of the battle, or interesting for comparison, are the map of 1814 in Valentine's *Manual* (1856) and the large folding plan of the upper part of New York, with the modern streets, upon which, in colors, is superposed a draft of this action. This last is given, with an account of the fight, in Shannon's *N. Y. City Manual*, 1868, p. 812.[2] We may note some of the principal contemporary and later authorities on this action of Harlem Plains.[3]

The origin of the fire of Sept. 21st, by which a considerable part of New York was burned, has been a subject of dispute, the Tories charging it upon the Americans;[4] but later authorities, English as well as American, agree in not believing it the work of incendiaries. It is known that Washington advocated the burning of the city if evacuation became necessary, and Jones (i. p. 84) says committees of Congress had agreed upon it, but that body certainly in the end directed Washington to spare it (*Journals*, Sept. 3, 1776).[5]

The movement of Howe, which now forced Washington off New York Island and to a position at White Plains, is illustrated by a sketch

during the Rev., 82, and other histories of Connecticut; I. W. Stuart's *Life of N. Hale*, Hartford, 1856, and New York, 1874; *Memoir of N. Hale*, New Haven, 1844; Lossing's *Two Spies* (N. Y., 1886); Moore's *Diary of the Rev.*, p. 314; *Songs and Ballads of the Rev.*, 130; *Worcester Soc. of Antiquity Proc.*, 1879; H. P. Johnston in *Harper's Monthly*, June, 1880 (vol. lxi. p. 53); Greene's *Hist. View*, 338; and references in *Poole's Index*, p. 566. Congress voted him a monument. Poore's *Descriptive Catal.*, etc., index, p. 1294.

[1] See the plan in Johnston's *Campaign of 1776* (ch. vi. p. 259), with topography based on Randall's map and old surveys.

[2] There is in the N. Y. Hist. Soc. a contemporary view of Harlem from Morrisania (1765), drawn from an original in the British Museum, and this is reproduced in Valentine's *Manual*, 1863, p. 611. (Cf. *King's Maps*, Brit. Mus., i. 476.)

[3] Original sources: Washington's letter to Congress, in Dawson, i. 163, and Sparks, iv. 97; Geo. Clinton's letter in Dawson, i. 164, and in Dawson's *N. Y. City during the Rev.* (1861), 108; General Silliman's in App. of Jones's *N. Y. during the Rev. War*, p. 606; John Gooch's in *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, July, 1876, p. 334; original documents in *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, iv. 375; viii. 39, 627; and in 5 Force, ii.

On the British side, Gen. Howe's letter is in Dawson, i. 165; a letter (Sept. 22d) in the Lord Wrottesley MSS., noted in *Hist. MSS. Com. Second Rept.*, p. 48; and Lushington's *Lord Harris*, p. 79. Later accounts: Johnston, *Campaign of 1776;* Dawson's *Battles*, i. 160, and his account in the *N. Y. City Manual*, 1868, p. 804; Carrington's *Battles*, ch. 34; Lossing's *Field-Book;* Gay, iii. 509; J. A. Stevens in *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, iv. 351, vi. 260, — also see vii., viii. 39; E. C. Benedict's *Battle of Harlem Heights* (N. Y., 1881), read before the N. Y. Hist. Soc., 1878; John Jay's *Centennial Discourse*, 1876, with App. of documents, including extracts from Stiles's diary; Smyth (*Lect. Mod. Hist.*, Bohn's ed., ii. 459) on Washington's proposed Fabian policy. Cf. also Greene's *Greene*, Reed's *Joseph Reed*, i. 237; Colonel Humphrey's *Life of Putnam; Memoirs of Col. Tench Tilghman* (Albany, 1876). Letters of Tilghman and others at this time, copied from the papers in the N. Y. Hist. Soc., are in the *Sparks MSS.*, no. xxxix. Cf. histories of New York city. The amplest details of the movements which led to the actions at Harlem, of the various changes thereabouts, and of the later retreat to White Plains will be found in Dawson's *Westchester County*, p. 229 *et seq.*, abundantly fortified with references.

[4] Cf. current accounts from the newspapers in Moore's *Diary*, p. 311. A popular colored print published in Paris not long afterwards assigned the cause to American incendiaries (Dufossé's *Americana*, 1879, no. 5,480). There is in Valentine's *Manual*, 1866, p. 766, a diagram marking the spread of the fire in 1776 compared with that of 1778. A view of Trinity Church, in New York, as ruined by the fire, is given in *Harper's Mag.*, xlvii. p. 24; Valentine's *Manual*, 1861, p. 694; and Gay, iii. 510.

[5] There were reports at the time that the British troops had set the fire. Read's *George Read*, p. 196. De Lancey (Jones, i. p. 611) collates the accounts, both British and American, citing that of Henry, who had just been brought by water from Quebec, and who saw it from the transport, as one of the best descriptions (Henry's *Campaign against Quebec*). Sparks (iv. 100, 101) gives a note to Washington's account. Howe's account is in 5 Force, ii., with other documents. Cf. J. C. Hamilton's *Republic*, i. 127; Reed's *Joseph Reed*, 1, 213. Mahon (*Hist. England*, vi. 116) believes it was not set. Lecky (*England in Eighteenth Century*, iv. p. 5, with references), who is usually very considerate in his criticisms, cites Washington's desire to burn New York as a sort of justification of the British burning of Falmouth and Norfolk; but he fails to distinguish between such wanton, isolated destruction and one of strategical use.

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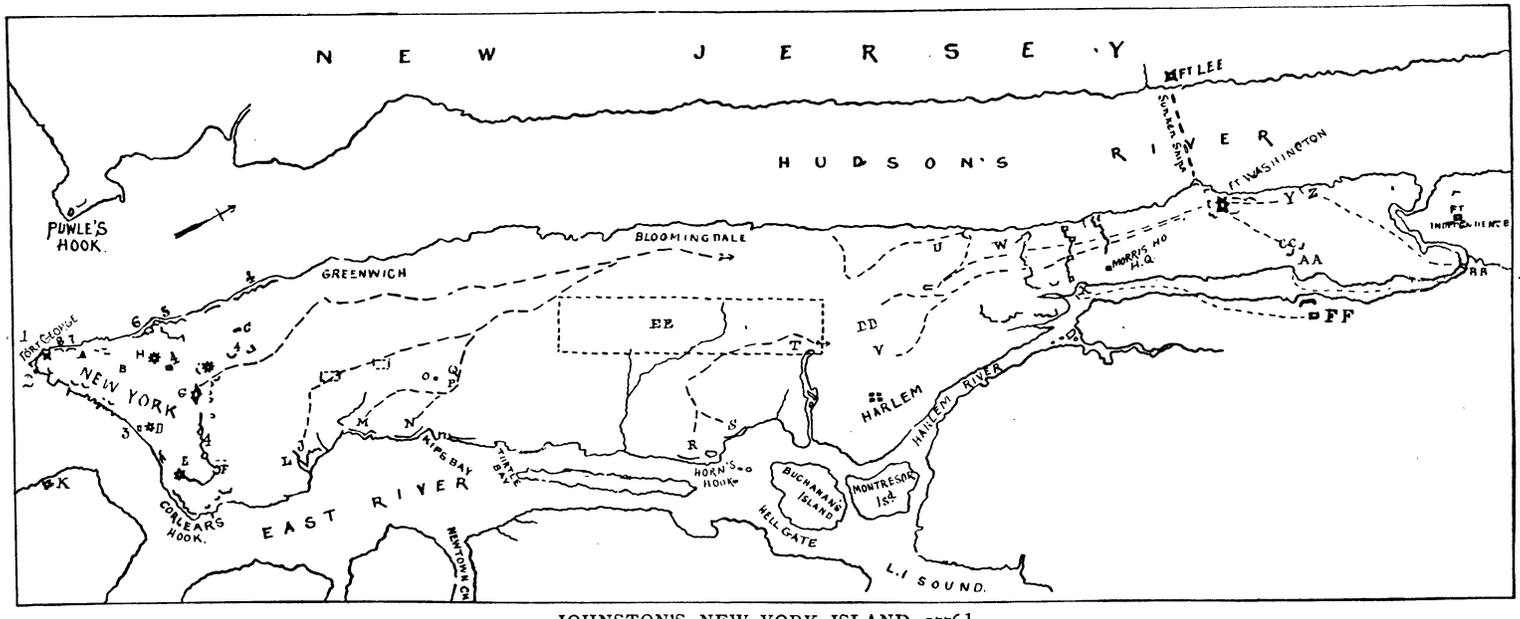

JOHNSTON'S NEW YORK ISLAND, 1776.[1]

[1] A marks the position of Trinity Church; B, the City Hall Park; C, the Mortier house, the American headquarters; D, Badlam's fort; E, Spencer's fort; F, the redoubt on Jones's hill; G, Bayard Hill fort; H, Hospital. Fort Stirling, in Brooklyn, is at K. The figures represent the batteries and redoubts: 1, Grand battery; 2, Whitehall battery; 3, Waterbury's battery; 4, redoubts; 5, Grenadier battery; 6, Jersey battery; 7, McDougall's battery; 8, Oyster (?) battery. The other marks indicate the positions of barricades.

When the British, leaving Newtown Creek, on Long Island, landed at Kip's Bay, the shore batteries thereabouts were abandoned by the Americans. Scott, at L, retreated by the broken line (— — —), and crossed along Bowery Lane, the ground now covered by Union and Madison squares (shown by the dotted oblongs). Wadsworth and Douglas retreated from M and N respectively, back upon Parsons at P and Fellows at Q, and all pursued the Bloomingdale road, just skirting the southwesterly corner of the area now known as Central Park (the large dotted oblong E E). Meanwhile, the garrison of the town lines, under Putnam and Silliman, retreated by the road leading from Fort G towards Greenwich; and near Bloomingdale the several columns joined and pursued their march to the lines on the heights above Harlem. Parton (*Life of Burr*, 86) describes how Burr at this time led Knox's brigade successfully away from Bunker Hill. Howe, who had advanced from Kip's Bay, dallied at the Murray house at O, and so failed to intercept the fugitives. Chester (R) and Sargeant (S) also deserted the works at Horn's Hook, and, striking the Kingsbridge or post road, retreated through McGowan's Pass at T. Thus all, by one road or another, got within the lines on Harlem Heights. Farther on in the text this map will be again referred to, for later movements. Cf. map in Gay's *Pop. Hist. U. S.*, iii. 491.

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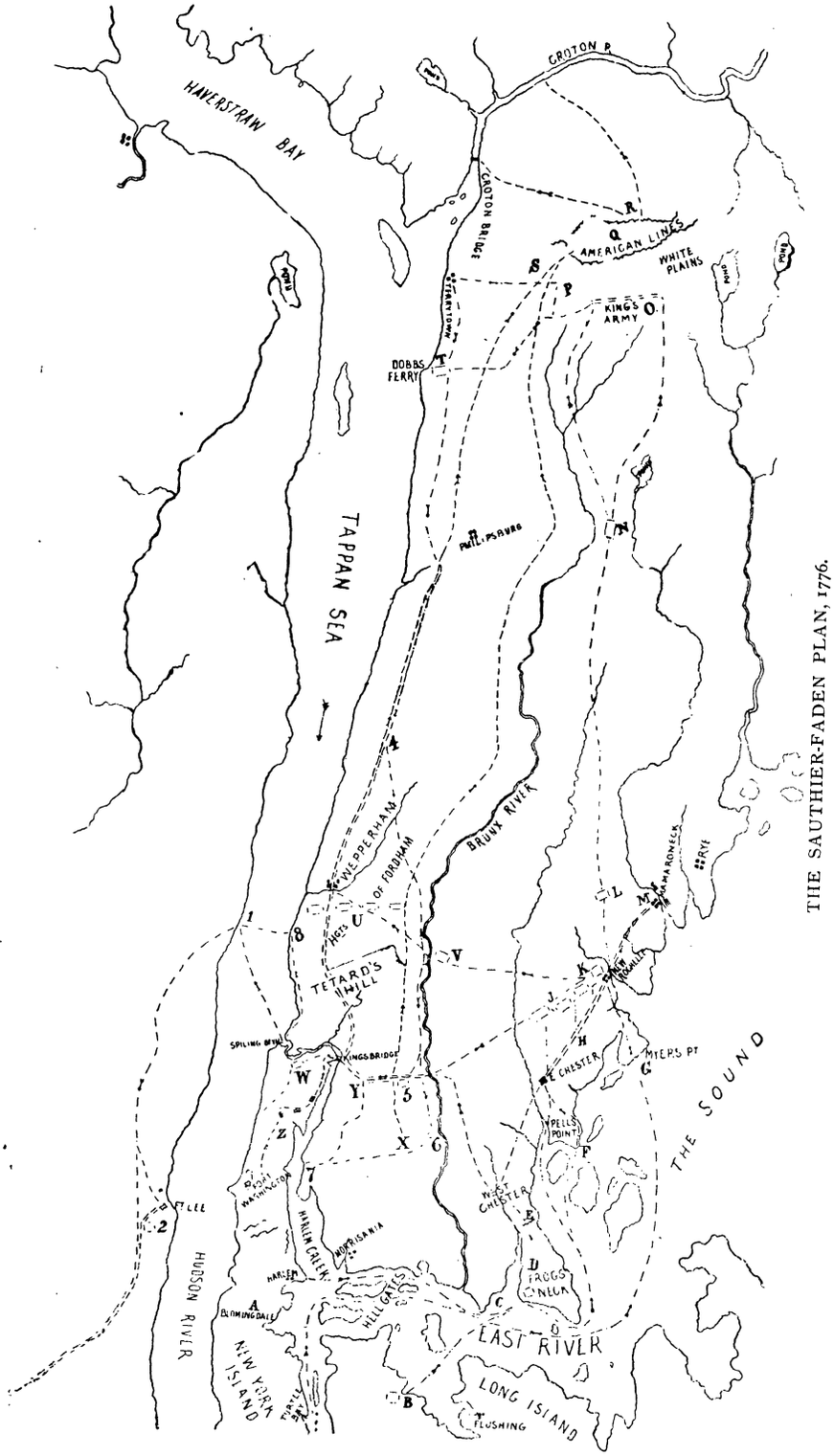

THE SAUTHIER-FADEN PLAN, 1776.

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of the "Sauthier-Faden plan," herewith given, and which may be explained by the annexed note [1] in connection with the special original sources,[2] and later historians.[3]

[1] The original map is entitled *A Plan of the Operations of the king's army under the command of General Sir William Howe, K. B., in New York and East New Jersey against the American forces commanded by General Washington from the 12th of October to the 28th of Nov., 1776, wherein is particularly distinguished the engagement on the White Plains, the 28th of October, by Claude Joseph Sauthier. Engraved by Wm. Faden, 1777. Published Feb. 25, 1777.* The original MS. draft is among the Faden maps (library of Congress), no. 58. The engraved map is given in fac-simile in Dawson's *Westchester County*, p. 227. The direction of the American movements is indicated by arrows on the broken line (— — — —), and triple lines ≡ mark camps and positions. The British marches are shown by line and dot (—.—.—.) and their camps by ⁞‾‾⁞

The American army extended from Fort Washington to Kingsbridge, when Howe began a movement to threaten their communications with the upper country. Leaving Percy to cover New York at McGowan's Pass, near Bloomingdale (A), the British embarked at Turtle Bay, Harlem, and Long Island (B) in detachments which landed at Frog's Neck (D, under cover of the "Carysfoot," man-of-war, C) on Oct. 12, 16, and 17, when the Americans (at E) on the 12th broke down the bridge in their front across the marsh, and retired part towards Kingsbridge and part towards New Rochelle. A MS. "Survey of Frog's Neck and the route of the British army to the 24th of Oct., 1776, by Charles Blaskowitz," on a scale of 2,000 feet to an inch, is among the Faden maps (no. 57) in the library of Congress. The British now proceeded farther by water to Pell's Point (F), where they landed Oct. 18, and pushing forward had the same day a skirmish with the retiring Americans (H), and still farther pursued them and occupied the lower bank at Mamaroneck (M), while the Americans held the opposite bank, Oct. 22. That same day, Knyphausen with his Germans landed at Myer's Point (G), and moving forward took ground (at K), and remained there from Oct. 22 to 28, while close by (at J) the main body from Pell's Point were already in camp (Oct. 18–21), when, on the 21st, they moved forward and encamped under Heister and Clinton (at L), where they remained till Oct. 25, and then proceeded to N, where they stayed till Oct. 28.

Meanwhile, the Americans (at Z) had passed Kingsbridge, breaking it down after their passage, and then dividing into two detachments. One of these proceeded and occupied the ridge of land from X to the White Plains, intrenching at intervals along the summit running parallel to Bronx River. The other division proceeded north through Wepperham, and both reunited Oct. 25 within the lines at White Plains (Q). The British (at N) advanced on the same day, and formed, Oct. 28, opposite the American lines (at O), while on the same day Leslie attacked the American corps of Spencer (at P), and Oct. 29 the Americans occupied the lines at R, and Nov. 1 fell back across the Croton River. During Oct. 30, a part of Percy's force from Bloomingdale had come up, leaving the road as they came north at N, and joining the left of the British line, in place of the troops which after the fight of the 28th had encamped at S. The British now marched, part direct and part by Tarrytown, to Dobbs Ferry (T), where they were in camp Nov. 6, and proceeding south they were at U, Nov. 13. Dawson, *Westchester County*, 239, points out some errors in the names in this map, which were allowed to stand in Stedman's map, and in the first edition of Lossing's *Field-Book*. On the American side there is a *Plan of the Country from Frog's Point to Croton River, showing the positions*

[2] Documents in 5 Force, ii. (statement of the regiments, 1,319) and iii.; Sparks's *Washington*, iv. 524–526, including Harrison's letter, which is also in Dawson, i. 183, as well as a letter of Col. Haslett to Gen. Rodney (i. 183). A letter in Johnson, Docs. p. 135. A letter of James Tilton (Brunswick, N. J., Nov. 20, 1776) to Cæsar Rodney, among the Pettit papers in the Amer. Philosophical Society, and a copy in the *Sparks MSS.* (lii. vol. ii.). Allen's diary in Smith's *Pittsfield, Mass.*, i. 252. *Memoirs* of Heath, and the *Rev. Services* of Gen. Hull, ch. 4. Newspaper accounts in Moore's *Diary*, 335; and the statements of De Lancey in Jones, i. App. 621.

On the English side Howe's despatch (Nov. 30), which appeared in a *Gazette* of Dec. 30, is reprinted in Dawson, i. 184. This gave rise to *Observations upon the Conduct of Sir Wm. Howe at the White Plains*, London, 1779, known to be the work of Israel Mauduit, though published anonymously. It included Howe's despatch. In this he criticises Howe severely, as well as in his *Three Letters to Lt.-Gen. Sir William Howe* (London, 1781), with an appendix and map. When the brothers Howe, general and admiral, were appointed, it was Hutchinson's opinion (*Diary*, ii. 40) that "no choice could have been more generally satisfactory to the kingdom." Hutchinson (*Ibid.*, ii. 121) at this time speaks of a letter from Major Dilkes (Nov. 3) describing the series of actions, in which he calls White Plains the principal one, and adds, "Though the king's troops had the advantage of pursuing them, it does not appear that the loss was much different." Stedman's account is in his ch. 7, and Eelking's in ch. 2 of his *Hülfstruppen*. Lowell in his *Hessians* uses several German accounts.

[3] Johnston, p. 262. Carrington, ch. 35. Bancroft, ix. ch. 10; final revision, v. ch. 3 and 5. Dawson, ch. 14. Lossing's *Field-Book*, vol. ii. For biographies: Washington, by Marshall, ii. ch. 8, and by Irving, ii. ch. 37. J. C. Hamilton's *Republic*, i. 132. Reed's *Jos. Reed*, i. ch. 12. Read's *George Read*, 210. *Memoirs* of Col. Benj. Tallmadge (N. Y., 1858). Dawson is still the amplest in detail. His list of authorities on the action at White Plains is one of his longest (*Westchester County*, 256, 271).

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The reader may now revert to two outline maps already given, namely *Johnston's New York Island* and the *Sauthier-Faden plan*, in order to follow the movements which led to the fall of Fort Washington, using the annexed descriptive key;[1] but the outline of the original

of the American and British armies from the 12th of Oct., 1776, until the engagement on the White Plains on the 28th, drawn by S. Lewis from the original surveys made by order of Washington, and published in 1807. It has been reproduced in Dawson's *Westchester County*, from the original edition of Marshall's *Washington*. Later eclectic plans can be found in the *Life of Washington*, by Sparks; in Hamilton's *Republic of the United States*, i. 132; and in Lossing's *Field-Book*, ii. 820–826.

For Washington's headquarters (Miller house) see *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, vii. 108; and for a view of Chatterton's Hill, Gay, iii. 514.

[1] JOHNSTON'S MAP. — Percy advancing from McGowan's Pass (T), the several American outposts withdrew from Snake Hill (V), Harlem Plains (D D), and across the hollow way (U), and under Cadwallader resisted for a while the attack of Percy at W, till Lt.-Col. Stirling, dispatched from the redoubt at F F, and landing at X, threatened to intercept Cadwallader, when the Americans fell back to the lines above Fort Washington. Meanwhile, two columns of attack approached the fort from the other side. Cornwallis, embarking at Kingsbridge (B B), went down Harlem River and landed at A A, under cover of batteries at F F, and there attacked Col. Baxter at the redoubts, who retreated to the fort. Knyphausen and Rall, advancing also from Kingsbridge (B B) to Z, attacked Col. Rawling at Y, who also retreated to the fort. The immediate outworks being carried on all sides, the fort surrendered Nov. 16, 1776.

SAUTHIER-FADEN PLAN. — On the day of the fight at White Plains, Oct. 28, Knyphausen had left his camp (at K), and marching west had crossed above Kingsbridge; and had encamped, Nov. 2, at W. The Waldeck regiment stationed at New Rochelle had also marched, and Nov. 4 were at V, and then proceeded towards Wepperham. The same day a portion of the British under Grant, coming south from Dobbs Ferry, had left the main line at 4 and proceeded to 5 and 6, continuing their march next day to 7. The American outposts on Tetard's Hill withdrew to the works about Fort Washington, when Knyphausen threatened to cut them off. The siege and capture of Fort Washington now followed. This accomplished, Cornwallis embarked a part of his force at "Spiting Devil Creek" and part at 8, united them on landing, Nov. 18, at 1, and encamped that night at 2, the garrison of Fort Lee having already fled towards 3, whither Cornwallis followed them.

NOTE TO THE OPPOSITE MAP. — This sketch follows *A topographical map of the north part of New York Island, exhibiting the plan of Fort Washington, now Fort Knyphausen, with the rebel lines to the southward, which were forced by the troops under the command of the Rt. Hon^ble^ Earl Percy the 16th Nov. 1776, and surveyed immediately after by order of his lordship by Claude Joseph Sauthier, to which is added the attack made to the north by the Hessians, surveyed by order of Lieut.-Gen. Knyphausen.* London, Wm. Faden, March 1, 1777.

The broken lines (— — —) represent roads. The Hessians advanced from Westchester County by Kingsbridge, under Knyphausen, with detachments of his corps, the brigade of "Raille," and the regiment of Waldeck. They crossed the little stream L in two columns. That of Raille's [Rall, Rahl] mounted the hill, forced the battery of twelve-pounders and howitzers at H, and was joined before G by Knyphausen's column, which had followed up the stream. Both pushed on and carried the works at A. The British light infantry under Brig.-Gen. Matthews, to be supported by the grenadiers and 33d regiment under Cornwallis, landed at B under cover of batteries at E, whereupon the Americans on the hill at J retired to the main works. The 42d regiment under Lt.-Col. Stirling, with two battalions of the second brigade, crossed the river by the dot and dash line (. — . —) and landed at C as a feint, and advanced by the battery M. Earl Percy with a brigade of English and another of Hessians left the advanced posts of the British at McGowan's Pass, and following the main road (— — —) forced the successive American lines through their abatis (× × × ×) and attacked at D. Philip's or Dightman's bridge is at F. The British vessel "Pearl" at K assisted the attack at A. The buildings marked *a* were barracks erected for winter-quarters by the Americans, but burned by them when the British landed at Frog's Neck.

Sauthier's plan is included in *The American Atlas*, no. 23, and in Stedman (i. 210). Three MS. plans of the attack on Fort Washington, one of them surveyed by Sauthier on the day of the attack by order of Lord Percy, are among the Faden maps (nos. 59, 60, 61) in the library of Congress. The engraved map is reproduced in *The Evelyns in America* (p. 318), in Valentine's *Manual*, 1859, p. 120 (see 1861, p. 429), and in the *Calendar of Hist. MSS. relative to the War of the Revolution* (Albany, 1868), i. 532.

There is in the *Geschichte der Kriege in und ausser Europa*, Nuremberg, 1777, *Sechster Theil*, a folding plan of the operations on New York Island in the autumn of 1776, showing the attack on Fort Washington, "nun das Fort Knyphausen genannt" (see also "Achter Theil"). A German plan belonging to Mr. J. C. Brevoort, after an original preserved in Cassel, is given in the *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, Feb., 1877.

The leading American later accounts give eclectic plans, — Sparks's *Washington*, iv. 96, 160; Guizot's *Washington;* Carrington's *Battles*, p. 254, — but they include all the movements in the north part of the island. Cf. also Lossing's *Field-Book*, ii. 816, and Grant's *British Battles*, ii. 147.

A drawing found among Lord Rawdon's papers, representing the landing of the British forces under Cornwallis, Nov. 20, 1776, on the Jersey side of the Hudson, after the fall of Fort Washington, is given in *Harper's Mag.*, xlvii. p. 25.

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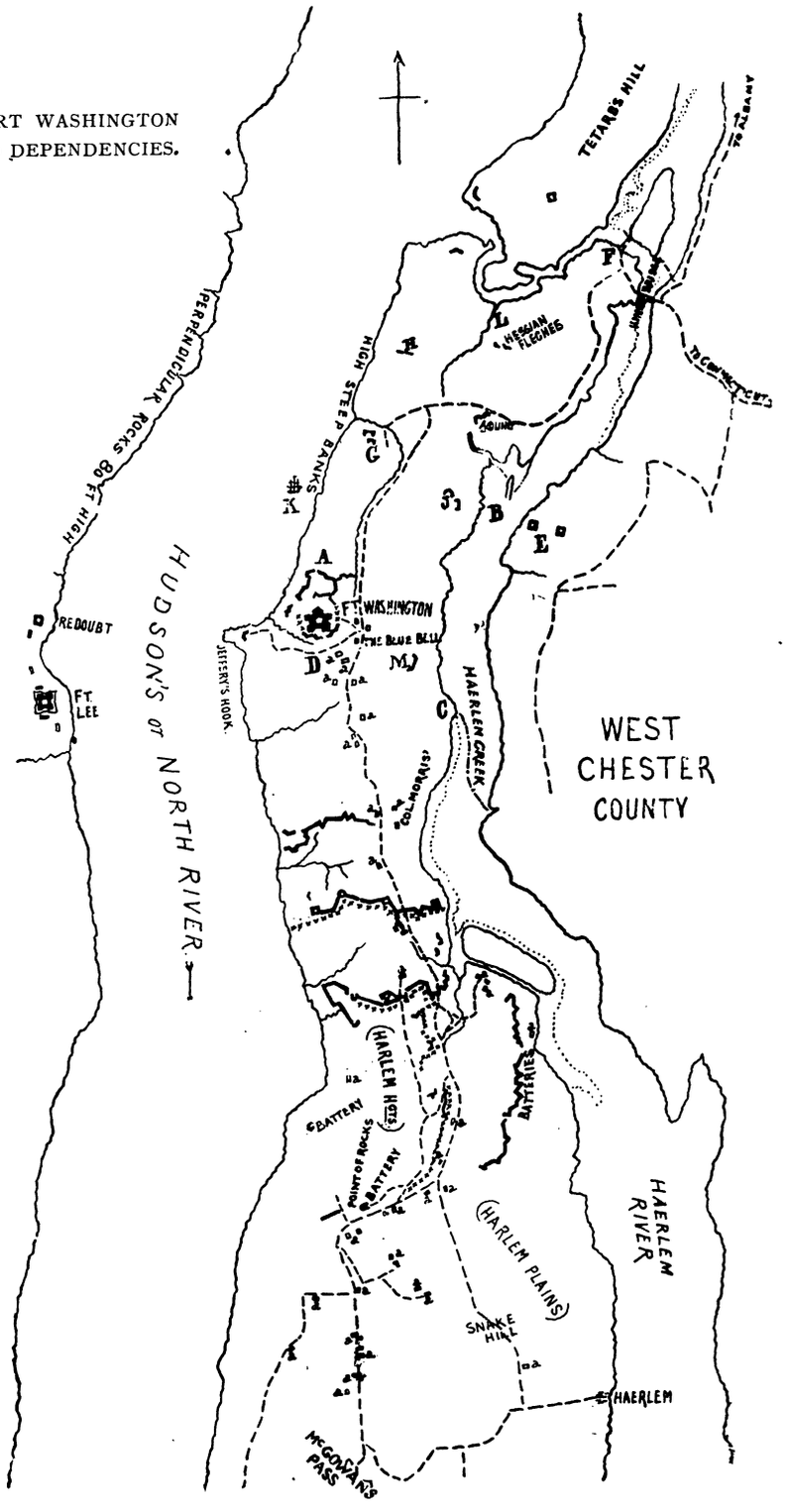
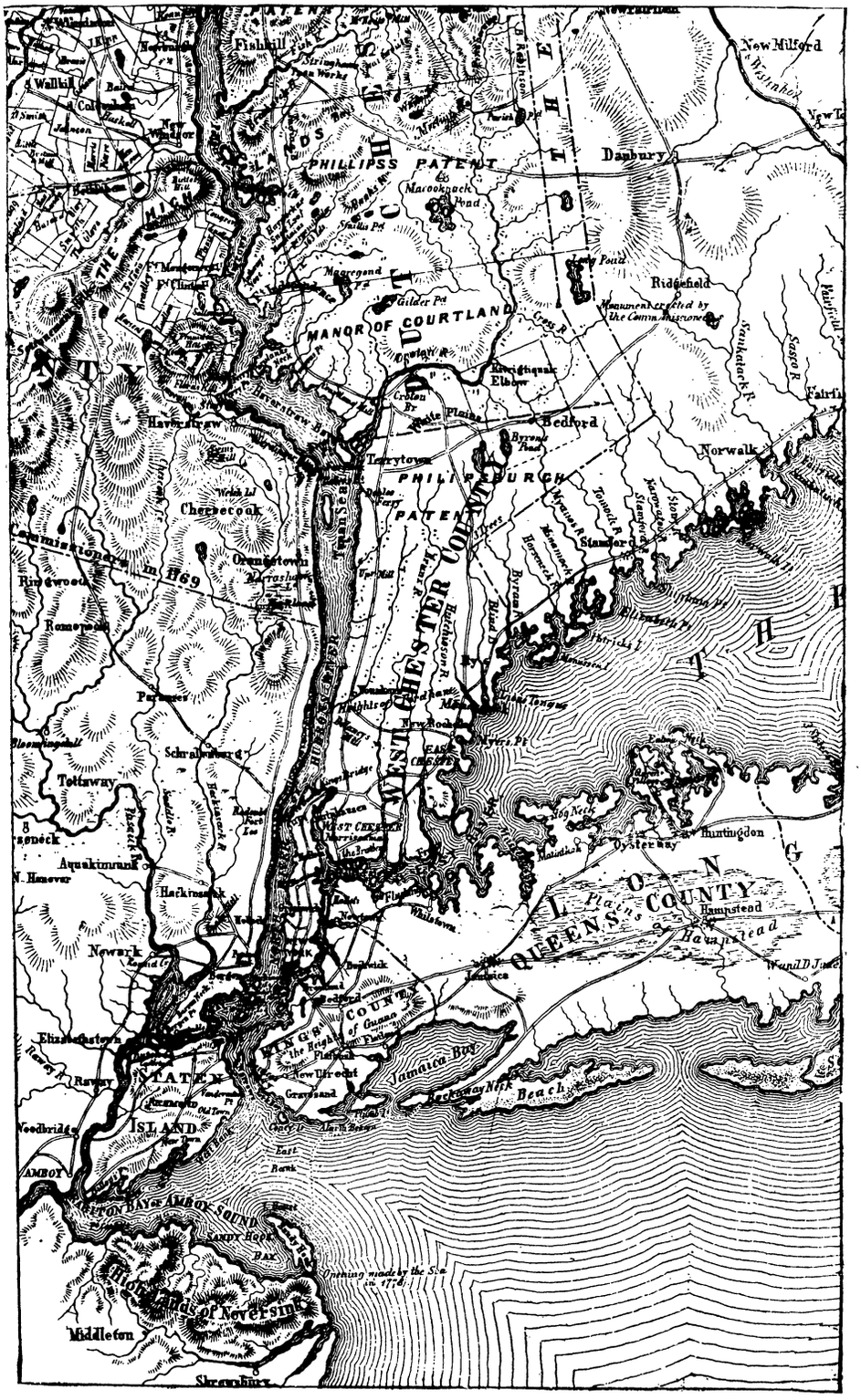
FORT WASHINGTON AND DEPENDENCIES.




New Milford
Danbury
PHILLIPS PATENT
Ridgefield
MANOR OF COURTLAND
Bedford
Norwalk
PHILIPSBURGH PATENT
WESTCHESTER COUNTY
Cherrecook
Tarrytown
Stamford
Tottaway
Aquakinunk
Newark
Elizabethtown
Jamaica Bay
Hempstead
Huntingdon
QUEENS COUNTY
STATEN ISLAND
Middleton
Shrewsbury

sources of the fall of Fort Washington, as well as the later accounts, are much the same as for the earlier events of the campaign.[1] The letters of Washington and Greene are still the main source of information for the evacuation of Fort Lee, which at once followed.[2]

1 Original sources: Documents in 5 Force, iii.; Washington to Congress in Sparks, iv. 178, and Dawson, i. 193; letters of Samuel Chase, Nov. 21–23, in the *Sparks MSS.*, ix.; letter in *Hist. Mag.*, March, 1874, p. 180; newspaper accounts in Moore's *Diary*, 345, 348; Graydon's *Memoirs*, 197; Heath's *Memoirs*, 86; Gordon's *Amer. Rev.*, ii. 350; *N. Hampshire State Papers*, viii. 408. On the British side, Howe's despatch to Germain is in Dawson, i. 194; Lowell, in his *Hessians*, p. 80, uses German diaries (cf. Eelking's *Hülfstruppen*, i. 84).

Later accounts: Bancroft, orig. ed., ix. ch. 11; final revision, v. ch. 5; Johnston, 276; Carrington, ch. 37; Dawson, i. 188; Lossing's *Field-Book*, ii.; Gay, iii. 517.

G. W. Greene, in his *Life of Gen. Greene*, as it was the first military mistake of that officer, is at pains to treat the history of the siege at considerable length, enlarging upon antecedent events (i. ch. 10 and 11). Greene had urgently claimed that it was advisable to attempt to hold the fort, and letters giving his reasons are in Sparks's *Corresp. of the Rev.*, i. 297, and Drake's *Knox*, 33. G. W. Greene holds that Gen. Greene had a right to expect a better defence, and championed his ancestor in a tract against the criticisms of Bancroft (Greene's *Greene*, ii. 431, 470), who put the responsibility of the disaster upon Greene's persistent refusal to evacuate the fort. This Bancroft maintains in his original edition, and in his final revision, where, however, he recognizes, but does not deem essential to the British success, the treachery of Magaw's adjutant, William Demont. There had been an intimation in Graydon's *Memoirs* that Howe had been helped by some kind of faithlessness in the American ranks. In February, 1877, in the *Mag. of Amer. Hist.* (i. 65, 756), Mr. E. F. De Lancey first made public a letter of Demont written in 1792, in which he acknowledged having carried the plans of the fort to Percy, "by which the fortress was taken," and this information is thought to have induced Howe to make his sudden withdrawal from Washington's front at White Plains. De Lancey's paper was published separately as *Capture of Mount Washington, 1776, the result of treason* (New York, 1777), and he repeated the story in the notes (i. p. 626) to Jones's *N. Y. during the Rev. War.* Johnston (p. 283) doubts if this treachery was decisive of the result. Cf. further in lives of Washington by Marshall and Irving (ii. ch. 38, 40); Reed's *Joseph Reed* (i. ch. 13); and a paper by W. H. Rawle on the part taken by Col. Lambert Cadwalader, in the *Penna. Mag. of Hist.*, April, 1886, p. 11. There is a portrait of Cadwalader in the *Penna. Archives*, vol. x. A letter (Dec. 23, 1778) of Robert Magaw on the surrender of Fort Washington is in the *Sparks MSS.*, no. xlix. vol. iii. Cf. the account of Magaw in the *Mag. of Western History*, September, 1886, p. 678.

2 Sparks, iv. 186; Greene's *Greene*, ch. 12. Cf. on Fort Lee *Appleton's Journal*, vi. 645, 660, 673, 688. Cf. the present volume, ch. v.

NOTE TO THE OPPOSITE MAP. — A part of the map made by Claude Joseph Sauthier in 1774, by order of Gov. Tryon, and published by William Faden in London, Jan. 1, 1779, as a *Chorographical Map of the Province of New York in North America, Compiled from actual surveys deposited in the Patent Office at New York.* This section is reproduced from a reduction made in 1849 by David Vaughan, and published in the *Doc. Hist. N. Y.*, vol. i., where Tryon's report on the province in 1774 is printed. There is a copy of the original in Harvard College library (portfolio 3520). It was the basis of the map *Carte des troubles de l'Amérique, par ordre du Chev. Tryon, par Sauthier et Ratzer, traduite de l'Anglais, à Paris, chez Le Rouge*, 1778, which is included in the *Atlas Amériquain*, no. 15. It was also followed in maps published at Augsburg in 1777, and at Nuremberg, 1778. There is another *Special Karte von den Brittischen Colonien in Nord America*, showing the New England and Middle colonies, published in Christian Leiste's *Beschreibung des Brittischen Amerika zur Ersparung der Englischen Karten*, Wolfenbüttel, 1778. An English map with a Swedish title, *Krigs Theatre in America*, is found in the *Beskrifning öfver de Engelska Colonierne i Nord America, 1776–1777* (Stockholm, 1777). Sauthier's surveys also appear in *A map of the province of New York by Sauthier, to which is added New Jersey from the topographical observations of Sauthier and Ratzer*, 1776. Cf. also *A map of the provinces of New York and New Jersey . . . from the topographical observations of Sauthier*, Lotter, 1777 (*Brit. Mus. Maps*, 1885, col. 3,666).

Sauthier's drafts may be compared with *A map of the province of New York with part of Pensilvania and New England from an actual survey by Captain Montresor, engineer, 1775*, which was published in London, June 10, 1775, by A. Dury, making four sheets, and was republished "with great improvements," April 1, 1777 (*Brit. Mus. Map Catal.*, 1885, col. 2,969). It was reëngraved in Paris and published in 1777 by Le Rouge, separately, and as nos. 13 and 14 of the *Atlas Amériquain* in 1778. Ithiel Town, in the preface of his *Particular services*, etc., — now a scarce book, as only seventy copies escaped a fire, — speaks of his having obtained from a family near London maps of the American war, mostly about Boston, New York, and Philadelphia, made by Montresor, which were submitted to Marshall. There is a portrait and account of Montresor in Scull's *Evelyns in America*, 251.

Another important map is *The Provinces of New York and New Jersey with part of Pensilvania and the province of Quebec, drawn by Major Holland, Surveyor-General of the northern district in America, corrected and improved from the original materials by Governr Pownall, Member of Parliament.* It was first

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It may be well now to note some of the contemporary maps of the whole campaign, as indicating the extent and character of the geographical knowledge then current. The earliest of these is one which appeared in the supplement (p. 607) of the *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1776, and is called a *Map of the Progress of his Majesty's Armies*. Two of the American household manuals, *Low's Almanac* (1776) and *Isaac Warren's Almanac* (1777), had the same rude cut, a facsimile of which, with the key, is shown below.

A popular map (price one shilling) of *The Country twenty-five miles round New York, drawn by a gentleman from that City*, was also published in London, Jan. 1, 1777, by W. Hawkes, with a chronological table of events from Dec. 16, 1773, to Oct. 18, 1776.

Des Barres issued in London, Jan. 17, 1777, a large map, *Plan of the operations of the army and fleet of Admiral and Lord Howe near New York, 1776*,[1] and a more popular presentation of the same field was made in the *Political Mag.*, vol. ii. p. 657. The earliest attempt at historical rendering, Capt. Hall's *History of the Civil*

LOW'S ALMANAC, 1777.[2]

published in London, June 15, 1775, and in a second edition, in 1776, there were added to it marginal maps of Amboy and the city and bay of New York. The *Brit. Mus. Map*, 1885, col. 2,969, shows the plates with different titles, dated 1775, 1776; also Frankfort, 1777, and London, 1777. Cf. the map in Mills's *Boundaries of Ontario;* the Evans map as reproduced by Jefferys, 1775 (see Vol. V. p. 85); the map in the *American Atlas*, and that of the country from the Chesapeake to the Connecticut, in the *Gent. Mag.*, September, 1776.

[1] There is a fac-simile of it in Valentine's *Manual*, 1864, p. 668. A German map is given in the *Geschichte der Kriege in und ausser Europa* (Nuremberg, 1776).

[2] KEY: A, Gen. Washington's lines on New York Island; B, fort at Powles Hook; C, Bunker Hill, near New York; D, the Sound; E, Kingsbridge; F, Hell Gate; G, Fort Constitution [Washington]; H, Mount Washington; I, Governor's Island.

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NEW YORK AND VICINITY.
(Political Mag.)

War in America (London, 1780), was accompanied by a map, a portion of which is here given in fac-simile; and Gordon (ii. 310), a few years later, gave an eclectic map, made in the main from American data.[1]

In giving detailed references for the several stages of the campaign, the letters from and to Washington have been a source of the first importance; and beside those given by Sparks in his printed works, there are others registered in the *Sparks MSS.* (no. xxix.), the *Heath Papers* (*Mass. Hist. Coll.*, xliv.), not to name less important gatherings,[2] all of which form a general running commentary on events of the summer's

CAMPAIGN OF 1776. (*Hall.*)[3]

[1] A map was annexed to Israel Mauduit's criticism on Howe's conduct of this campaign, *Three letters to Lt. Gen. Sir Wm. Howe* (London, 1781). Marshall gives maps in both the large and small atlases accompanying his *Life of Washington*. A MS. plan is in the Heath Papers (i. 224) in Mass. Hist. Soc. library.

[2] The *Calendar of the Lee MSS.*, p. 8, shows a letter, Dec. 20, of Robert Morris, on the campaign's misfortunes, which is printed in the *Diplomatic Corresp.*, i. 225.

[3] A, the landing of the British near Utrecht on Long Island, under cover of the "Phœnix," "Rose," and "Greyhound," with the "Thunder" and "Carcass" bombs, Aug. 22, 1776; B, pass at Flatbush and field of action where the rebels were defeated, Aug. 27th; C, British and Hessian encampment, Aug. 28th; D, encampments of the British army, Sept. 1st; E, embarkation of the British troops at Newtown Inlet, and then landing at New York Island, Sept. 15th; F, skirmish on Vanderwater's Height, the rebels retiring, Sept. 16th; G, route of British in boats to Frog's Neck, Oct. 12th; H, several corps of British troops in boats go to Pell's Point, Oct. 18th; I, skirmish, rebels routed, Oct. 18th. Then followed fighting at Mararo Neck (shown on the full map), the rebels retreating, Oct. 21st; on the road to Kingsbridge, Oct. 23d; again approaching White Plains, Oct. 28th; at Brunx's River, Oct. 28th; followed Nov. 1st by the rebel evacuation of their intrenchments near White Plains, and by Cornwallis's landing on the Jersey shore, Nov. 18th. Q, attack on Fort Washington, Nov. 16th; R, Fort Lee surprised, Nov. 20th.

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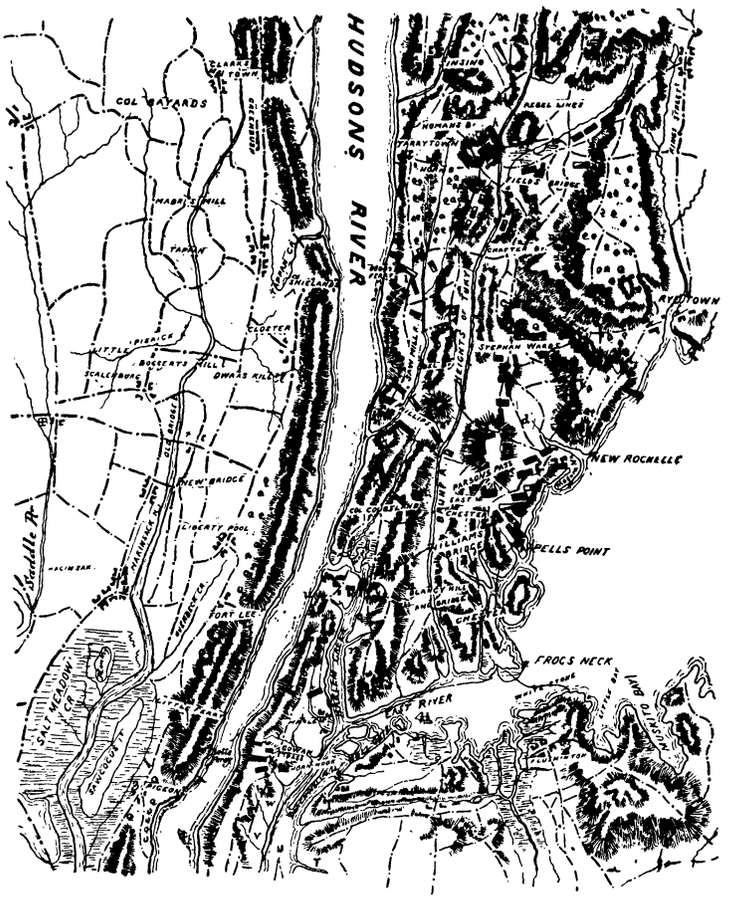

CAMPAIGN ABOVE NEW YORK, 1776.[1]

[1] A section of a large Hessian map in the library of Congress, *Plan général des opérations de l'armée Britannique contre les Rebelles*, etc. The lines (.—.—) represent roads. KEY: "3, Marche du général de Heister et le camp qu'il occupa le 14me Juin. — S, Les batteries faites à Remsen's Mill à Hell Gate. T, Lieu du rendezvous donné aux troupes destinées à faire une descente sur York islande. U, Les vaisseaux de guerre postes pour proteger cette descente. V, Descente de l'armée sur York island. W, Position d'une partie de la première division après la descente. Y, Redoutes de l'armée devant son camp. Z, Où le général Howe, après avoir laissé le général Percy sur York island, debarqua et campa avec le général de Heister le 12me Oct., 1776. — *a*, Descente du général Clinton à Pell's point le 18 Oct. *b*, Camp de l'armée depuis New Rochelle jusqu'à Pell's Point. *c*, Camp du général de Knyphausen après son arrivée avec la 2de division des Troupes Hessoises le 23me Oct. *d*, Marche de la colonne droite sous les ordres du général Clinton. *e*, Celle de la colonne gauche commandée par le général de Heister. *f*, Engagement du général de Heister avec l'enemis aux environs de White Plains [apparently not on the original map]. *g*, Position de l'enemis après sa retraite. *h*, Position de l'armée. *i*, Position des généraux Clinton et Heister à Dobbs' Ferry. *k*, Position de général Cornwallis à Courtland House. *m*, Campement de toute l'armée après que pleusieurs regiments laissés dans differents endroits par le général de Knyphausen l'eurent rejoints. *n*, La colonne droite du général de Knyphausen sous les ordres du Colonel Rall. *o*, Où le général Cornwallis se placa pour soutenir l'attaque du Fort Washington. *p*, Corps commandé par le général Matheu. *q*, Descente des troupes Angloises. *r*, Attaque du général Sterling vis-a-vis de Morris House. *s*, Batteries faites pour soutenir l'attaque. *t*, Batteries construites de l'autre coté du creek d'Harlem. *u*, Le fort du Washington avec ses lignes de defences. *v*, Attaque du général Percy."

There is among the Rochambeau maps (no. 24), measuring about 16 inches wide by 18 high, a map of the campaigns of 1776 and 1777, giving detail with considerable precision, and accompanied by a good key.

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and autumn's campaign, which could be further elucidated by the memoirs of Heath and Graydon, the lives of Reed and Greene, and by various diaries on both sides.[1]

II. THE NORTHERN CAMPAIGN, 1776–1777. — Gates had taken command in Canada early in the summer of 1776, under instructions from Washington;[2] but as his army fell back within the department which had been assigned to Schuyler, questions of authority arose between them.[3]

The condition of the army during the summer is noted in Colonel Trumbull's *Autobiography* (p. 302), and in General Gates's returns of September 22, 1776, in 5 *Force's American Archives* (ii. 479).[4]

There is a list of armed vessels on Lake Champlain in 1776 in *Letters and Papers*, 1761–1776 (MSS. in Mass. Hist. Soc.). Arnold received his instructions from Gates.[5]

Arnold's reports on the fight near Valcour's Island, Oct., 1776, are dated Oct. 12 (to Gates) and Oct. 15 (to Schuyler).[6]

Waterbury's account to Congress, Oct. 24, is in Dawson (i. p. 173) and in *Hadden's Journal* (App.). Gen. Maxwell gave no very flattering account of Arnold's manœuvres in a letter from Ticonderoga, Oct. 20, in Sedgwick's *Livingston* (p. 209).[7]

On the English side, Carleton's despatch, Oct. 14, and Capt. Pringle's, are in Dawson (pp. 174, 175). The Hanau artillerist Pausch covers the fight in his journal.[8]

[1] The *Journal of Samuel Nash*, Jan. 1, 1776, to Jan. 9, 1777; diary in *Hist. Mag.*, Dec., 1863, covering Aug.–Dec., 1776; N. Fish's account in *Ibid.*, Jan., 1869 (iii. 33). Rufus Putnam's journal in Mary Cone's *Life of Rufus Putnam* (Cleveland, 1886); Moravian Journals in N. Y. City, in *The Moravian*, 1876; *Penna. Mag. of Hist.*, i. 133, 250; Johnston, p. 101. There is in *The Evelyns in America* (p. 319) a "Journal of the operations of the American army under Gen. Sir William Howe from the Evacuation of Boston to the end of the Campaign of 1776," by a British officer. Cf. *Gent. Mag.*, Nov. and Dec., 1776. The letters of Maj. Francis Hutcheson are in the *Haldimand Papers* (Brit. Museum). Howe's letters to Germain are in the *Sparks MSS.*, lviii., part 2. The military movements near New York are chronicled in papers in the London War-Office, "North America, 1773–1776."

Respecting New York city during this period, there are data in *New York City during the American Revolution*, being a *Collection of original papers, now first published from MSS. in the possession of the Mercantile Library*, with an introduction by H. B. Dawson (N. Y., privately printed, 1861), which includes an account by William Butler; and in papers in Valentine's *Manual* (1862, p. 652). Cf. *Harper's Mag.*, xxxvii. 180, and *Scribner's Monthly*, Jan., 1876.

[2] Sparks's *Washington*, iii. 433; *Corresp. of the Rev.*, i. 225; Wilkinson's *Memoirs*, i. ch. 2.

[3] 4 *Force's Archives*, vi., and 5, vols. i., ii., and iii.; Lossing's *Schuyler*, ii. 92; John Adams's *Works*, iii. 47.

[4] Various letters of this period about the army are in the Persifer Frazer Papers (*Sparks MSS.*, xxi., from July 9 to Nov. 18, 1776); in the Gates Papers (copies in part among the *Sparks MSS.*, xxii.); in the Schuyler Papers as used in Lossing's *Schuyler*, and as existing in the N. Y. Archives (copies in part in the *Sparks MSS.*, xxix.). A letter of Thomas Hartley (Ticonderoga, July 19, 1776) in *Mag. West. Hist.*, Sept., 1886, p. 677; one of Wayne (July 31) to Franklin in *Sparks MSS.*, no. lvii. The *N. H. State Papers*, viii., 311, 315, 325–6, 329, throw light on the feelings of the adjacent country, — Col. Asa Potter seeking to throw the people upon Burgoyne's protection against the Indians. The *N. H. Rev. Rolls*, ii. 2, 22, show how troops were sent to Ticonderoga as the spring opened.

Orderly-books and army diaries of the period have been noted as follows: Col. J. Bagley's, Lake George (*Amer. Antiq. Soc. Proc.*, new ser., i. 134). Col. Ruggles Woodbridge, Ticonderoga, Aug. 25 to Oct. 27, 1776 (*Sparks MSS.*, lx. p. 317). Col. Wheelock's, Aug.–Nov., 1776 (in *Mass. Archives*). Anthony Wayne's *Orderly book of the northern army, at Ticonderoga and Mt. Independence, from October 17th, 1776, to January 8th, 1777, with biographical and explanatory notes, and an appendix* (Albany, 1859, being no. 3 of Munsell's historical series). It gives the daily orders issued by General Gates and himself. Letters of Wayne from Feb. to April, 1777, are in the *St. Clair Papers*, i. 384, etc. Moses Greenleaf, Ticonderoga, March 23 to April 4, 1777 (among the *Greenleaf MSS.*, in Mass. Hist. Soc.).

Journal of Rev. Ammi R. Robbins [a chaplain in the American army] *in the northern campaign of 1776* (New Haven, 1850). It extends from March 18 to Oct. 29, and covers a part of the retreat from Canada. Diary of Lieutenant Jonathan Burton, Aug. 1 to Nov. 29, 1776 (*New Hampshire State Papers*, xiv.).

[5] The original is among the Gates Papers (cf. *Sparks MSS.*, xxii. and xxxix.). They are printed in Wilkinson's *Memoirs* (i. 83) and Sparks's *Corresp. of the Rev.* (i. 537).

[6] They are printed in 5 *Force's Amer. Archives* (ii. 1102); Dawson (i. 171, 172); Arnold's *Arnold* (p. 118). See also Sparks's *Corresp. of the Rev.* (i. App.), and 5 *Force* (vols. i., ii., iii.).

[7] Other contemporary American accounts are in Wilkinson's *Memoirs* (ch. 2); Trumbull's *Autobiography* (p. 34); Marshall's *Washington* (iii. ch. 1).

[8] Later accounts are in Cooper's *Naval Hist.*; Bancroft's final revision (v. ch. 4); Irving's *Washington* (ii. ch. 39); Lossing's *Schuyler* (ii. 116, 137), his *Field-Book* (vol. i.), and a paper in *Harper's Monthly* (xxiii. 726);

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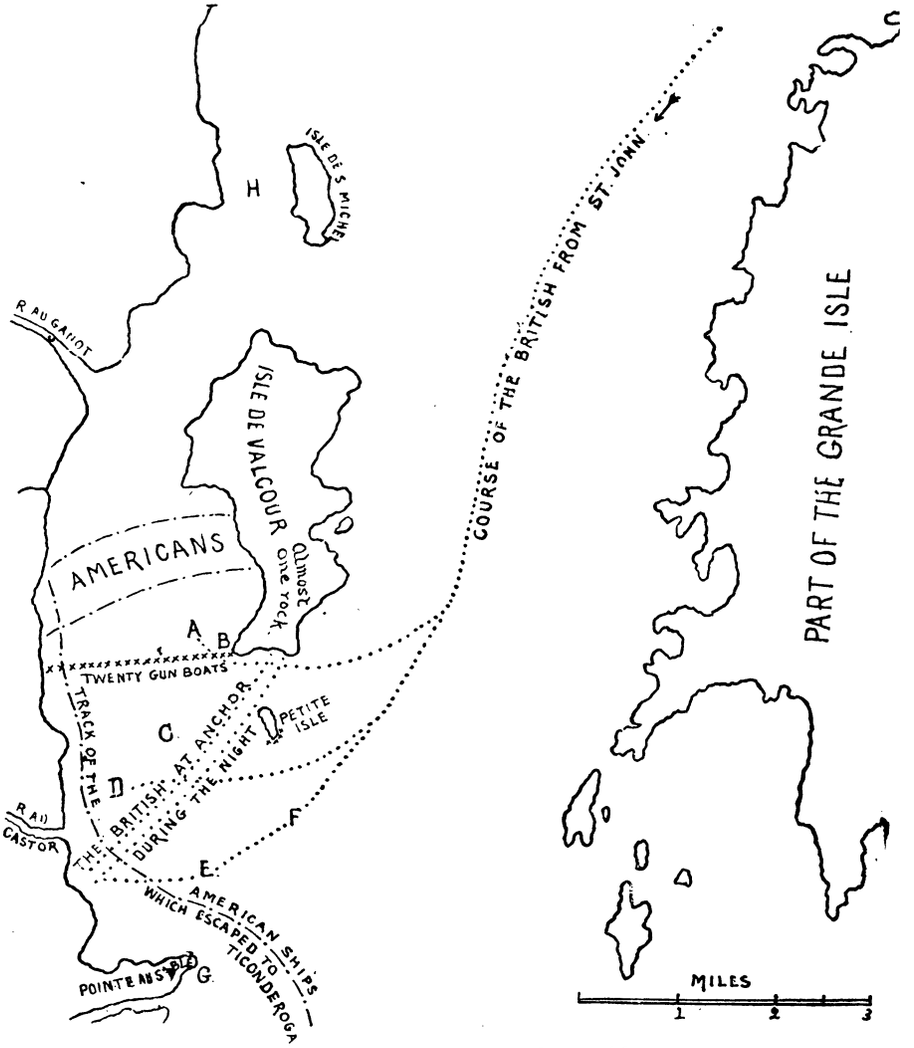

ARNOLD'S FIGHT. (*Sparks's copy.*)[1]

The earliest plan of this naval action seems to have been added to the then recently published plate of Lake Champlain, engraved after surveys by William Brassier, by order of Amherst,

Dawson's *Battles* (i. ch. 13); Arnold's *Arnold* (ch. 6); W. C. Watson in *Amer. Hist. Record*, iii. 438, 501 (Oct., Nov., 1774); Palmer's *Lake Champlain* (ch. 7); *Wayne's Orderly-Book*, where Arnold's tactics are particularly examined; a pamphlet, *Battle of Valcour* (Plattsburg, 1876); and Osler's *Life of Viscount Exmouth*. W. L. Stone in his notes to Pausch (p. 85) thinks the account by that German artillerist and that in *Hadden's Journal* as edited by Gen. Rogers are the best ones.

[1] KEY: A, schooner "Carleton." B, the "Royal Savage" on shore, and burnt on the 11th of October. C, the "Inflexible." D, schooner "Maria." E, gondola "Royal Convert." F, radeau "Thunderer." G, Point au Sable is forty-eight miles from Crown Point. H, The French vessels sunk here in 1759.

The map of the action accompanying *Hadden's Journal* (p. 23) is very similar to the Sparks map; and a marginal note says that the gunboats are from 30 to 36 feet long, and 10, 16, or 18 feet wide. Gen. Rogers thinks Hadden's map is based on Brassier, whose amended plate is in the *American Pocket Atlas* (1776). Rogers objects to the view that Arnold's retreat was round the north end of Valcour's Island (instead of the route marked on the map), as has been maintained by Palmer in his *Lake Champlain*, and by W. C. Watson in the *Amer. Hist. Record* (iii. 438, 501) and *Mag. of Amer. Hist.* (June, 1881, vol. vi. p. 414).

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in 1762,[1] which, with Jackson's survey of Lake George, was published by Sayer and Bennett, in London, Aug. 5, 1776. Some copies of the map with the same date show the position of Arnold's fight of Oct. 11. The plate has been altered at that point, and it is this section of the map which Lossing copies in his *Field-Book*[2] (i. 163) and in his paper in *Harper's Monthly* (vol. xxiii. p. 726). The annexed sketch is based upon a plan in the Sparks maps (Cornell University), kindly transmitted to the editor by the librarian.[3]

In the winter of 1776–77, Burgoyne had submitted to the government some "Thoughts for conducting the war from the side of Canada," — a paper which, barring some important changes, became the scheme of the summer's plans.[4]

The stages of the preparation in Canada can be followed in *Force's American Archives;* and references will be found in the *Index to MSS. in the British Museum* (particularly under "Canada" and "Burgoyne," in those acquired 1854–1875).[5]

The records of the Germans are mentioned in Lowell's *Hessians* (p. 117), and in the sources indicated by Mr. Lowell in another chapter of the present volume.[6]

In the spring of 1777 St. Clair was designated for the command at Ticonderoga, the advanced post against the invasion of Burgoyne (*St. Clair Papers*). The light-headed Sullivan thought it unfair that he was not selected for the post (*Correspondence of the Rev.*, i. 352). The British onset was appalling. James Lovell, in March, wrote, "It is plain that we must look forward for another summer's bloody work" (*Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, April, 1860, p. 9). Congress was emphasizing the stories of British brutality (*Journals of Congress*, ii. 97).

On May 22d Schuyler had been confirmed in his command of the Northern department, and Gates had gone to Philadelphia to lay his

[1] A MS. draft of Brassier's survey (1762) is in the Faden collection, no. 20½ in the library of Congress.

[2] Vol. i. p. 163; and for a view of the spot, p. 162.

[3] The catalogue of the *Brit. Mus. additional MSS.* (no. 31,537) refers to a similar map. See the map in *The North American Atlas* (1777). The original MS. draft of the map engraved by Faden is in the library of Congress (Faden collection, no. 21). There are maps of the lake in *Wayne's Orderly-Book*, and in Palmer's *Lake Champlain*. An elaborate survey of Lake Champlain, made in 1778–1779, one inch to the mile, is also among the Faden maps (no. 64, — the library of Congress).

[4] It was printed in the *Gent. Mag.*, April, 1778. In the appendix of Fonblanque's *Burgoyne* it has the king's comments on it, and it was given in this way from a manuscript in the royal hand in Albemarle's *Rockingham and his Contemporaries* (ii. 330). Lord Geo. Germain's instructions to Carleton relative to the campaign are in the *Gent. Mag.*, Feb., 1778. The *Gent. Mag.* (Oct., 1777, p. 472) warned the public of the difficulties which Burgoyne must expect to encounter.

[5] Comment from a British officer is in Anburey's *Travels*. Lecky (iv. 31) shows the way in which the army was raised. The organization of the army is explained in a chapter in *Hadden's Journal*. The details of the dispatching of troops are embraced in the volume "Secretary of State, 1776," War Office, London. The letter of Carleton to Germain, Quebec, May 20, 1777, expressing his chagrin at not being appointed to lead the expedition, but promising aid to Burgoyne, is printed in Brymner's *Report on the Canadian Archives* (1885, p. cxxxii.) with Germain's answer. Howe in New York had notified Carleton at Quebec, April 5, that he should not be able to communicate with Burgoyne. Walpole records in his *Last Journals* (ii. 160), "Lord George Germain owned that General Howe had defeated all his views by going to Maryland instead of waiting to join Burgoyne." There may have been a purpose to help create the impression of Burgoyne's destination, which that officer tried to spread, in professing to aim at Connecticut, when Howe in April sent an expedition, under Tryon, to Danbury, in Connecticut, to destroy stores. This was accomplished, but Wooster and Arnold pressed the returning party with vigor and inflicted a considerable loss. Wooster was killed. Congress ordered a monument to his memory (*Journals*, ii. 168. Cf. Deming's oration at the dedication of a monument in 1854, and Hinman's *Connecticut during the Rev.*, 155). The contemporary accounts are Howe's despatch to Germain, and the narrative in the *Connecticut Journal*, April 30 (both given in Dawson's *Battles*, i. 217, 219); current reports in Moore's *Diary*, 423, 441; Trumbull's and Sullivan's letters in *N. Hampshire State Papers*, viii. 547, 549, 556; a letter of James Wadsworth, dated at Durham, May 1, 1777, in *Trumbull MSS.*, vi. 94; with accounts in Jones's *N. Y. during the Rev.*, i. 178, and Stedman's *Amer. War*, ch. 14. Marshall's account in his *Washington* was controverted by E. D. Whittlesey (*N. Y. Hist. Coll.*, 2d ser., ii. 227). Cf. Sparks's *Washington*, iv. 404; Leake's *Lamb*, ch. xi., with a map; Stuart's *Gov. Trumbull*, ch. 27; Irving's *Washington*, iii. 47; I. N. Arnold's *Gen. Arnold*, ch. 7; Bancroft, ix. 346; Gay's *Pop. Hist. U. S.*, iii. 543; Hollister's *Connecticut*, ii. ch. 12. For local associations see Dwight's *Travels*, iii.; Lossing's *Field-Book*, i. 407–416 (with views); Teller's *Ridgefield*, p. 69 (1878), with a view of the battlefield, April 27, 1777; C. B. Todd's *Redding* (1880, p. 47).

[6] These include the Riedesel Memoirs, Schlözer's *Briefwechsel* (iii. 27, 321, iv. 288), Eelking's *Deutsche Hülfstruppen* (ch. 4). There is a letter from a Brunswick officer in Canada in J. H. Hering's *Weeklijksche Berichten* (Amsterdam, — noted in Muller's *Books on America*, 1877, no. 1,410).

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grievances before Congress (Lossing's *Schuyler*, ii.; Irving's *Washington*, iii.). Burgoyne (Fonblanque, App. E) was talking to his Indians in June, and two days later he made his famous proclamation to frighten or allure the country people. Fonblanque (p. 23) is not unmindful of its unworthy bombast, and Lecky (vi. 64) says it was "greatly and justly blamed."[1]

There will be occasion later to enumerate the maps illustrating the successive stages and conflicts of the campaign; but it may be well at this point to append in a note the principal maps of the entire movement of the British army, which cover also the field of its actions on both flanks.[2]

The most important source respecting the siege and evacuation of Ticonderoga is the *Proceedings of a General Court Martial, held at Whiteplains, N. Y., for the trial of Maj.-Gen. St. Clair, Aug. 25, 1778* (Philad., 1778).[3] It was reprinted in the *Collections* of the N. Y. Hist. Soc. in 1880. It includes various letters of Schuyler and St. Clair in June (pp. 14, 101, 121, etc.), the doings of the council of war, July 5th, which decided upon a retreat (p. 33), and the letters of St. Clair at Ticonderoga, and one to Hancock, July 14th, from Fort Edward (p. 69, etc.). Three days later, July 17th, St. Clair sent an account from Fort Edward to Washington, which, with the letter of Schuyler, likewise to Washington, is in Sparks's *Corresp. of the Rev.*, i. 393, 400.[4] Much of this material is also included in the published *St. Clair Papers*.[5] Sparks had earlier added

[1] There is a contemporary broadside of it in the Mass. Hist. Soc. library, and it was printed for the English public in the *Gentleman's Mag.* in August. Walpole, in London, in August, records his opinion of it, "penned with such threats as would expose him to derision if he failed, and would diminish the lustre of his success if he obtained any" (*Last Journals*, ii. 130). The dates given to it vary from June 29th to July 4th. It will also be found in Anburey's *Travels;* Thacher's *Military Journal;* Moore's *Diary* (p. 454), from the *Penna. Evening Post*, Aug. 21; Fonblanque's *Burgoyne* (App. F); Riedesel's *Memoirs; Hadden's Journal* (p. 59); *Proceedings* of the Mass. Hist. Soc. (xii. 189) and N. Y. Hist. Soc. (Jan., 1872); *Vermont Hist. Soc. Collections* (i. 163); *Niles's Register* (1876 ed., p. 179); *N. Hampshire State Papers*, viii. 660. It instigated various burlesques (Moore's *Diary*, 459; his *Songs and Ballads of the Rev.*, 167).

[2] A map by Montresor, made in 1775, showing the antecedent knowledge of the country, is given in the *American Atlas*.

A topographical Map of Hudson's River, . . . also the Communication with Canada by Lake George and Lake Champlain, as high as Fort Chambly, by Claude Joseph Sauthier. Engraved by Wm. Faden, published (London) *Oct. 1, 1776.*

A map of the inhabited parts of Canada, from the French surveys, with the frontiers of New York and New England, from the large survey by Claude Joseph Sauthier, engraved by Wm. Faden (London), 1777. It is dedicated to Burgoyne, and in the margin is a table showing the various winter-quarters of the king's army in Canada in 1776. In 1777, Le Rouge, in Paris, reproduced Sauthier's drafts as *Cours de la rivière d'Hudson et la Communication avec le Canada par le lac Champlain jusqu'au Fort Chambly.* (Cf. the map in the *Atlas Amériquain*, no. 23.) Sauthier's surveys were also used in a map of New York and adjacent provinces, published at Augsburg in 1777, which is reproduced in Jones's *N. Y. during the Rev.* (vol. i.). The *Gentleman's Mag.*, Jan., 1778, had a map of the Hudson River and the adjacent country. The *London Mag.*, 1778, had a map showing the country between Albany and Ticonderoga. It was drawn by Thomas Kitchin, who in the same year made a map of the Hudson and adjacent parts from Albany to New York.

In 1780 (Feb. 1st) Faden published a more detailed map as drawn by Mr. Medcalfe, and called *A map of the Country in which the army under Lieutenant-General Burgoyne acted in the Campaign of 1777, shewing the marches of the army and the places of the principal actions.* (Cf. map in Stedman, reproduced in Illus. ed. of Irving's *Washington*, iii. 93.)

The maps as given in Burgoyne's *State of the Expedition from Canada* (London, 1780) are those usually followed. The original MS. drafts of these, used for engraving them, are among the Faden maps (nos. 66–69) in the library of Congress. A general map of the campaign is given in Hilliard d'Auberteuil's *Essais* (i. 205).

There is in *Hadden's Journal* (p. 90) a drawn map of the campaign between Crown Point and Stillwater, showing the marches of the British army and the points of conflict. Among the Faden maps (nos. 62, 63) in the library of Congress is a MS. map of "Lake Champlain and Lake George, and the country between the Hudson and the lakes on the west and the Connecticut on the east." There are later and eclectic maps given in Gordon's *American Revolution;* Anburey's *Travels;* Neilson's *Burgoyne's Campaign*, used and corrected by Stone in his *Campaign of Burgoyne;* Carrington's *Battles* (312); Burgoyne's *Orderly-book; Mag. of Amer. Hist.* (May, 1877).

[3] Thomson, *Ohio Bibliog.*, no. 1,011; *Brinley Catal.*, no. 4,135 ($50); Menzies, no. 1,741 ($65).

[4] Cf. also *Ibid.*, ii., App. pp. 510, 513.

[5] *The life and Public services of Arthur St. Clair, with his correspondence and other papers arranged and annotated by Wm. Henry Smith.* The correspondence begins in 1771. H. P. Johnston thinks Smith too sweeping and injudicial in his editing (*Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, Aug., 1882). St. Clair took command at Ticonderoga June 12th. Smith includes in his book the proceedings of the councils of war (pp. 404, 420), and

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copies of some of the St. Clair papers to his Collection of Manuscripts.[1]

On the English side, Burgoyne's letters are in Fonblanque's *Burgoyne* (p. 248), *Gent. Mag.*, Aug., 1777, and Dawson's *Battles*. Anburey's *Travels* (letter xxx.) throws some light.

For the effect of the evacuation on the country, see *Journals of Congress*, iv. 719; Wells's *Sam. Adams*, ii. 485, 488; *Diplomatic Correspondence of the Amer. Rev.*, i. 315. The apprehension felt in the adjacent country is shown in letters of Ira Allen and others in the *N. H. State Papers*, viii. 632, 633, 643, 644, 648, 651.

We have some contemporary maps of Ticonderoga previous to and during the siege. In August, 1776, Colonel John Trumbull made a plan which is engraved in his *Autobiography* (N. Y., 1841, p. 32),[2] and is reproduced herewith.[3] The map used at the trial of St. Clair is engraved in the *Proceedings;* and from a MS. copy made for Sparks, and now at Cornell University, the annexed sketch (p. 353) is drawn.

On the affair at Hubbardton, July 7th, the official accounts of St. Clair (July 14th) and Burgoyne (July 11th) are given in Dawson's *Battles* (i. 224, 229, 231), and other contemporary accounts in the *Vermont Hist. Soc. Coll.*, i. p. 168, etc.[4]

In Burgoyne's *State of the Expedition* is a "plan of the action at Huberton under Brig.-Gen. Fraser, supported by Maj.-Gen. Riedesel, on the 7th July, 1777, drawn by P. Gerlach, engraved by Wm. Faden," and published at London, Feb. 1, 1780.[5] Three days later, Burgoyne (July 10) issued a proclamation to the inhabitants of Vermont, and Schuyler (July 13) made a counter proclamation.[6]

The chief sources of documentary evidence regarding the movements in 1777 around Fort Stanwix are *5 Force's Archives* (vols. i., ii., and iii.) and the Gansevoort Papers (copies in *Sparks MSS.*, lx.), including a letter of Arnold, August 22, 1777, dated at German Flats, which Sparks has indorsed "evidently intended to be intercepted." On the American side, we have further Colonel Willet's letter[7] to Trumbull, Aug. 11th, in Dawson (i. 248); the account in the *Penna. Evening Post*, given in Moore's *Diary* (i. 477); Wilkinson's *Memoirs* (pp. 204, 212); the

the various letters of St. Clair, respecting his retreat, to Bowdoin (also in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, vi. 356), Hancock, Jay, Washington, and others (pp. 396, 414, 423, 425, 426, 429, 433). Cf. Dawson's *Battles*. St. Clair's letter, July 7th, at Otter Creek, to the president of the Convention of Vermont, is in *N. H. State Papers*, viii. 618.

[1] *Sparks MSS.*, no. xxix. The papers of the trial of St. Clair are in *Ibid.*, xlix., vol. ii. Congress ordered the inquiry (*N. H. State Papers*, viii. 649). There are other contemporary accounts of the evacuation in Moore's *Diary of the Revolution* (p. 470); Wilkinson's *Memoirs* (ch. 4 and 5); original documents in *5 Force's Archives*, vols. i., ii., and iii., and in *Mag. of Amer. Hist.* (Aug., 1882); letter of Asa Fitch, *Hist. Mag.* (iii. 7); a diary among the *Moses Greenleaf's MSS.* (Mass. Hist. Society), beginning April 23, 1777, and ending Nov. 22d, near Philadelphia; a diary of Samuel Sweat (June 18, 1777, etc.) in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.* (vol. xvii. 287). A letter of one Cogan complains of the unnecessary retreat (*N. H. State Papers*, viii. 640), and other accounts and comment of that day, in Sparks's *Washington*, vol. v.; *Heath Papers* (*Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*), p. 65. Cf. further, Lossing's *Schuyler* (ii. ch. 10, etc.); *General Hull's Revolutionary Services* (ch. 7); Dawson's *Battles* (ch. 20); Van Rensselaer's *Essays;* Jay's *Life of Jay* (i. 74); Sparks's *Gouverneur Morris* (i. ch. 8); J. C. Hamilton's *Life of Hamilton* (i. 79, 91); Hamilton's *Works* (i. 31); Sedgwick's *Livingston* (p. 233); Watson's *Essex County, N. Y.* (ch. 11); De Costa's *Fort George;* Smith's *Pittsfield, Mass.* (i. 282); *Hist. Mag.*, Dec., 1862, July, 1867 (p. 303), Aug., 1869 (p. 84, by Hiland Hall); Lewis Kellogg's *Hist. Discourse* (Whitehall, 1847).

[2] Cf. Palmer's *Lake Champlain* and Watson's *Essex County, N. Y.*

[3] It is also in the *St. Clair Papers*, i. 76. See *post*, p. 352.

[4] Cf. further, Wilkinson's *Memoir* (ch. 5); Lossing's *Schuyler* (ii. 223), and his *Field-Book* (i. 145); Carrington's *Battles* (ch. 45); Henry Clark's *Hist. Address*, July 7, 1859 (Rutland, 1859); Stone's *Beverley, Mass.* (p. 75); Amos Churchill's *Hist. of Hubbardton* (1855); *Hadden's Journal* (App. no. 15); W. C. Watson in *Amer. Hist. Record* (ii. 455); beside such personal narratives as Enos Stone's Journal in *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.* (1861, p. 299, — he was made a prisoner), and the *Narrative of the captivity & sufferings of Ebenezer Fletcher, of New Ipswich, who was severely wounded and taken prisoner at the battle of Hubbardston, Vt., in 1777, by the British and Indians* (New Ipswich, N. H., 1813?).

There are letters of Stephen Peabody and Col. Bellows in *N. H. State Papers*, viii. 625. There is a British diary by Joshua Pell, Jr., published in the *Mag. of Amer. Hist.* (ii. 107).

[5] There is a composite map in Carrington's *Battles* (p. 322), and another in Lossing's *Field-Book* (i. 145), with a view of the battlefield (p. 146).

[6] Cf. *Vermont Hist. Soc. Coll.*, i. 181, 182, where much will be found from the Council of Safety's records and in letters from Schuyler and Warner. Cf. also *N. H. State Papers*, viii. 658.

[7] An earlier letter of Willet, July 28th, warning the people at German Flats, is in the *Mag. of Amer. Hist.* (1884), p. 285. Cf. also Wm. M. Willet's *Narrative of the Military actions of Col. Marinus Willet* (N. Y 1831), for Willet's hasty and his more leisurely accounts, which differ somewhat in minor details.

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Journals of the New York Provincial Congress (vol. i.); and Sparks's *Corresp. of the Rev.* (ii. 578). Gordon gives some details from eye-witnesses, mainly through reports made to him by the Rev. Samuel Kirkland. Dwight picked up anecdotes about the battlefield in 1799, which he prints in his *Travels* (vol. iii.). The best eclectic accounts are those by William L. Stone, father and son, — the elder giving us his *Life of Brant* (i. ch. 10 and 11), and the younger, his *Orderly-book of Sir John Johnson during the Oriskany campaign, 1776–1777, annotated by William L. Stone. With an historical introduction illustrating the life of Sir John Johnson, by J. Watts De Peyster. And some tracings from the footprints of the tories or loyalists in America contributed by Theodorus Bailey Myers* (Albany, 1882), being no. 11 of Munsell's historical series.[1] The younger Stone's labors took a wider range in that portion of his *Campaign of Lieutenant-Gen. John Burgoyne* which is given to the expedition of St. Leger, though he followed in the main his father's *Life of Brant*. In the *Orderly-book*, just mentioned, however he modified some of his views.

There is rather too much of patriotic fervor for a discriminating analysis in a monograph, *The Battle of Oriskany, its place in History, an address at the Centennial Celebration, Aug. 6, 1877, by Ellis H. Roberts* (Utica, 1877), but it is in most respects valuable and a convenient gathering of information, not otherwise found without much trouble, and is well fortified with notes.[2]

The principal English source is the account by St. Leger.[3]

To illustrate the movements near Fort Schuyler or Stanwix, we have the plan made by Fleury in Sept., 1777, which is engraved in Stone's *Life of Brant*, i. p. 230, — the essential portion of which is given herewith.[4] The position of the ground as shown by Fleury can be compared with that of a *Topographical map of the country between the Mohawk River and Wood Creek, from an actual survey taken in Nov., 1758*, which is engraved from the original MS. (in the N. Y. State library) in the *Doc. Hist. N. Y.* (quarto ed.

[1] This orderly-book was originally printed in the *Mag. of Amer. Hist.* (March and April, 1881). The appended essays are incisive expressions of individual views at variance with general beliefs (cf. *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, March, 1883, p. 219), De Peyster defending Johnson, who was his great-uncle, from the charge of violating his parole, and Myers agreeing with him.

[2] It is reprinted in the *Cent. Celebrations of N. Y.* (1879, p. 55), where will be found other addresses and engraved views of the present aspect of the scene of the conflict (pp. 91, 127). These local associations are also traced in S. W. D. North's "Story of a Monument" in the *Mag. of Amer. Hist.* (xii. 97, — Aug., 1884; cf. also vol. i. p. 641), giving views of the monuments, a suspicious portrait of Herkimer (p. 103), and a view of Herkimer's house (p. 111, — cf. Lossing, i. 260). On the various spellings of Herkimer's name, see *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, Aug., 1884, p. 283. Measures for erecting a monument to him are recorded in *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, 1845, p. 172. The later writers are H. R. Schoolcraft in the *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Proc.* (1845, p. 132); Bancroft (ix. 378); Irving's *Washington* (iii. ch. 15, 16, 17); Lossing's *Schuyler* (ii. 273), and his *Field-Book* (vol. i.); I. N. Arnold's *Benedict Arnold* (ch. 8); J. W. De Peyster in *Hist. Mag.* (xv. 38) and *Mag. of Amer. Hist.* (ii. 22); T. D. English in *Harper's Monthly* (xxiii. 327); H. C. Goodwin's *Pioneer History of Cortland County;* Benton's *Herkimer County* (ch. 5); Campbell's *Tryon County* (ch. 4); Pomroy Jones's *Annals of Oneida County*, with some local touches; Ketchum's *Buffalo;* S. W. D. North's "Historical Significance of the Battle" in the *Mag. of Amer. Hist.* (i. 641); the appendix of *Hadden's Journal* (no. 17) for La Corne St. Luc; Hull's *Revolutionary Services* (ch. 8); Dawson's *Battles* (i. ch. 21); Carrington's *Battles* (ch. 45). The German accounts are given in Eelking's *Die Deutschen Hülfstruppen*, with more prominence naturally from the Hessian participants than the English or American narratives afford; and in Frederick Kapp's *Die Deutschen im Staate New York* (N. Y., 1884), equally glowing for his countrymen under Herkimer, on the other side. Cf. Lowell's *Hessians.* The story of Hanyost Schuyler's carrying a deceitful message from Arnold, which Dr. Belknap in 1796 picked up on the spot (*Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, xix. 408), and as told in Dwight's *Travels* (iii. 183), in Benton's *Herkimer County* (p. 82), and other later books, is denied by Dawson (i. 247).

[3] *Gent. Mag.*, Mar., 1778; Burgoyne's *State of the Expedition;* App. to Roberts's *Address;* Dawson, i. 250; *Cent. Celebrations of N. Y.*, p. 131, and the letter of Col. Daniel Claus, dated at Montreal, Oct. 16, 1777, (*N. Y. Col. Docs.*, viii. 718; *Cent. Celebrations of N. Y.*, p. 141; Roberts's *Address*, App.) The Tory account is in Jones's *N. Y. during the Rev.* (i. 216, with App., p. 700). St. Leger's retreat is described in a letter, Montreal, Sept. 4, 1777, in the Stopford Sackville Papers, printed in *Ninth Report of the Hist. Mss. Commission* (London, 1883, App. p. 87). The account of the *Annual Register*, 1777, is copied in the *Cent. Celebrations of the State of N. Y.* (p. 137), and is the basis of Andrews's *History.* Cf. Almon's *Parliamentary debates* (vol. viii.), and Beatson's *Naval and Military Memoirs* (vi. 69). The miniature of St. Leger, by R. Cosway, as engraved in the *European Mag.*, 1795, is given in fac-simile in Stone's *Campaign of Burgoyne.* Cf. *Johnson's Orderly-book* and Hubbard's *Red Jacket.*

[4] It is also given in Hough's edition of *Pouchot*, i. 207, with a plan of the modern city of Rome, superposed. A plan of Rome in 1802, showing the position of the fort, is in the *Doc. Hist. N. Y.*, iii. 687.

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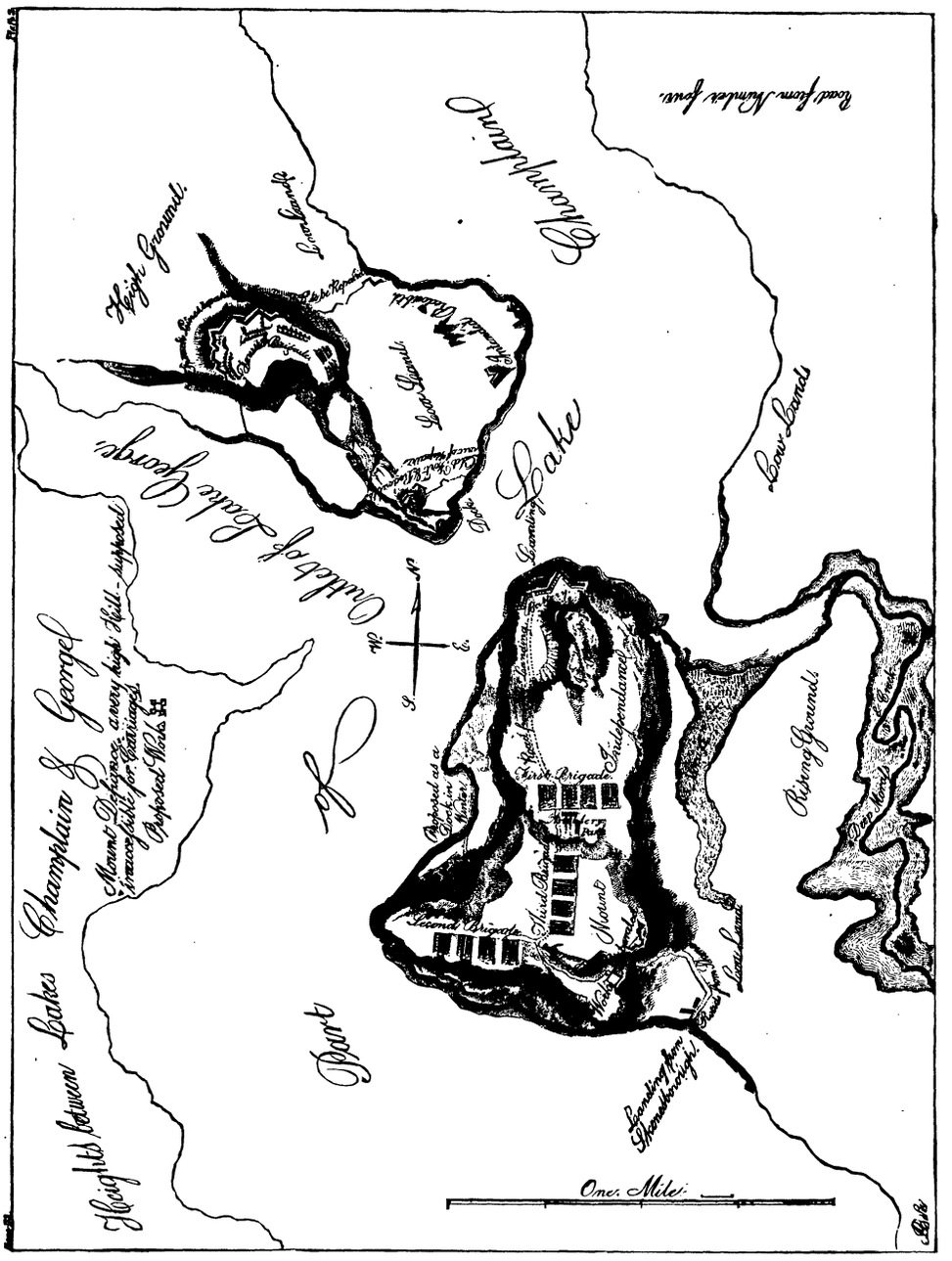

TICONDEROGA AND ITS DEPENDENCIES. AUGUST, 1776. J. T.
(*Trumbull's Plan.*)

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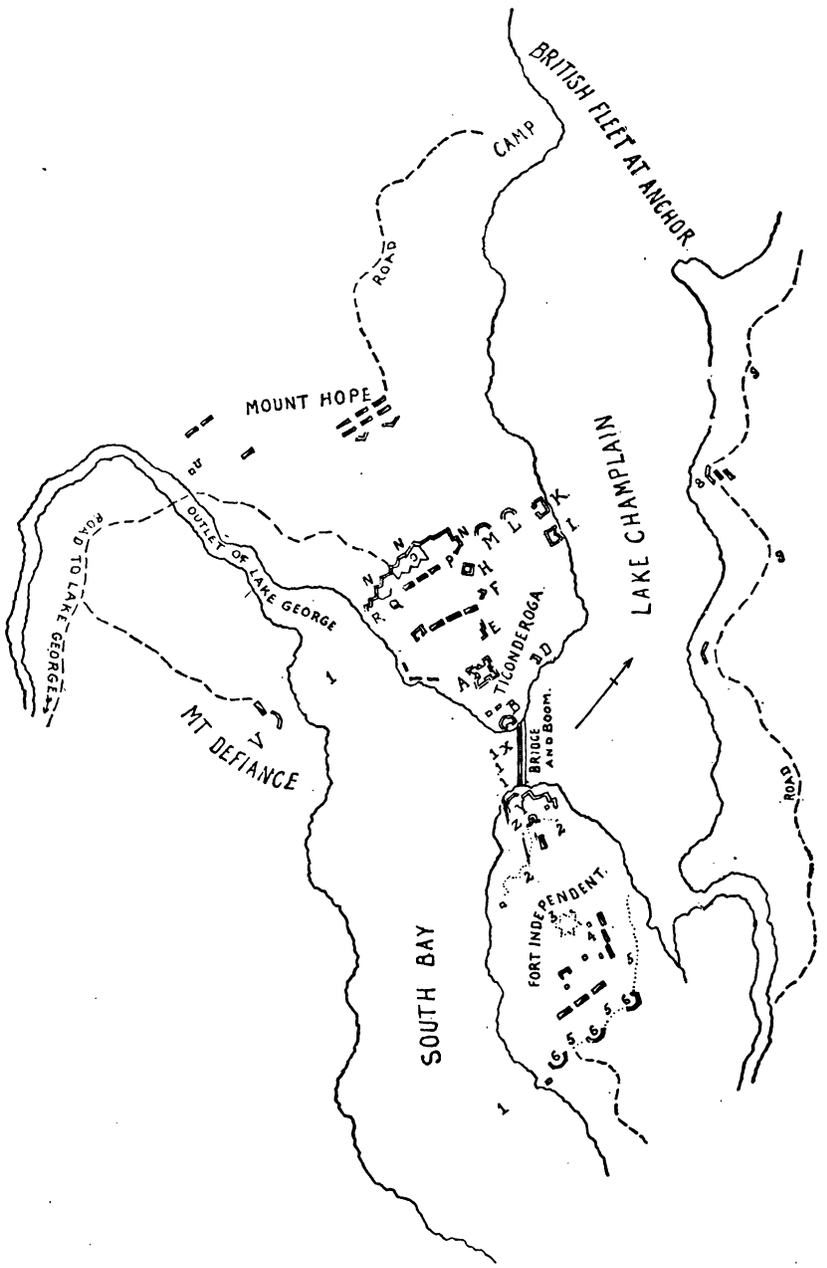

TICONDEROGA, 1777. (*Sketched from the St. Clair trial map.*) [1]

[1] KEY: A, old fort in very bad condition, wanting repair; could not be defended with less than 500 men. B, stone redoubt; about 200 men would defend it; overlooketh the line Y, opposite the Lake, in Fort Independence. C, block-house for 100 men. D, French redoubt upon the low ground for about 200 men, commanded by the opposite side. E, new breastwork for 200 men. F, new fleche for 100 men. G, new redoubt for 150 men. H, new redoubt for 100 men. I, redoubt upon the low ground for 250 men, commanded by

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iv. p. 324), where will also be found (p. 327) a detailed plan of Fort Stanwix, as erected in 1758 (see Vol. V., p. 528).[1]

Respecting the action (Aug. 16th) at Bennington, General Lincoln sent the first accounts to Schuyler, who transmitted them to Washington (Sparks's *Corresp. of the Rev.*, i. 425). Stark's letter to Gates, of Aug. 22d, is in Wilkinson's *Memoirs* (p. 209); *Vermont Hist. Coll.* (i. 206); Dawson's *Battles* (i. 260). His letter of the same day to the Council of New Hampshire is in the *N. H. State Papers*, viii. 670. The papers of Stark were used by Sparks in copies in the *Sparks MSS.* (no. xxxix.).[2]

There is in the Gates Papers (copies in *Sparks MSS.*, xx.) an "account of the enemy's loss in the late action of the 16th Aug., 1777, near Bennington," — amounting to 991 killed, wounded, and prisoners; Hessians, Canadians, and Tories. American loss, killed, between twenty and thirty; wounded, not known.[3]

Burgoyne's original instructions to Baum are in the cabinet of the Mass. Hist. Soc.,[4] and are printed in their *Collections* (vol. ii.).[5]

Letters of Baum and Burgoyne, Riedesel's report to the Duke of Brunswick, Breymann's report[6] to Burgoyne, and Burgoyne's reports to Germain, are in the *Documents in relation to the part taken by Vermont in resisting the invasion of Burgoyne* (*Vt. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, vol. i. pp. 198, 223, 225); Dawson's *Battles* (i. 261–264); Eelking's *Riedesel* (iii. 184, 210, 261). A long account by Glick, a German officer, is also in the *Vt. Hist. Coll.* (i. 211). On the jealousy of the British and Hessians, see a letter by Hagan in the *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.* (1864, p. 33).[7] An account "by a gentleman who was present" is copied from the *Fenna. Evening Post*, Sept. 4th, in Moore's *Diary of the Rev.* (p. 479). A narrative by the Rev. Mr. Allen in the *Connecticut Courant*, Aug. 25th, is copied in Smith's *Pittsfield, Mass.*[8]

the opposite side. K, Jersey redoubt upon the low ground for 300 men, commanded by the opposite side. L, redoubt upon the low ground for 100 men. M, redoubt upon the low ground for 100 men. N, French lines upon the high ground; overlooks all the works on Ticonderoga side; for 2,000 men and not less, considering the great length and importance of the place. O, P, Q, R, new works in addition to the French lines. S, high ground occupied by the enemy, and overlooks the French lines. T, Mount Hope; overlooks ground, S, occupied by the enemy. U, block-house burnt by the enemy. VV, high hill; overlooks Ticonderoga and Mount Independence. X, the bridge [and boom]. Y, line upon the low ground, commanded by the opposite side (B), for 800 men. Z, barbet battery.

1, sloops. 2, line only marked upon the ground. 3, picket-fort for 600 men. 4, block-house for 100 men. 5, 6, line with three new-made batteries for 1,500 men and not less. 7, block-house for 100 men. 8, battery made by the enemy. 9, road made by the enemy to cut off the communication from Mount Independence to Skenesborough.

The drawn plan in *Hadden's Journal* (p. 83) speaks of the lines protecting Fort Independence on the land side as being made "of logs thrown up but not completed," from which a "path for cattle" led to Hubbardton. Mount Defiance is called "Sugar Loaf Hill." The English are represented as landing at the point marked "Camp," and the Germans on the opposite shore. Gen. Phillips took the position on Mount Hope. Lossing (*Field-Book*, i. 131) gives a view from the top of Mount Defiance. A description of the fortifications about Ticonderoga, from Riedesel's *Memoirs*, is in Stone's *Campaign of Burgoyne* (p. 434).

[1] There are other plans in Campbell's *Tryon County;* and in Lossing's *Field-Book*, i. 249, — the last also giving a view of the site of the fort (p. 231) and of the battlefield of Oriskany (p. 245).

[2] Cf. the *Memoir and official Correspondence of Stark*, by Caleb Stark (Concord, 1860), and H. W. Herrick on "Stark and Bennington," in *Harper's Monthly* (vol. lv. 511).

[3] De Lancey (Jones's *N. Y. during the Rev.*, i. 685) has a note on the forces engaged.

[4] In "Mather and other papers," no. 78. There is a contemporary copy among the *Trumbull MSS.*, viii. 176.

[5] Also in Stone's *Burgoyne's Campaign*, App., iii.; *Hadden's Journal* (p. 111); Moore's *Diary of the Rev.* (p. 488); Burgoyne's *State of the Expedition; N. H. State Papers*, viii. 664; Guild's *Chaplain Smith and the Baptist* (differing somewhat, p. 203). Cf. Fonblanque's *Burgoyne* (p. 271), and his *State of the Expedition.*

[6] "Of an affair which happened near Walloon Creek" (*Sparks MSS.*, lviii., Part 2). Much on this expedition is in the English Public Record Office, "vol. 351, Quebec, xvii."

[7] Cf. Lowell's *Hessians*, p. 136; Riedesel, who in his *Memoirs* (i. 259, 299) somewhat differs from Burgoyne; Schlözer's *Briefwechsel;* and Stedman's *Amer. War* (i. ch. 17).

[8] Other contemporary narratives are in the Appendix of Stone's *Campaign of Burgoyne* (p. 286); Wilkinson's *Memoirs* (i. ch. 5); and *Hadden's Journal* (p. 120). There are letters by Peter Clark in the *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.* (April, 1860, p. 121). A letter of the Council of Safety, written during the action, is in *N. H. State Papers*, viii. 669, where is also Stark's letter, when he sent the trophies, and the communication of the news to the militia (*Ibid.* p. 623). Stark was thanked by Congress, and made a brigadier (*Ibid.* p. 702). He had felt hurt at the failure of such recognition by Congress earlier (*Ibid.* p. 662).

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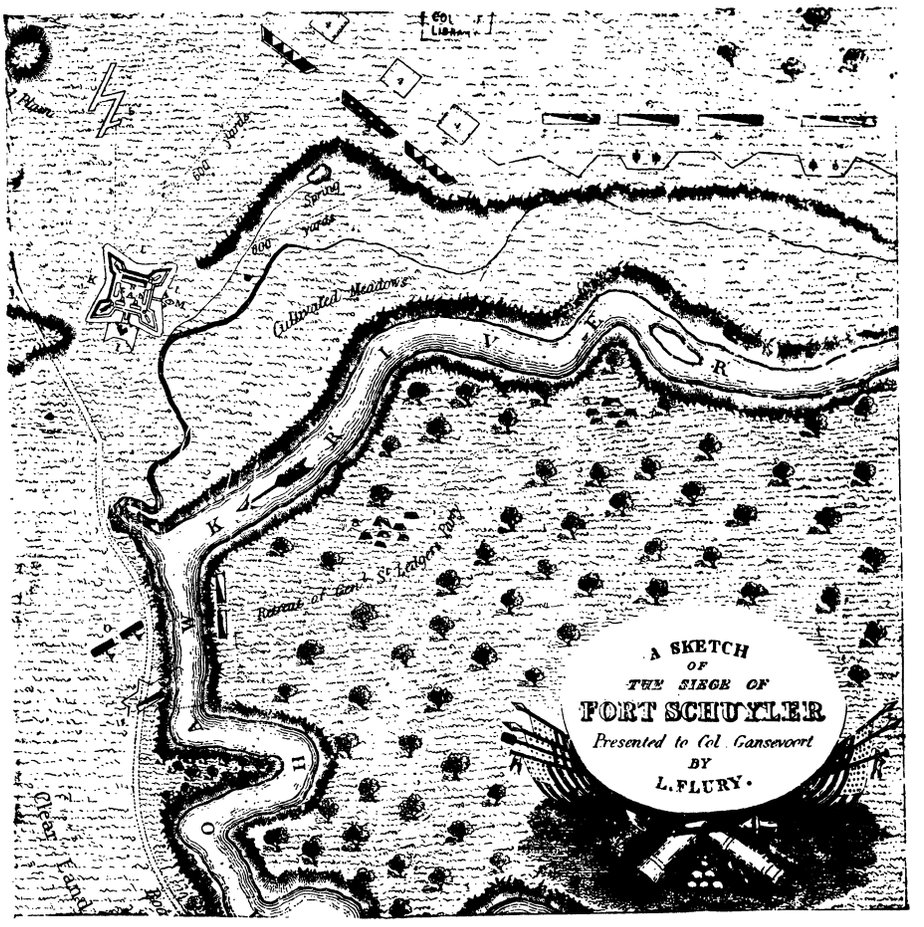

FORT STANWIX OR SCHUYLER.[1]

The local aspects of the fight are touched upon in Hall's and other histories of Vermont,[2] and the general authorities necessarily enlarge more or less upon it, as an episode.[3] At the first anniversary of the Bennington fight, in 1778, a speech was made by Noah Smith,

1 KEY: A, Fort Schuyler. B, Flagstaff, 3 guns. C, Northwest, 4 guns. D, Northeast, 3 guns. E, Southeast, 4 guns. F, Powder magazine. G, Laboratory. H, Barracks. I, Hornwork begun. J, Drawbridge. K, Covered way. L, Glacis. M, Sally-port. N, Commandant's quarters. O, Willett's attack. The following are British batteries, etc. 1, three guns. 2, four mortars. 3, three guns. 4, redoubts to cover the batteries. 5, lines of approaches. 6, British encampment. 7, Loyalists. 8, Indians. 9, ruins of Fort Newport. There is a copy of the map made for Mr. Sparks among the Sparks Maps at Cornell University.

2 Cf. also the *Vermont Hist. Gazetteer* (vol. i.); A. M. Caverley's *Pittsford, Vt.;* Frisbie and Ruggles's *Poultney, Vt.;* the *N. H. Adj.-General's Report*, 1866 (ii. 315); C. C. Coffin's *Boscawen, N. H.* (p. 257); H. H. Saunderson's *Charlestown, N. H.* (ch. 7); O. E. Randall's *Chesterfield, N. H.;* N. Bouton's *Concord, N. H.* (ch. 11); D. A. Goddard's paper on the part borne by Massachusetts in the battle, in the *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.* (xvii. 90, May, 1879); Holland's *Western Mass.* (ch. 15); Smith's *Pittsfield, Mass.* (i. 293); Ham mond's *N. H. Rev. Rolls* (ii. 139).

3 Cf. Bancroft (ix. ch. 22); Irving's *Washington* (iii. ch. 16); Gay's *Pop. Hist. U. S.* (iii. 581); Lossing's *Schuyler* (ii. ch. 14), his *Field-Book* (vol. i.), and his article in *Harper's Monthly* (vol. v.); Dawson's *Battles* (i. 255), and his account in the *Hist. Mag.* (xiii. 289, May, 1870); Carrington's *Battles* (i. 334); Isaac Jen. ning's *Memorials of a Century* (Boston, 1869, ch. 12; see *N. E. Hist. Geneal. Reg.*, 1870, p. 94).

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which was printed at Hartford in 1779, and is reprinted in the *Vermont Hist. Coll.* (i. p. 251). On Oct. 20, 1848, James D. Butler gave an address before the Legislature of Vermont, which "contained original testimonies of witnesses now long dead, and notes from papers since burned in the Vermont State House." When printed at Burlington, in 1849, it was accompanied by an address by George Frederick Houghton on the life and services of Col. Seth Warner.[1] The centennial observances of 1877 produced several memorials.[2]

Gen. Carrington (*Battles*, p. 334) gives one of the best plans of the Bennington fight. There is among the *Sparks MSS.* (no. xxviii.) a sketch map, with this indorsement by Mr. Sparks: "Drawn by Mr. Hiland Hall, Bennington, Oct. 13, 1826. Very accurate. Ground examined by myself at the time." It shows the Walloomsack River (a branch of the Hoosick River) with the skirting road to Bennington, three times crossing the river. On this road, going up stream, are marked (in order) the beginning of the second action, the hill where the stand was attempted, the places where Breyman was met by Warner, where the cannon were posted in the first battle, and the line of Stark's advance.

In Burgoyne's *State of the Expedition* is a plan called "Position of the Detachment under Lieut.-Col. Baum, at Walmscook, near Bennington, shewing the attacks of the enemy on the 16th of August, 1777, drawn by Lieut. Durnford, engineer; engraved by Wm. Faden," and published at London, Feb. 1, 1780.[3]

Meanwhile Schuyler was gathering an army as best he could. In July he wrote to Heath that its spirits were recovering (*Heath Papers*, i. 300). The militia were called out early in August to assist him (*Journals of Congress*, ii. 214). W. L. Stone tells the story of Moses Harris, his faithful spy, in the *Mag. of Amer. Hist.* (ii. 414). The discontent with Schuyler on the part of the politicians was beginning to be shaped to party measures, and led to his being superseded in August by Gates, while a battle was imminent, as Schuyler thought.[4]

Bancroft (vol. ix.) does not hold Schuyler free from the responsibility of the ill success of the campaign up to this time; but he is controverted by G. W. Schuyler in his *Correspondence and Remarks upon Bancroft's History of the Northern Campaign;* by Lossing in his *Schuyler;* and by J. W. De Peyster in the *Mag. of Amer. Hist.* (February, 1877, vol. i. 134).[5]

Burgoyne meanwhile (August 26) was writing to Germain that the campaign was looking badly, and the loyalists not as helpful as he hoped. The conflict which Schuyler thought impending took place September 19, and is variously known as the battle of Freeman's Farm, or Stillwater, or the first battle of Bemis's Heights. Gates had already appealed to the Green Mountain boys for assistance, as the records of the Vermont Council of Safety show (Stevens, *Bibl. Geog.*, 1870, no. 693). Gen. Glover's letters to James Warren during Aug. and Sept. are in the *Sparks MSS.* (no. xlvii.) and in Upham's *Glover*, and his account of the battle of the 19th is in *Essex Institute Hist. Coll.* (v. no. 3). Col. Varick's letter to Schuyler is in the *Sparks MSS.*, lxvi. Wilkinson gives the best account of any participant (i. ch. 6), and his letter of Sept. 20 is in Dawson (i. 301). Gates's letter

[1] Hiland Hall's paper on Warner's share in the battle of Bennington is reprinted from the *Vermont Quarterly Mag.* (1861, p. 156), in the *Vermont Hist. Coll.* (i. p. 209). Cf. *Hist. Mag.* (vol. iv., Sept., 1860, p. 268), and Chipman's *Life of Warner*.

[2] Albert Tyler's *Bennington: the Battles, 1777. Centennial celebration, 1877* (Worcester, 1878).

Centennial anniversary of the independence of the state of Vermont and the battle of Bennington, Aug. 15 and 16, 1877. Westminster — Hubbardton — Windsor (Rutland, 1879). This volume contains an oration by S. C. Bartlett and an historical paper by Hiland Hall, with engraved portraits of some of the chief participants.

F. W. Coburn's *Centennial Hist. of the Battle of Bennington* (Boston, 1877).

A Bennington Historical Society was formed in 1876.

[3] The original of this, a carefully drawn MS. map of "the position of Col. Baum, 16th Aug., 1776, with the attack of the enemy at Walmscook near Bennington, by Lieut. Durnford, engineer," is among the Faden maps (no. 65). This Faden map is reproduced in Jenning's *Memorials of a Century* (Boston, 1869), and sketches of it will be found, with views of the field, in Lossing's *Field-Book of the Revolution* (i. 395, 396); Gay's *Pop. Hist. U. S.* (iii. 583); *Harper's Monthly* (xxi. 325). Carrington says the map of Baum's march in *Harper's Mag.*, October, 1877, is incorrect. Stone, *Campaign of Burgoyne* (p. 35), gives a view of the house in which Baum died.

[4] Cf. Lossing's *Schuyler* (ii. 299); Wells's *Sam. Adams* (ii. ch. 45); Sparks's *Washington* (iii. 535; v. p. 14), his *Correspondence of the Rev.* (i. 427), and his *Gouverneur Morris* (i. 138).

[5] Cf. *Amer. Hist. Record*, April, 1873; Hamilton's *Repub. of the United States* (i. 306). There is a view of the army headquarters at Troy (1777) in Weise's *Troy*, 1876, p. 17; and of the Dirck Swart house, still standing (used by Schuyler as headquarters), in the *Mag. of Amer. History* (vii. 226, etc.). The house subsequently used by Gates has disappeared.

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to Congress, Sept. 22, is also in Dawson (i. 301). Gordon gives the American loss.[1]

The question of Arnold's participancy in the battle of the 19th, while the left wing — his own command — was engaged, has been the subject of controversy.[2]

The attempt of an American force to cut Burgoyne's line of communications by the lakes is described in the "Fight at Diamond Island," Sept. 24, by De Costa, who gives the official report of Col. Brown (*N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, 1872, p. 147). These evidences come mainly from the Gates Papers, and are recapitulated in Stone's *Campaign of Burgoyne* (App. 10).

Respecting the action of Oct. 7, the earliest official accounts are in Glover's letter of Oct. 9, and in Gates's to Congress, of Oct. 18, — both of which are reprinted by Dawson (i. 302, 303). James Wilkinson's letter of Oct. 9 is in the New York Archives, with various other letters of the campaign (*Sparks MSS.*, no. xxix.). A letter of Oliver Wolcott from Bemis's Heights is in the *Trumbull MSS.* (vol. vii.). The lives of Arnold (by I. N. Arnold, ch. 10, etc.) indicate his important influence on the field, where he was wounded.[3]

On the action of Col. Brooks in the field see *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.* (vii. 478). There is an account by Samuel Woodruff, an eye-witness, in the appendix of *An account of Burgoyne's Campaign and the memorable battles of Bemis's Heights, Sept. 19th, and October 7th, 1777, from the most authentic resources of information, including many incidents connected with the same*, by Charles Neilson (Albany, 1844).[4]

The story of Major Acland and Lady Acland

[1] Cf. also Kidder's *First N. H. Regiment* (p. 35). Other narratives are in Lossing's *Schuyler* (ii. ch. 19) and his *Field-Book* (i. 51); in Graham's *Morgan* (ch. 7–9); in Arnold's *Arnold* (ch. 9); Headley's *Washington and his Generals;* Dawson's *Battles* (i. ch. 25); Carrington's *Battles of the Rev.* (ch. 46); Lowell's *Hessians* (p. 151); and the memoirs of Riedesel; and on the English side Burgoyne's *State of the Expedition*, and Fonblanque's *Burgoyne.* The Smith or Taylor house, in which Fraser died, is depicted in Stone's *Campaign of Burgoyne* (p. 72), and as to a story about the removal of his remains, see *Ibid.*, App. 6. Robert Lowell read a poem, "Burgoyne's last march," at the centennial of this action.

[2] The accounts of the day, as Marshall says, give him the command, and in his *Life of Washington*, first edition, that writer so states it. Wilkinson, who was with Gates two miles from the fight, said in his *Memoirs* that there was no general officer on the field; and this led Marshall in his second edition to leave the question open. A letter of R. R. Livingston, Jan. 14, 1778, to Washington (*Correspondence of the Revolution*, ii. 551) is capable of counter conclusions on this point; and Mr. Bancroft (orig. ed., ix. 410), who holds that Arnold was not engaged during the day, judges that a letter of Colonel Richard Varick to General Schuyler, written on the day of battle, supports that view. Bancroft's opinion is maintained by J. A. Stevens in his paper "Benedict Arnold and his apologists," in the *Mag. of Amer. Hist.* (March, 1880). That the victory was won largely by Arnold's personal exertions is the opinion of nearly every other writer, and they find in the letters of Livingston and Varick as much to sustain their view as Bancroft does to support his. Wilkinson writes to St. Clair: "Gen. Arnold was not out of camp during the whole action" (*St. Clair Papers*, i. 89, 443). The evidences in rebuttal of Wilkinson, who is the only positive witness on the negative side, are numerous, and have been best arrayed by Isaac N. Arnold in his *Life of Arnold* (p. 175), and in the paper "Benedict Arnold at Saratoga" (*United Service Mag.*, Sept., 1880; also printed separately), in which he added much new testimony, gathered after he had published his *Life of Arnold.* This consists of the statements in *The Revolutionary Services of General Wm. Hull* (N. Y., 1848); in a MS. account by Ebenezer Wakefield, who was in Dearborn's light infantry, and written after Wilkinson, whom he controverts, had published his *Memoirs;* in the narratives of the Germans Von Eelking and Riedesel. Moore (*Diary of the Revolution*, p. 498) cites a letter of Enoch Poor, which seems to allow Arnold's share in the battle. Later still the diary of a chaplain of the army has been published, *Chaplain Smith and the Baptists*, and this says distinctly (p. 209) that Arnold commanded. Mr. R. A. Guild, the editor of that book, collates the evidence on this point. Washington Irving, Lossing, Sydney H. Gay, William L. Stone, — not to name others, — have contended for Arnold's participancy in the day's doings. Lecky (iv. 67) expresses himself satisfied with the proofs adduced by I. N. Arnold. Cf. Rogers in *Hadden's Journal*, p. 27.

[3] Cf. *Mag. of Amer. Hist.* (May, 1879, p. 310), and B. W. Throckmorton's address on Arnold in W. L. Stone's *Memoir of the Centennial Celebration of Burgoyne's Surrender* (Albany, 1878). Col. Brooks, as reported by Gen. W. H. Sumner in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.* (Feb., 1858, ii. 273), gave some reminiscences of Arnold's conduct. The surgeon attending Arnold said "his peevishness would degrade the most capricious of the fair sex" (*N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, 1864, p. 34).

[4] Stone (*Campaign of Burgoyne*, App. 5) also gives Woodruff's and Neilson's reminiscences. See also Stone's *Life of Brant* (i. 475). Cf. Wilkinson's *Memoirs;* Lossing's *Schuyler* (ii. 365), and his *Field-Book;* Hull's *Revolutionary Services* (ch. 10); Bowen's *Lincoln;* Irving's *Washington* (iii. ch. 22); Creasy's *Decisive Battles of the World;* Dawson (p. 291); Carrington (ch. 47); A. B. Street in *Hist. Mag.* (March, 1858). Silliman's account of his visit to the battlefield is in the App. of Stone's *Burgoyne's Campaign.* Stone in the notes to his translation of Pausch (pp. 175–6) enumerates what remains there are at the present day on the battle-ground of Oct. 7 to enable one to identify the points of the conflict. Gen. Hoyt's description of the battlefield in 1825 is given in Hinton's *United States*, Amer. ed., i. p. 264.

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has long been one of the romantic episodes of the campaign. The family account is given by W. L. Stone in the *Mag. of Amer. Hist.* 1877 (iv. 50), and Jan., 1880, and in *Lippincott's Mag.*, Oct., 1879.[1]

The various stages of the negotiations which resulted in what is known as the "Convention" can be followed in the documents given in Fonblanque (p. 306); Wilkinson's *Memoirs* (pp. 304, 306, 317); Dawson (i. 303); Stedman's *Amer. War;* Stone's *Campaign of Burgoyne* (p. 102); and O'Callaghan's *Orderly-Book of Burgoyne.* The original definitive articles are in the N. Y. Hist. Soc., and fac-similes of the signatures are in Lossing's *Field-Book* (i. 79).[2]

Wilkinson carried the news of the surrender to Congress (Wilkinson's *Memoirs;* Wells's *Sam. Adams*, ii. 494). Gates describes his own success to his wife (Moore's *Diary*, 511). Chaplain Smith gives some details of the meeting of Gates and Burgoyne (*Chaplain Smith and the Baptists*, p. 222). There are reminiscences in Surgeon Meyrick's letter in Trumbull's *Autobiography* (p. 301), and papers in *Pennsylvania Archives* (vol. v.). Recollections of Gen. Ebenezer Mattoon, an actor in the scene as written out in 1835, are in the Appendix (no. 13) of Stone's *Campaign of Burgoyne.* The comment of Wm. Whipple is in *N. H. State Papers*, viii. 707. Burgoyne's letter from Albany, Oct. 20, to Germain is in his *State of the Expedition.*[3]

De Lancey (App. p. 674, to Jones's *New York during the Rev.*) collates the authorities on the strength of the respective armies. Gates's returns of his army (11,098) are in the Gates MSS. Burgoyne, in his *State of the Expedition*, gives Gates's returns as 18,624, — the difference may be the number of sick and furloughed men. Burgoyne praised Gates's men after he had seen them (Fonblanque, 316). The numbers of Burgoyne's army are given in Appendix D in Fonblanque. The question is also examined in the App. of Stone's *Campaign of Burgoyne.* Gordon (*Amer. Rev.*, ii. 578) gives the number surrendered at 5,791; but there is a great difference in the estimates. Alexander Scammell makes it 10,611 in *Letters and Papers, 1777–80* (Mass. Hist. Soc. Cabinet). In the Stark MSS. is a table of Burgoyne's losses (14,000), covering the whole campaign, and put into verse (*Sparks MSS.*, xxxix.).[4]

Respecting the campaign as a whole, the best contemporary accounts on the American side are found in the official correspondence as embraced in Sparks's *Washington* (iv. 486, etc.) and *Correspondence of the Revolution* (vol. ii., App.), and in the letters of the commanding generals.[5]

Various important letters are put in evidence in the *Proceedings of the general court martial for the trial of Maj.-Gen. Schuyler, Oct. 1, 1778* (Philad., 1778).[6]

An account of Alexander Bryan, Gates's chief

[1] Cf. Fonblanque's *Burgoyne*, p. 300; Rogers's *Hadden's Journal*, p. liii.; *Hist. Mag.* (ii. 121); *Once a Week* (xviii. 520); *Potter's Amer. Monthly* (vii. 191); Ellet's *Women of the Amer. Rev.*, vol. i. There are portraits of Lady Acland in *Burgoyne's Orderly-Book*, in Bloodgood's *Sexagenary*, and Stone's *Campaign of Burgoyne.* Reminiscences of her later life are given in the *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, Aug., 1886, p. 193. The house to which the wounded Major Acland was borne is still standing, though much changed (*Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, vii. 226). It was the Neilson house, used as headquarters by Morgan and Poor.

[2] A naval brigade under young Pellew, afterwards Viscount Exmouth, was not allowed by Burgoyne to cut its way through the American lines, in place of surrendering (Osler's *Life of Exmouth*, London, 1835, p. 39).

A view of the field of surrender is in the *Cent. Celebrations of N. Y.* (p. 301). An old print of Burgoyne's camp is copied in Lossing's *Field-Book* (i. 57). Cf. Anburey's *Travels.*

[3] It is also in the *Brief Examination;* Dawson (i. 305, with an accompanying private letter); *Gent. Mag.* (Dec., 1777); Fonblanque's *Burgoyne* (p. 313). Riedesel in his *Memoirs* comments on Burgoyne's despatch.

In general, for American authorities on the surrender, see Wilkinson (ch. 8); Bancroft (ix. ch. 24); Irving's *Washington* (iii. 22); Lossing's *Schuyler* (ii. ch. 21); Stone's *Campaign of Burgoyne;* Bloodgood's *Sexagenary*, which shows the effect of Burgoyne's march on the country people; Lowell's *Hessians* (p. 162); *Harper's Mag.* (Aug., 1876); Mrs. E. H. Walworth in *Mag. of Amer. Hist.* (May, 1877, — i. 273–302). Loubat, *Medallic Hist. of the U. S.*, describes the medal given to Gates.

On the British side there are Jones's *New York during the Rev.* (i. 201, etc.); Fonblanque's *Burgoyne* (ch. 7); Mahon's *England* (vi. 207); G. R. Gleig in *Good Words* (xii. 849); *Blackwood's Mag.* (lxiii. 332, cxiii. 427; or *Living Age*, xvii. 226, cxvii. 543).

[4] There is an account of prisoners and stores in *N. H. State Papers*, viii. 708.

[5] See accounts of the papers of Schuyler, Gates, Lincoln, etc., elsewhere. No. liv. of the *Sparks MSS.* is given to papers on this campaign. Cf. letters of Roger Sherman to William Williams in *Ibid.*, lviii. no. 12; of General Armstrong in *Ibid.*, xlix., i. 7. The correspondence of Schuyler and Gouverneur Morris is in Sparks's *Morris*, i. 141.

[6] Also *N. Y. Hist. Coll., 1879.* Cf. Geo. W. Schuyler's *Colonial New York*, ii. 267; *Amer. Hist. Record*, ii. 145. The jealousy, or rather dislike, of Schuyler on the part of New England men was the natural result of the contact of commander and subordinates so strongly opposed as an aristocratic Knickerbocker and the self-

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scout, is in the App. of Stone's *Campaign of Burgoyne*.

There are among the copies of the Lincoln Papers in the *Sparks MSS.* (xii.) various letters, etc., respecting the campaign against Burgoyne. The earliest is one from Gen. Schuyler to Lincoln, dated at Saratoga, July 31, 1777, and the last is one from Lincoln to Gov. Clinton, Oct. 5, 1777, expressing anxiety lest Putnam should not be able to resist Gen. Clinton, to whom Burgoyne in his straits was looking for relief.[1] At a later day Lincoln wrote a long letter from Boston, Feb. 5, 1781, to John Laurens, recounting his part in this campaign from the time of Gates's taking command to the date of Lincoln's being wounded, Oct. 8th (Sparks's *Corresp. of the Rev.*, ii. 533).

Various letters of Henry Brockholst Livingston during the Northern campaign of 1777 (June–Aug.), only parts of which are printed in Sedgwick's *Livingston*, are among the papers of Gov. William Livingston, which, when Sparks made his copies in 1832 (*Sparks MSS.*, lii., vol. iii.), were in the possession of Theodore Sedgwick, Jr. Other letters will be found in the *Trumbull MSS.* (Mass. Hist. Soc.).[2]

willed democrats of the Eastern States. Cf., on this antagonism, *John Adams's Works*, iii. 87; Graydon's *Memoirs*, passim; Gordon, ii. 331; Irving's *Washington*, iii. 128, etc. A survival of the feelings had doubtless colored some of the later estimates of Schuyler's character, and the opposing views can be seen in Lossing's *Schuyler* (ii. 325, etc.) and in Bancroft's *United States*. Cf. also Geo. L. Schuyler's *Correspondence and Remarks upon Bancroft's History of the Northern Campaign of 1777 and the character of General Schuyler*. The dissatisfaction with Schuyler was not, however, confined to New England. Reference seems to be made to him as an "infamous villain" in the letters of Samuel Kennedy, a surgeon of Pennsylvania troops (*Penna. Mag. of Hist.*, viii. 114, where he is presumably spoken of as "G. S . . . r").

[1] Lincoln's orders, Aug. 4th, are in the *Sparks MSS.*, lxvi.

[2] The following orderly-books and journals of the campaign have been noted: —

Orderly book of lieut. gen. John Burgoyne, from his entry into the state of New York until his surrender at Saratoga, 16th Oct. 1777. From the original manuscript deposited at Washington's head quarters, Newburgh, N. Y. Edited by E. B. O'Callaghan (Albany, 1860), being no. 7 of *Munsell's Historical Series*. (Cf. J. T. Headley in *The Galaxy*, xxii. 604.) Gen. Horatio Rogers is satisfied that this Newburgh MS. is not an original record; and he has printed in his *Hadden's Journal* such records as are either defectively printed by O'Callaghan or not printed at all. Burgoyne's orders to the inhabitants of Castleton are in the *N. H. State Papers*, viii. 625, 658. There was published at Albany in 1884, as no. 12 of *Munsell's Historical Series*, a book entitled *Hadden's journal and orderly books. A journal kept in Canada and upon Burgoyne's campaign in 1776 and 1777, by Lieutenant James Murray Hadden. Also orders kept by him and issued by Sir Guy Carleton, Lieut. General Burgoyne and Major General William Phillips, in 1776, 1777 and 1778. With an explanatory chapter and notes by Horatio Rogers.* Respecting this publication, Mr. William L. Stone says: —

"The journal of Lieutenant Hadden is, perhaps, one of the most important manuscript documents bearing upon Burgoyne's campaign that has yet been discovered. This journal formerly belonged to William Cobbett of London. The elaborate maps with which the writer has interspersed his journal fully indicate the importance of the strategical positions taken by Schuyler previous to Gates assuming the command. Besides the journal there are several orderly-books, in which the proceedings of the British army from day to day are minutely set forth. In the manuscript book at Washington's headquarters at Newburgh, the order of the day for 19th of August, 1777, is missing. This missing link, however, is supplied by Hadden, who gives it in full, and it proves to have been an order issued by Major-General Phillips, in the absence, that day, of General Burgoyne, as follows: 'Major-General Phillips,' reads the missing order for the 19th, 'has heard with the utmost astonishment, that, notwithstanding his most serious and positive orders of the 16th instant, that no carts should be used for any purpose whatever but the transport of provisions, unless by particular orders from the commander-in-chief as expressed in the order, there are this day above thirty carts on the road laden with baggage *said to be their Lieutenant-General's*.'"

The Hadden journals and orderly-books were bought in 1875 by General Rogers, having passed through Henry Stevens's hands, and are carefully printed, with fac-similes of the MS. maps accompanying them.

Supplementing these, the following orderly-books may be mentioned: —

Henry B. Livingston's. — Troops under Gen. Schuyler, St. Clair, &c. Ticonderoga, Stillwater, &c., June 13 to August 19, 1777.

Gen. Philip Schuyler's. — Fort Edward, Albany, June 29 to August 18, 1777.

Camp at Stillwater, Saratoga and Albany, &c. August 12 to November 4, 1774.

Col. Thaddeus Cook's, of Wallingford, Conn., Stillwater, September 6 to October 6, 1777. Weekly Returns of the Regiment, September 13, 27, and October 21, 1777.

Capt. William Gates's Company, of Col. Timo. Bigelow's Regiment, Weekly Returns, various dates from October, 1777, to September, 1778. Also in same covers, *Orderly Book of Lieut. David Grout's Company, of Timothy Bigelow's Regiment, February 15, 1779, to June 15, 1779, and Weekly Returns of Capt. Peirce's Co., same Regiment, in 1780.*

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The campaign of Burgoyne has necessarily made part of the labors of the general historians. Gordon and Ramsay were among the earliest, on the American, and Stedman (i. ch. 16) on the English side. Of the later writers, Bancroft gives it three chapters (21, 22, 24) in his original edition, and four in his final revision [1] (10, 11, 12, 13). Lowell finds it an important section of his history of the German auxiliaries (*Hessians*, p. 221, etc.). The lives of principal participants, like Arnold, Lincoln, Gates, and Schuyler on the American side, cover it.

A recent life of Morgan, *The Hero of Cowpens*, by Rebecca McConkey (N. Y., 1881), would claim for the Virginian the praise which is usually given to Arnold. The general surveys of Marshall (iii. ch. 5) and Irving (iii. ch. 9–22) brought it within the scope of their lives of Washington; and J. C. Hamilton's *Republic of the United States* includes it. Local aspects are treated in Dunlap's *New York;* Holden's *Queensbury* (p. 433); Hollister's *Connecticut;* Hinman's *Connecticut during the Revolution* (p. 112); and Mrs. Bonney's *Historical Gleanings* (i. 58). Robin's *New Travels* (letter 12) gives the current accounts prevailing a little later.

The earliest considerable monographic narrative was Charles Neilson's *Original, Compiled and Corrected Account of Burgoyne's Campaign, and the Memorable Battle of Bemis's Heights, September 19, and October 7, 1777, from the most Authentic Sources of Information*, etc. (Albany, 1844).

The most devoted chronicler of the campaign, however, is the younger William L. Stone (b. 1835), who published *Reminiscences of Saratoga and Ballston* in 1875, an article on "Burgoyne in a new light" in *The Galaxy* (v. 78), and one

These are all in the library of the Amer. Antiq. Soc. at Worcester, Mass. An orderly-book of James Kimball, of Croft's regiment, June, 1777, to Dec., 1778, has been published by the Essex Institute (Salem, Mass.).

The following diaries may be named: —

The journal of Henry Dearborn, Aug. 3–Dec. 3, which was in the J. W. Thornton sale, 1878, no. 501. It is now in the Boston Public Library, and is included in Dearborn's journals as printed in the *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, 1886, edited by Mellen Chamberlain, and separately as *Journals of Henry Dearborn*, 1776–1783 (Cambridge, 1887).

Chaplain Smith's diary, July and Aug., 1777, in R. A. Guild's *Chaplain Smith and the Baptists*, p. 197; Ralph Cross's journal, beginning Aug. 29, 1777, at Newburyport, and ending there on his return, Dec. 5th, in the *Hist. Mag.* (vol. xvii. pp. 8–11); diary of Ephraim Squier, Sept. 4 to Nov. 2, 1777, preserved in the Pension Office, Washington. Extracts from the diary of Capt. Benj. Warren are preserved in the *Sparks MSS.* (no. xlvii.). A copy of the journal of Samuel Harris, Jr., of Boston, during the campaign of 1777, after he joined the army at Stillwater, Sept. 20th, and describing the fight of Bemis's Heights, Oct. 7th, and the surrender of Oct. 17th, is in the *Sparks MSS.* (xxv.). Cf. McAlpine's *Memoirs*, published in 1788.

The British journals of Burgoyne's campaign by actors in it, which have been printed, are Roger Lamb's *Original and authentic journal of occurrences during the late American war* (Dublin, 1809), and his *Memoir of his own Life* (Dublin, 1811), — he was sergeant of the Royal Welsh Fusileers, — and Thomas Anburey's *Travels through the interior parts of America* (London, 1789 and 1791; French versions, Paris, 1790 and 1793; German, Berlin, 1792). Anburey was attached as a volunteer to the grenadier company of the 29th foot. (Cf. Rogers's *Hadden Journals*, explanatory chapter.) There is an English diary in the *Mag. of Amer. Hist.* (Feb., 1878).

For other personal records of the campaign, reference may be made to the brief summary of Maj. Hughes, one of Gates's aides (*Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, Feb., 1858, iii. 279); the autobiography of Col. Philip van Cortlandt, of the second New York regiment (*N. Y. Geneal. and Biog. Rec.*, July, 1874, vol. v. 123, and *Hist. Mag.*, 1878).

Similar records on the British side are Maj. Edward M'Gauran's *Memoirs*, privately printed in London in 1786, in two volumes, and *The narrative of Captain Samuel Mackay, commandant of a provincial regiment in North America; by the appointment of Lieut.-Gen. Burgoyne* (Kingston, 1778). The author gives an account of his services as a royalist in command of a company of provincials attached to General Burgoyne's army, and complains of the refusal of the British generals to recognize him as an officer.

The British Museum has recently acquired a contemporary military critique of the campaign, by one of the actors in it, Lieut. Digby, of the British army.

The diary of the Hanau artillerist, Pausch, is preserved at Cassel, and a copy is in the hands of Mr. Edw. J. Lowell, from which a second copy was made, and from this no. 14 of *Munsell's Hist. Series* was printed as *Journal of Capt. Pausch, chief of the Hanau artillery during the Burgoyne campaign. Translated and annotated by W. L. Stone. Introduction by E. J. Lowell* (Albany, 1886). Pausch covers the interval from the day he left Hanau, May 15, 1776, to the close of Burgoyne's last battle, Oct. 7, 1777. There is in the notes (p. 149) a letter of one John Clunes, which shows some of the perils of the attempt to keep Burgoyne's rear open at Ticonderoga. A journal of Johann Konrad Döhla, a private of the regiment of Anspach, 1777–1783, is in the *Deutsch-Amerikanisches Mag.*, 1886–1887.

[1] Less important accounts are in Hildreth and Gay; in Thaddeus Allen's *Origination of the Amer Union*, etc.

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on the campaign in *Harper's Monthly* in 1877 (vol. lv. p. 673), and in the same year the most important work on the subject yet produced, *The Campaign of Lieutenant-General John Burgoyne and the Expedition of Lieutenant-Colonel Barry St. Leger*, which draws from every important help to the study of the military movements which had been so far brought to light. In the next year (1878), Mr. Stone prepared the *Memoir of the Centennial Celebration of Burgoyne's Surrender, Schuylerville, Oct. 17, 1875*. It included an historical address by Mr. Stone himself, others by Horatio Seymour and George William Curtis.[1]

The English later writers have been in the main fair in their statements. Mahon (vi. 191), while praising the army of Gates, denies him the merit of its successful conduct, giving it essentially to Stark and Arnold. The American student finds little to question in the unusually impartial narrative embodied in Edward Barrington De Fonblanque's *Political and Military episodes in the latter half of the Eighteenth Century, derived from the life and Correspondence of John Burgoyne* (London, 1776).[2]

On the German side the main sources are Max von Eelking's *Die Deutschen Hülfstruppen im nord-amerikanischen Befreiungskriege, 1776–1783* (Hannover, 1863,— 2 vols.), who gives chapters 7 and 8 to this campaign; the same writer's *Leben und Wirken des Herzoglich-Braunschweig'schen General-lieutenants Friedrich Adolph von Riedesel* (Leipzig, 1856, — 3 vols.) and *Generalin von Riedesel's Berufs-Reise nach Amerika* (Berlin, 1801), both of which Riedesel memoirs have been translated by W. L. Stone.[3]

The succession of battles and movements preceding the final surrender of Burgoyne have been well mapped.[4]

Respecting the diversion of Clinton in Burgoyne's favor, the letters of Putnam, whose business it was to hold the passes of the Hudson against the British, are in Sparks's *Washington*

[1] Mr. Stone adds a note (p. 149) on the periodical contributions of Gen. J. Watts De Peyster to the history and criticism of the campaign, aimed in large part to vindicate Schuyler and portray the patriotism of New York State. Cf. his paper in the *United Service*, ix. 365. A paper on the campaign in the *Mag. of Amer. History*, Dec., 1881, p. 457, refers to an article on the same topic in *Graham's Magazine* (Apr., 1847), by N. C. Brooks, mentioning original documents. A. B. Street printed a paper on Saratoga in the *Hist. Mag.*, March, 1858. Cf. Lemoine's *Maple Leaves*, second series (Quebec, p. 123).

[2] Stone says it is "characterized by great fairness and liberality."

[3] Other German authorities are given in Lowell's *Hessians*, App. A.

[4] In Burgoyne's *State of the Expedition* is a "Plan of the encampment and position of the army under Gen. Burgoyne at Sword's House, on Hudson River, near Stillwater, on Sept. 17th, with the positions of that part of the army engaged on the 19th Sept., 1777. Drawn by W. C. Wilkinson, Lt. 62d Reg. Engraved by Wm. Faden," and published in London, Feb. 1, 1780. It has a portion superposed, showing later positions. There is a composite map in Carrington's *Battles* (p. 344); and in *Hadden's Journal* (p. 164) fac-simile of drawn plans of the order of march and order of battle on Sept. 19. There is a map of the battle of the 19th in *Pausch's Journal*, p. 163. Lossing (i. 53) gives a view of the Stillwater ground.

Burgoyne's *State of the Expedition* also contains a "Plan of the encampment and position of the army under Gen. Burgoyne at Bræmus Heights, on the 20th Sept., with the position of the detachments in the action of the 7th Oct., and the position of the army on the 8th Oct. Drawn by W. C. Wilkinson. Engraved by Wm. Faden," and published Feb. 1, 1780. This is reproduced in Fonblanque's *Burgoyne* (p. 292). Carrington (p. 350) gives an excellent eclectic map.

A plan of the battles of Freeman's Farm and Bemis's Heights, made by Col. Rufus Putnam, is preserved at Marietta, Ohio, and a copy is in Col. Stone's collection at Jersey City. There is also a plan given in Charles Wilson's *Account of Burgoyne's Campaign* (Albany, 1844), which is revised in Stone's *Campaign of Burgoyne*. Stedman's plan (*American War*, i. 352) traces the movements from Sept. 10th to the capitulation. Cf. Grant's *British Battles*, ii. 150.

The positions from Oct. 10th, when the investment of Burgoyne's camp began, to the 16th, when the surrender took place, are shown on the American side in a map sketched by Chapman from an original of an officer, which appeared in the *Analectic Mag.* (Philad., 1818, p. 433), and is reproduced herewith.

In Burgoyne's *State of the Expedition* is Faden's "Plan of the position which the army under Lt.-Gen. Burgoyne took at Saratoga on the 10th of Oct., 1777, and in which it remained till the convention was signed." It is reproduced in Fonblanque's *Burgoyne* (p. 302). Carrington (p. 354) gives a careful plan, and there are others in *Mag. of Amer. Hist.* (vol. i. 273) and Lowell's *Hessians* (p. 163), taken from Lossing's *Field-Book* (i. 77). Lossing also gives a view (p. 80) of the field of surrender, the signatures to the convention (p. 79), the medal given to Gates (p. 83), the house used by Gates as headquarters (p. 75), and the house occupied by the Baroness Riedesel (pp. i. 89, 557; cf. also Stone's *Campaign of Burgoyne*, p. 94).

Upon the landmarks and topography of this series of movements, see papers in the *Boston Monthly* (i. 505) for a visit to Bemis's Heights; a paper by W. L. Stone in *Mag. of Amer. Hist.* (Nov., 1885, p. 510) on the remains of the works as now seen; and an examination of the localities in G. W. Schuyler's *Colonial New York* (ii. 128). Cf. Lossing's *Field-Book* and his *Book of the Hudson*.

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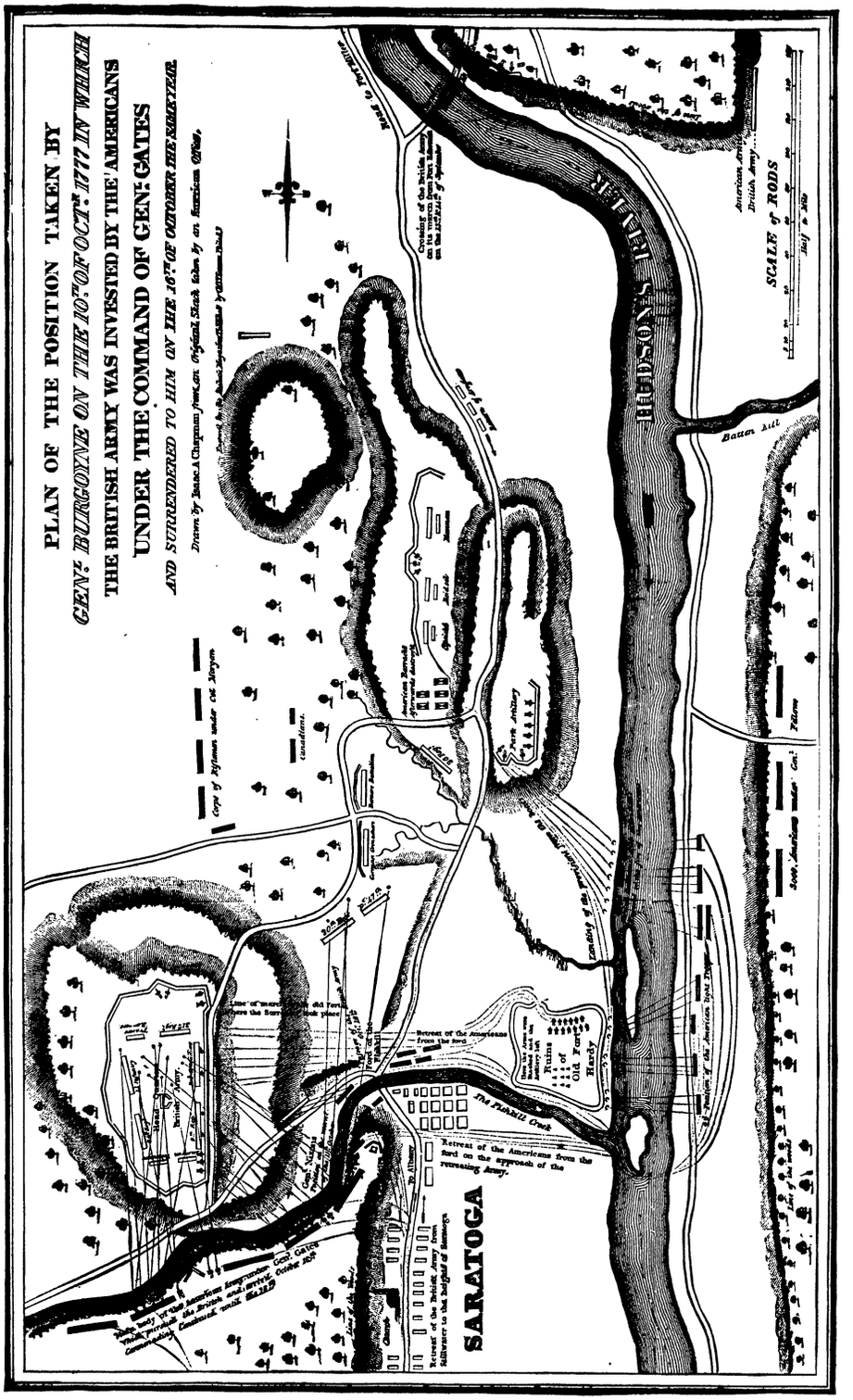
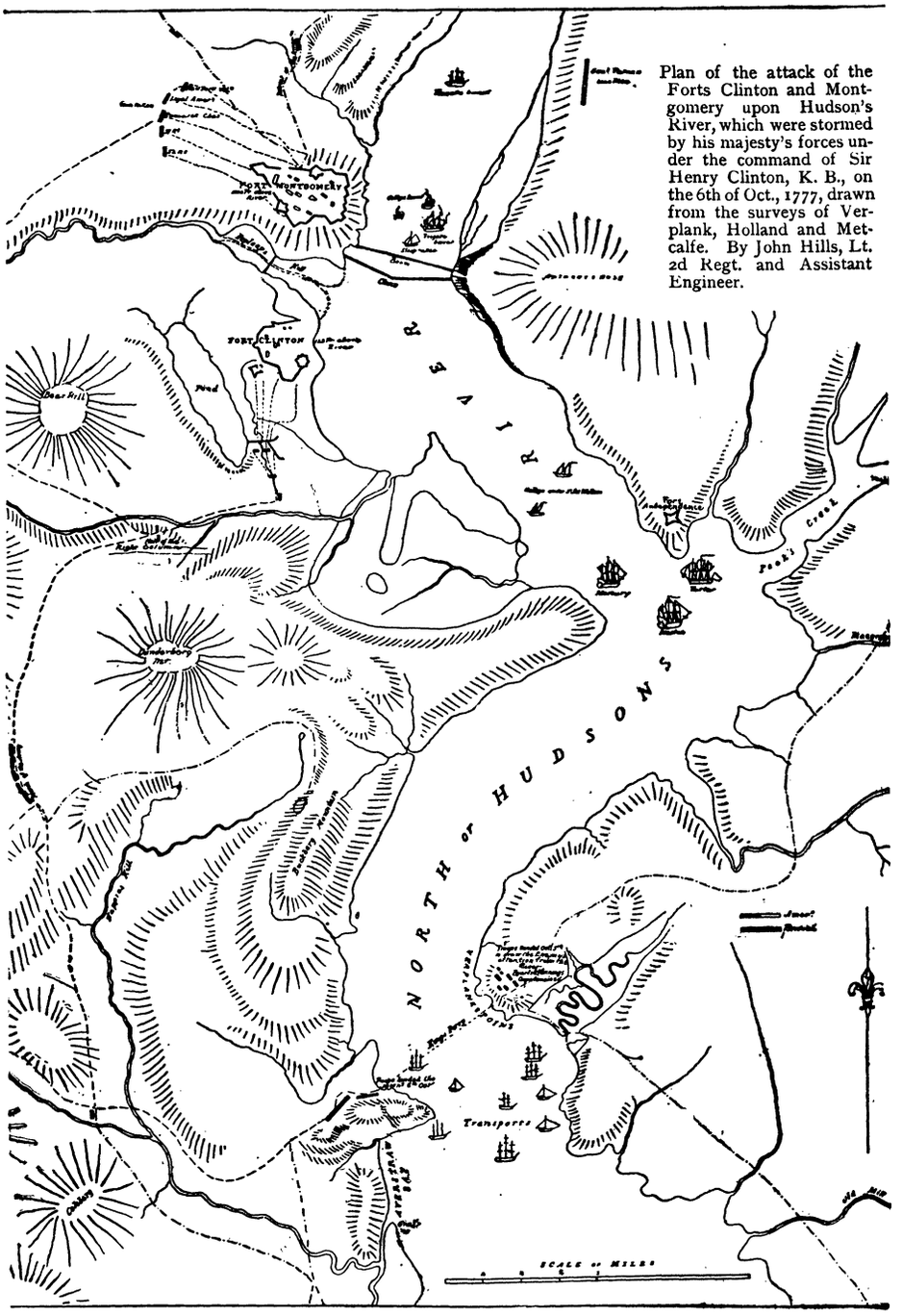

PLAN OF THE POSITION TAKEN BY
GEN.L BURGOYNE ON THE 10.TH OF OCT.R 1777 IN WHICH
THE BRITISH ARMY WAS INVESTED BY THE AMERICANS
UNDER THE COMMAND OF GEN.L GATES
AND SURRENDERED TO HIM ON THE 17.TH OF OCTOBER FOLLOWING
Drawn by Isaac A Chapman from Gen. Original Sketch taken by an American Officer
HUDSONS RIVER
SCALE of RODS
SARATOGA
Retreat of the Americans from the Field on the approach of the retreating Army.
Retreat of the Americans from the Field
Ruins of Old Fort Hardy
The Fishkill Creek
Batten kill
Camp of Riflemen under Col. Morgan
Canadians.
Light Infantry
Grenadiers
Brunswick Grenadiers
Brigade Army
Brigade Army
Brigade Army



Plan of the attack of the Forts Clinton and Montgomery upon Hudson's River, which were stormed by his majesty's forces under the command of Sir Henry Clinton, K. B., on the 6th of Oct., 1777, drawn from the surveys of Verplank, Holland and Metcalfe. By John Hills, Lt. 2d Regt. and Assistant Engineer.

NOTE. — The main British map of the attack of Clinton and Montgomery (Oct. 6, 1777) is one made by John Hills, and published in London by Faden, Jan., 1784, a portion of which, showing the detail, is annexed. The same map is used by Stedman (i. 362), and there is a reduction in the *Catal. of Hist. MSS. rel. to the War of the Rev.* (Albany, 1868, ii. 298), and in the illus. ed. of Irving's *Washington*, iii. 244. Cf. also the

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(v. App. p. 471), and in his *Correspondence of the Revolution* (i. 438; ii. App. 536, etc.), and in the *Western Reserve Hist. Soc. Tracts*, no. 46.[1] Dawson, beside the despatch of Putnam to Washington on the capture, gives also George Clinton's

to Washington (i. 341, 342).[2] Contemporary American accounts of the capture and of the burning of Kingston are in Moore's *Diary* (p. 506, 510); and a narrative, by G. W. Pratt, of the Kingston episode is in the *Ulster Hist. Soc. Coll.* (i. 107).

On the British side, Sir Henry Clinton's despatches are in *Almon's Remembrancer* (vol. v.), and that to Howe of Oct. 9th is in Dawson (i. 344), with one from Commodore Hotham to Howe (p. 346).[3]

The maps of the Hudson already enumerated are of use in the study of this movement.[4] Plans of intended works (1776) and obstructions in the river near Fort Montgomery are given in the *Calendar of Historical MSS. relating to the War of the Rev.* (Albany, 1868, vol. i. 474, 616),[5] and a MS. plan of William A. Patterson, first lieutenant, 15th reg., April 22, 1776, is in the *Heath MSS.*, i. 246 (Mass. Hist. Soc.).

The correspondence of the committee of Congress with the commissioners in France, regarding the effect of the surrender of Burgoyne, is in *Diplomatic Correspondence* (i. 338, 355). Cf. Stuart's *Jonathan Trumbull.* Jonathan Loring Austin, dispatched by the Massachusetts authorities, carried the first intelligence to France.[6] Schulenberg wrote to the commissioners from Berlin (*Diplom. Corresp.*, ii. 120), and Izard replied (*Ibid.*, ii. 370).[7]

Burgoyne sailed from Rhode Island for England in April, 1778.[8] On arriving, he had an early interview with Lord George Germain, but the king refused to see him. He appeared in Parliament,[9] where he had earlier been a firm but not bellicose upholder of the government,[10]

maps in Sparks's *Washington* (v. 92); *Harper's Mag.*, lii. 648; and in Lossing's *Field-Book*, ii. 166. Original MS. drafts, showing the attack on the forts, made by Holland, by the Hessian Wangenheim, and by others, are among the Faden maps (nos. 70–73) in the library of Congress. Holland's surveys were followed in the plans of Montgomery and Clinton (1777) by Lieut. John Knight, of the Royal Navy.

1 Cf. also *Trumbull MSS.* (vol. vi. and vii.); the *Sparks MSS.* (lii. vol. iii, p. 223); the lives of Putnam; and Upham's *Life of Glover.*

2 A letter of Gen. Parsons to Gov. Trumbull, on the capture of Fort Montgomery, is in Hildreth's *Pioneer Settlers of Ohio* (p. 534). The personal narrative of Thomas Richards is in *United Service* (xii. 274).

3 Cf. also Clinton's letter in *Rockingham and his Contemporaries* (ii. 334), and his annotations on the account in Stedman (ch. 18) in Jones's *N. Y. during the Rev.* (i. 704). A journal of a British officer is printed in Scull's *Evelyns in America* (p. 345).

The journal of Capt. Scott, who was sent by Burgoyne to open communication with Clinton, is in Fonblanque's *Burgoyne* (p. 287).

The later accounts are in Irving's *Washington* (iii. ch. 21); Lossing's *Schuyler* (ii. ch. 20), and his *Field-Book* (ii. 165); Leake's *John Lamb* (p. 179), where is controverted the opinion expressed in Hamilton's *Life of Alex. Hamilton* (i. 321), that the defence of the forts was feeble; Carrington's *Battles;* and Sargent's *André* (p. 102).

4 There was also a map of the river in the *Gent. Mag.*, 1778.

5 Letters of Greene and others, May 17, 1777, respecting the obstructions in the North River at Fort Montgomery, are in the *Sparks MSS.* (lii. vol. iii.).

6 *Boston Monthly Mag.*, July, 1826; Loring's *Hundred Boston Orators*, 174; Parton's *Franklin*, ii. 283. The brief letter sent by Gates to the Mass. Council is in the Mass. Archives, and is printed in Hale's *Franklin in France*, p. 160. The letter of the Mass. government to Franklin (Oct. 24th) covered a copy of Gates's letter (Hale, p. 155).

7 The effect in England is seen in the *Debates in Parliament;* Curwen's *Journal* (p. 175); P. O. Hutchinson's *Diary of Thomas Hutchinson* (vol. ii.); Donne's *Corresp. of Geo. III. and Lord North* (ii. 93, 111); excerpts in Moore's *Diary*, i. 525; Macknight's *Burke* (ii. 202); Russell's *Mem. and Corresp. of Fox* (i. 161); Fitzmaurice's *Shelburne* (iii. 12); Bancroft's *United States* (ix. 478); Mahon's *England* (vi. 206, and App. p. xxxix.); Fonblanque's *Burgoyne* (ch. 8); Madison's *Writings* (i. 31). Walpole (*Last Journals*, ii. 170) tells us how the king received the news of Burgoyne's disaster.

8 Fonblanque, p. 333, and *Almon's Remembrancer*, vi. 207; but they do not agree upon the name of the vessel by which he sailed.

9 Walpole (*Last Journals*, ii. 278) describes Burgoyne's appearance in the Commons.

10 Cf. Bancroft's character of Burgoyne, in his orig. ed., vii. 245. Fonblanque (p. 5) charges Bancroft with coarseness in speaking of alleged but unfounded statements of Burgoyne's shame of birth. A certain swagger about the man laid Burgoyne open to the stinging burlesques of the small writers of the day. Cf. *The Lamentations of Gen. Burgoyne* (Sabin, iii. 9,262); *Calendrier de Philadelphie*, 1779 (*Ibid.* xiv. 61,511), Moore's *Songs and Ballads of the Rev.* (176, 185, 189); Stone, *Campaign of Burgoyne* (App. xvi.).

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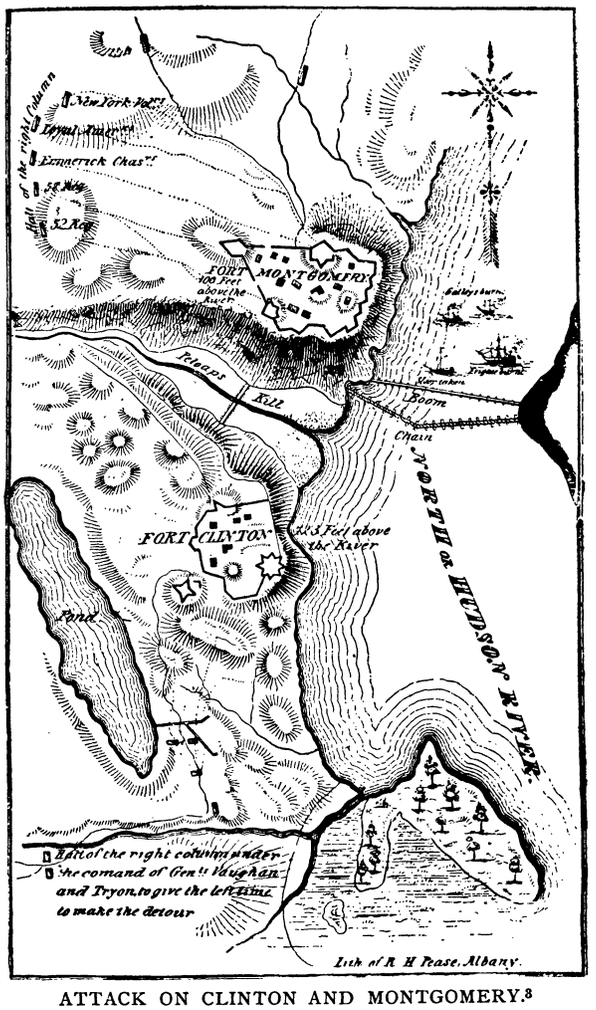
on May 21st, and on the 26th and 28th made speeches in his own defence, which were published in London, June 16, 1778, as *The substance of General Burgoyne's speeches, . . . with an appendix containing Gen. Washington's letter to Gen. Burgoyne.*[1]

The king, piqued at finding Burgoyne on the side of the opposition in Parliament, ordered him to return to his imprisoned troops, and, rather than go, the general resigned his civil and military offices, and printed an explanation in *A letter from Lieutenant-General Burgoyne to his constituents, with the correspondence between the secretaries of war and him, relative to his return to America* (London, 1779).[2]

Lord George Germain, or, as some have thought, Sir John Dalrymple, published a *Reply to Lieutenant-General Burgoyne's letter to his con-*



ATTACK ON CLINTON AND MONTGOMERY.[3]

[1] There were six editions printed in London, and one in Dublin, in 1778 (Sabin, iii. no. 9,257; Menzies, no. 264). These speeches were in response to a motion of inquiry made by John Wilkes, whose copy of this pamphlet belongs now to Mr. Charles Deane; and, by Wilkes's annotations upon it, it seems that Wilkes recalled a good deal that Burgoyne said and did not print, and qualified other parts which he did print.

[2] Sabin, iii. no. 9,257. There were six editions the same year. Menzies, no. 266.

[3] After the plan in Leake's *Life of Lamb*, p. 176. The legend in northwest corner of the map reads by error "Halt of the *right* [should be *left*] column." Other eclectic maps are given in Sparks's *Washington*, v. 92; in Boynton's *West Point;* and in Carrington's *Battles*, p. 362.

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stituents[1] (London, 1779), pronouncing it a libel upon the king's government, and this was seconded by an anonymous *Letter to Lieutenant-General Burgoyne on his letter to his constituents* (London, 1779).[2]

The further controversy over Burgoyne's failure includes the following publications: —

A brief examination of the plan and conduct of the Northern expedition in America in 1777, and of the surrender of the army under the command of Lieutenant-General Burgoyne (London, 1779), — a severe attack.[3]

An Enquiry into and remarks upon the Conduct of Lieutenant-General Burgoyne; the plan of operations for the campaign of 1777; the instructions from the Secretary of State, and the circumstances that led to the loss of the northern army (London, 1780).[4]

Essay on modern martyrs, with a letter to General Burgoyne (London, 1780),[5] — charging him with being the personal cause of his own misfortunes.

In addition, there were some publications reviewing the conduct of Howe's as well as Burgoyne's campaigns in 1777, which will be noticed in another place.

Burgoyne's main defence against all these charges appeared in his *A State of the Expedition from Canada as laid before the House of Commons, with a collection of Authentic Documents, and an addition of many circumstances which were prevented from appearing before the House by the Prorogation of Parliament, written and collected by himself, with plans* (London, 1780).[6] In his introduction Burgoyne says, that, being denied a professional examination of his conduct, and disappointed in a parliamentary one, he was induced to make this publication.[7]

This publication was followed by *A Supplement to the State of the Expedition from Canada, containing Gen. Burgoyne's Orders respecting the Principal Movements and Operations of the Army to the Raising of the Siege of Ticonderoga* (London, 1780).[8]

Burgoyne was attacked in return in the following: *Remarks on General Burgoyne's State of the Expedition from Canada* (London, 1780),[9] being a defence of the ministry, and holding that Burgoyne had forfeited all claims to pity. *A letter to Lieutenant-General Burgoyne occasioned by a second edition of his State of the Expedition, etc.* (London, 1780).[10] Fonblanque (ch. viii.) portrays the effect in England of the parliamentary inquiry. Cf. Macknight's *Burke* (ch. 30). The Rev. Samuel Peters' reply to Burgoyne in the Appendix of Jones's *New York during the Revolutionary War* (vol. i. p. 683).

The *Centennial Celebrations of the State of New York* (Albany, 1879) gives the addresses of that period, by M. I. Townshend and John A. Stevens.[11]

[1] Sabin, iii. no. 9,266, — three editions; Menzies, no. 268.

[2] Sabin, iii. no. 9,263; Menzies, no. 267.

[3] Sabin, iii. no. 9,258; Menzies, no. 265.

[4] Sabin, iii. no. 9,260; *Sparks's Catal.*, no. 405. Menzies, no. 272.

[5] Sabin, iii. no. 9,261; Menzies, no. 273.

[6] It appeared in two editions, and the book is now usually priced at about £3 (Sabin, iii. no. 9,255; Sparks, no. 404; Stevens, *Bibl. Amer.* (1885), no. 58; Menzies, no. 269).

Burgoyne's documents, as laid before Parliament, had been printed in the *Parliamentary Register*. The *Gentleman's Mag.* had chronicled the progress of the investigation. Cf. *Annual Register* (xxi. 168) and Russell's *Memoirs and Correspondence of Fox* (i. 176).

The principal English MS. sources for the study of the whole campaign are these: The minutes of inquiry into the causes of Burgoyne's failure in the volume "Secretary of State, 1777–1781," in the War Office, London; Quebec series, in the Public Record Office, vols. xiv., xvi. (Cf. Brymner's *Reports on Canadian Archives*, 1883, p. 77; 1885, p. xi.)

[7] The volume contains Burgoyne's speech, prefatory to his narrative; his narrative; the evidence of Carleton, Balcarras, Harrington, Major Forbes, Lieut.-Colonel Kingston, and others; a review of the evidence and conclusion. In the Appendix are Burgoyne's "Thoughts for conducting the war from the side of Canada;" various letters of Burgoyne, Carleton, etc.; Burgoyne's speech to the Indians; Baum's instructions; St. Leger's letter from Oswego, Aug. 27, 1777; Burgoyne's letter from Albany, Oct. 20th; his councils of war, Oct. 12th and 13th; the terms proposed by Gates. There are added various plans of battle, elsewhere mentioned.

[8] Sabin, iii. no. 9,256; Menzies, no. 270. Privately reprinted in New York (75 copies) in 1865. It is said to have been printed without the sanction of Burgoyne.

[9] Sabin, iii. no. 9,265.

[10] Menzies, no. 271; Sabin, iii. no. 9,264. Sabin also notes, no. 9,267, *Reponse à un des articles des Annales politiques de M. Linguet concernant la défaite du Général Burgoyne en Amérique* (Londres, 1788). Cf., on Burgoyne's subsequent exchange, Rogers's *Hadden's Journal*.

[11] Other addresses are N. B. Sylvester's *Saratoga and Hay-ad-ros-se-ra* (July 4, 1876); George G. Scott's Saratoga County address; J. S. L'Amoreaux at Ballston Spa (July, 1876); Edward F. Bullard's, at Schuylerville (July 4, 1776); H. C. Maine's *Burgoyne's Campaign*. The remarks of Messrs. Edward Wemple and S. S. Cox in Congress, Dec. 4, 1884, on the Saratoga monument, have been printed.

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